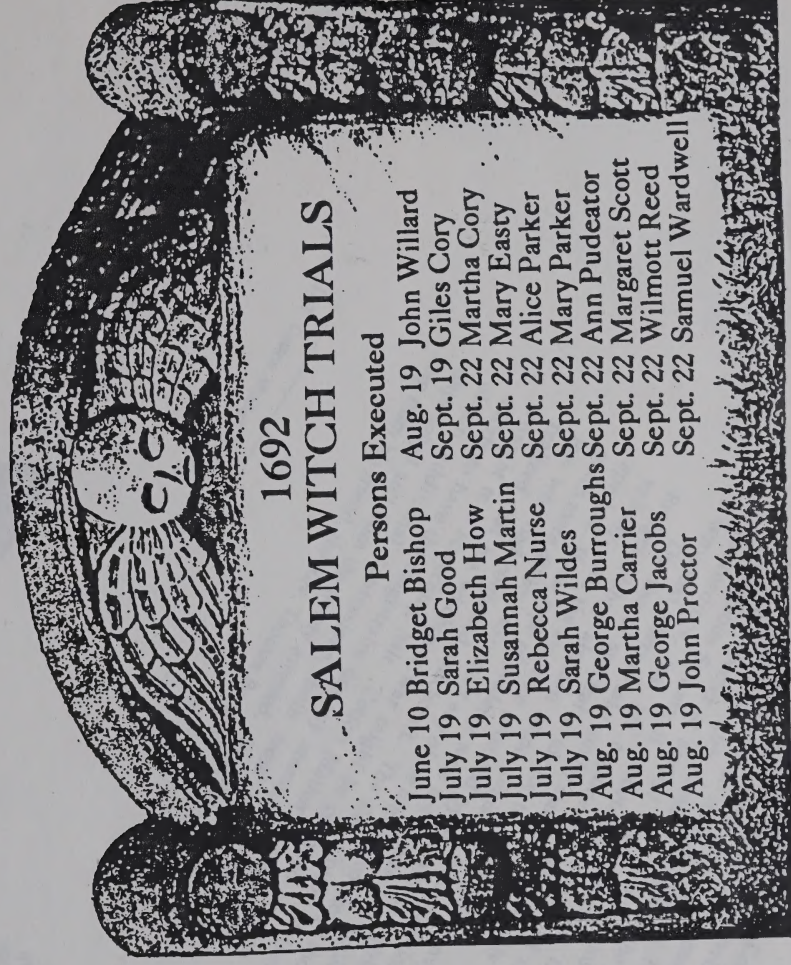


Of Salem Town and Salem Village in 1692



1692 SALEM WITCH TRIALS

Persons Executed

June 10	Bridget Bishop	Aug. 19	John Willard
July 19	Sarah Good	Sept. 19	Giles Cory
July 19	Elizabeth How	Sept. 22	Martha Cory
July 19	Susannah Martin	Sept. 22	Mary Easty
July 19	Rebecca Nurse	Sept. 22	Alice Parker
July 19	Sarah Wildes	Sept. 22	Mary Parker
Aug. 19	George Burroughs	Sept. 22	Ann Pudeator
Aug. 19	Martha Carrier	Sept. 22	Margaret Scott
Aug. 19	George Jacobs	Sept. 22	Wilmott Reed
Aug. 19	John Proctor	Sept. 22	Samuel Wardwell

Researched and written by
William Story and Arthur Venditti

The insane proceedings of the Court proved too much for justice Nathaniel Saltonstall of Haverhill. Unable to prevail against the furious tide, Saltonstall resigned from the Court after its first meeting. Returning to his home in Haverhill, Saltonstall spoke out so strongly against the witch hunt that in time the afflicted girls started to cry out against him. They had seen his specter at several witch meetings, they said. The courageous Saltonstall, undeterred, continued to oppose the proceedings, and his arguments and tenacity eventually convinced others to take similar stands.

The use of spectral evidence to obtain the conviction of Bridget Bishop alarmed some ministers who questioned its validity. All the evidence provided by the afflicted girls was spectral. If this type of evidence were not admitted, it would be much more difficult to convict any of the imprisoned except those few who had confessed witchcraft. The Rev. Cotton Mather realized that his witchcraft war might be curtailed or even brought to a screeching halt. Cotton Mather intensified his efforts to have the magistrates use any means, fair or foul, to obtain additional confessions, both from those already imprisoned and from the newly arrested. Soon he would find help from his friend, the Rev. Thomas Barnard.

140 Cotton Mather, *Wonders*, 129.

141 Shakespeare, *King Richard III*, Act. 1, Sc. 4.

142 Cotton Mather, *Wonders*, 138.

1692

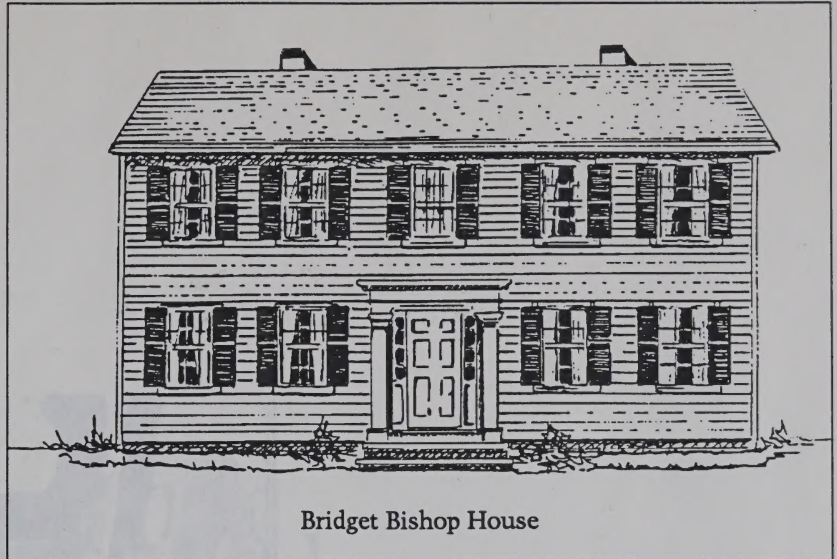
SALEM WITCH TRIALS

Persons Executed

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Researched and written by
William Story and Arthur Venditti

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18. THE BRIDGET BISHOP HOUSE

Although not the first accused, Bridget Bishop was the first to be tried and executed. She was hanged on June 10, 1692.

Like Sarah Good and Sarah Osborne, she was a likely target because of her poor reputation.

She ran a tavern near the Salem and Beverly line had been accused of witchcraft years earlier.

The home at 238 Conant Street, Danvers where she lived in 1692 is today privately owned.



*The witch hunt in New England
in the early 1690s*



The hanging of Bridget Bishop





*The witch hunt in New England
in the early 1690s*



The hanging of Bridget Bishop



*The witch hunt in New England
in the early 1690s*

Only one of the imprisoned, Bridget Bishop, was brought to trial at this session. Bishop had been arrested on April 19, 1692. This first trial was a test case, and a large number of accusers and accusations were brought against her. She was charged with such things as losses her neighbors suffered in their cattle and poultry or with overturning their carts. Testimony against her included spectral evidence given by John Louder of Salem, aged 32. He stated that on waking in the dead of night he did clearly see Bridget Bishop, or her likeness, sitting on his stomach. Two workman testified that they found puppets in her cellar. The puppets were made of hog bristles and rags, and stuck with headless pins. Upon search a witchmark, or "tet," was found upon her body. Cotton Mather wrote, "There was little occasion to prove the witchcraft, it being evident and notorious to all beholders."¹⁴⁰ The jury found her guilty, and she was sentenced to die. To the end she did not make the slightest confession of anything relating to witchcraft. The court adjourned to June 30.

In Salem prison whispered voices passed the word; Bridget was going to hang. A terrible shudder went through the inmates; the prison walls seemed to reel around them. The few chained in view of the narrow slot-like windows could glimpse a little patch of sky; the rest were shrouded in gloom. The night before the execution, an ominous silence fell. With the hangman close at hand, the prisoners "passed a miserable night, so full of ugly sights, of ghastly dreams."¹⁴¹ In the morning, June 10, 1692, the sheriff entered the prison and took Bridget away. Her legs made lame by the fetters, she stumbled painfully through the prison door into the open air.

Sheriff George Corwin pushed her into a horse-drawn cart and forced her to stand so the hundreds of spectators could see her better. A company of Salem militia marched to the fife and drum. John Hathorne, on horseback, was a prominent figure in the procession which followed her to the place of execution. As the cart passed the Salem meetinghouse, Bridget looked in that direction. The Rev. Cotton Mather later wrote that a board on the inside of the building broke from the heavy nails which held it and flew to the opposite wall with a crash that could be heard throughout Salem.¹⁴² He intended his words to record for all time the power of her witchcraft.

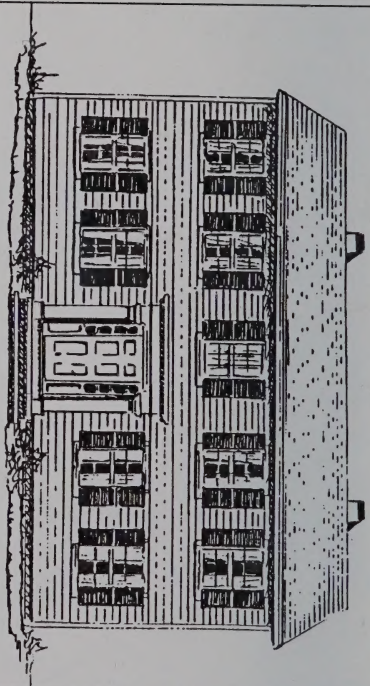
Outside town the cart turned from the main street into a narrow track that led up to a rocky mound. This was Gallows Hill. With three fathoms of hemp rope, Bridget Bishop was hanged. Her body was cut down and thrown into a shallow, unmarked grave which had been dug among the rocks close by. Out of her grave, tradition has it, grew a wild red rose.

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Bridget Bishop House

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1692 - Issue - 1992

The Witchcraft Hysteria Of Salem Town and Salem Village in 1692



Unique THEN & NOW Map shows
Salem Town and Salem Village of 1692 and Today.

Historical Overview of the Witch Hysteria.

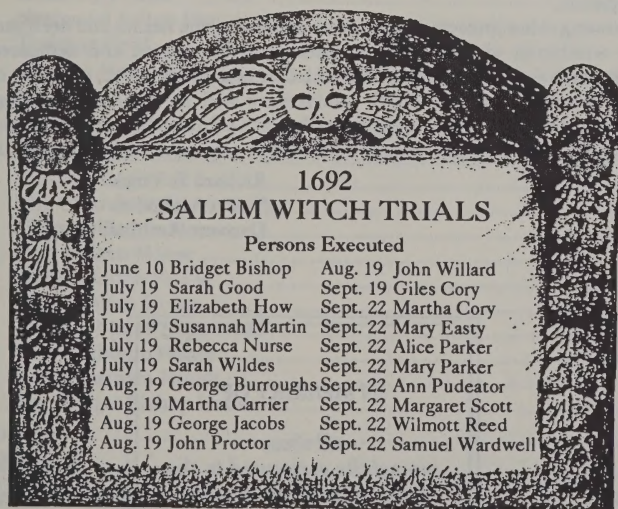
Important Information About
Over Two Dozen ACTUAL SITES
and Points of Interest from the Period, including:

**PARSONAGE • COURTHOUSE • GAOL
GALLOWS HILL • BURIAL GROUNDS**

TOURING COMPANION
& HISTORICAL GUIDE

The
Witchcraft Hysteria
Of Salem Town
and Salem Village
in 1692

*enlarged
half again*



Researched and written by
William Story and Arthur Venditti

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Witch Hysteria of Salem Village
Danvers, Massachusetts

1 6 9 2 • 1 9 9 2

Through simple text, maps and drawings this booklet gives the casual visitor as well as the interested student of history a quick and highly worthwhile guide to both the well-known and more obscure sites in Danvers, Peabody and Salem associated with the famous Salem Village witchcraft delusion of 1692.

Both the Salem Village Witchcraft Tercentennial Committee of Danvers, 15 Sylvan Street, Danvers, MA. 01923, of which I am chairman, and the Salem Witch Trials Tercentenary Committee of Salem have scheduled numerous educational, cultural and commemorative programs during the anniversary period, and encourage local and nationwide interest and participation.

Among other projects, a memorial containing the names and dedicated to the witchcraft victims is contemplated to be erected and dedicated in Danvers (Salem Village) near site #11 of this guide in 1992.

It is hoped that this 300th anniversary will be marked as a time of historical reflection on the follies and heroics exhibited by our Essex County ancestors, and on what lessons such events can teach us in our own time.

Richard B. Trask
Town Archivist
Danvers Archival Center

IN MEMORY OF

*All those
wrongfully persecuted in the
Salem Witchcraft hysteria
of 1692.*

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Cover: *The Rebecca Nurse Homestead in Salem Village (Danvers, MA).*

Pen & ink drawings by Nancy M. Powers.

AN HISTORICAL GUIDE TO THE WITCHCRAFT TRAGEDY IN SALEM TOWN AND SALEM VILLAGE

In 1692, in Salem Town and Salem Village of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a tragic hysteria claimed the lives of fourteen women and six men. Nineteen men and women were hanged for practicing witchcraft and one man was pressed to death because he would plead neither guilty nor innocent.

This booklet is not, nor does it pretend to be, a scholarly or an in-depth examination of the Salem witchcraft tragedy. However, it and its attached maps are perhaps the easiest, most convenient, yet, in some respects, the most complete guide to those tragic events and to the sites where they occurred.

FROM THE BOOKLET, YOU WILL:

- get a quick understanding of the Salem witchcraft hysteria of 1692.
- learn what happened at the sites on the map.
- be able to locate other sources that provide a more in-depth understanding of the Salem witchcraft hysteria.

WITH THE MAP, YOU WILL BE ABLE TO:

- locate many of the sites where the tragic drama unfolded, from the parsonage where it all began, to the places of inquisition and trial, to the gaol where the condemned awaited their fate, to Gallows Hill where they met that fate.

- see Salem Town and Salem Village of 1692 and travel the roads that existed then although, obviously, they have been paved and in some cases widened and straightened.
- see some of the topographical changes since 1692. In particular, some of the rivers have been brought back to their original dimensions on the maps.
- visualize the dimensions of Salem Town and Salem Village in perspective with the present. The map clearly shows how several cities and towns today comprise Salem Town and Salem Village of 1692. You will see how modern highways crisscross and malls and schools dot the 17th century landscape.
- locate and see other sites of 1692 which, while they played little or no role in the witchcraft events, will give you further flavor and dimensions of Salem Town and Salem Village.

Keep in mind that this book with its map directs you to the actual (in some cases probable) sites of the 1692 hysteria. In addition on page 18 you will find listed museums, two of which offer recreations of the events of 1692.

OVERVIEW OF THE EVENTS OF 1692

During the winter of 1691-92, Tituba, the Barbados slave of Reverend Samuel Parris, the minister of Salem Village*, began to tell the minister's nine-year old daughter Betty and eleven-year old niece Abigail Williams strange and forbidden tales.

Such tales must have been fascinating to the girls, no doubt bored with the rather grim, restrictive life of puritanical early New England.

Before long, young Betty Parris began to display strange symptoms: weeping, absent-mindedness, inability to concentrate, staring, and, probably most alarming, making strange animal-like noises.

Betty's cousin, Abigail Williams, seemed to catch whatever ailed Betty for she too began to show absent-mindedness and got down on all fours running like an animal, mouthing animal-like noises.

Alarmed at the girls' behavior, Reverend Parris consulted the local physician whose diagnosis was that the girls were under the spell of "the evil hand."

With other ministers, Parris tried spiritual healing through fasting and prayer but to no avail.

Finally after repeated urging to name who tormented them, the girls supplied names and the witchcraft hysteria began.

There are various theories about why the girls (it wasn't long before there were more than just the two afflicted cousins involved in the accusing and some were older than just girls) behaved as they did and accused whom they did.

One theory says they had eaten bread contaminated with a hallucinogenic fungus. Another says they were just bored and got caught up in the sudden attention they were receiving and the power they were exercising.

Still others contend that the accusations were the result of old jealousies among neighbors.

And Chadwick Hansen in his book *Witchcraft at Salem* claims that the girls were the victims of clinical hysteria.

Whatever the reason or reasons, by the time the hysteria had run its course about 150 had been accused and nineteen lost their lives on the gallows.

* The distinction between Salem Village and Salem Town should perhaps be explained here. The original settlement of Salem along the coast in 1630 expanded as settlers moved inland. In 1637, an area approximately five miles from the center at Salem Town (today the city of Salem) became known as Salem Village (today largely the town of Danvers, and part of the city of Peabody). However, Salem Village remained politically tied to Salem Town until 1752 when it separated to become the town of Danvers.

A CLOSER LOOK AT IMPORTANT SITES ON THE MAPS

Let's examine more carefully the sites of major interest and importance related to the witchcraft hysteria of 1692.

The sites are numbered to correspond to the numbers on the maps. Because it is likely that your starting point is in 20th century Salem, Massachusetts (Salem Town of 1692), we will begin there and then move you to 20th century Danvers, Massachusetts (the largest part of Salem Village of 1692). On the way we'll pass through what is now the city of Peabody and look at some sites there also associated with the troubles of 1692.

However, you can start your exploration of Salem Town and Salem Village at any point. Use the convenient touring map and directions on page 19 and 21 if you wish to visit the actual sites in any order.

In addition to the numbered sites that figured prominently in the witchcraft tragedy are other sites on the map that existed in 1692. You may wish to visit some of them as they will give you a further sense and flavor of Salem Town and Salem Village.

IMPORTANT: These sites are designated in the text with italicized letters.

1. GAOL

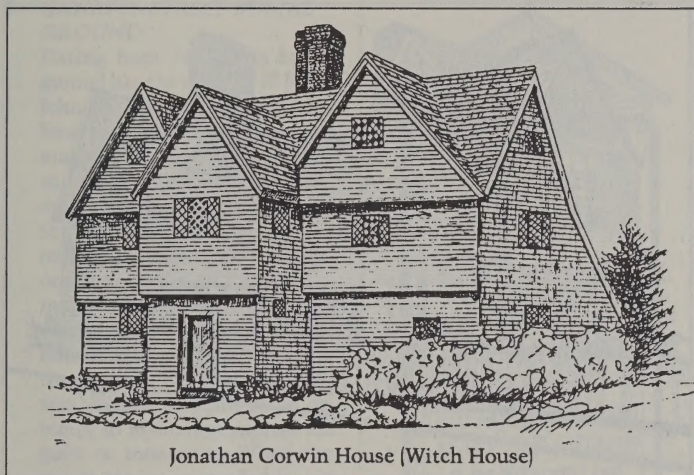
The site of the witch gaol (jail) was at 4 Federal Street in Salem where the New England Telephone Company building is now located. When that building was demolished in 1956, crews saved portions of the original dungeon, some of which may be seen at the Essex Institute at 132 Essex Street in Salem. Persons found guilty of witchcraft were held here before being taken to Gallows Hill for execution.

2. COURTHOUSE

The site of the courthouse where many, but not all, of the trials were held was approximately in the middle of what is now Washington Street, Salem, about opposite Salem City Hall. Note the plaque on the Masonic Temple at 70 Washington Street for more information.

3. SALEM TOWN MEETING HOUSE

The Meetinghouse of The First Church of Salem stood at the southeast corner of what is today the intersection of Essex and Washington Streets. Some of the pretrial examinations took place here. Rebecca Nurse (hanged on July 19, 1692) was excommunicated here on July 3, 1692.



4. JONATHAN CORWIN HOUSE

Popularly known as the "Witch House," the house at 310 Essex Street in Salem was the home of Magistrate Jonathan Corwin, who along with John Hathorne examined many of the accused witches during the preliminary hearings. This restored house is open to the public and reveals a well-to-do home of the era. There is an admission fee.

5. GALLOWS HILL

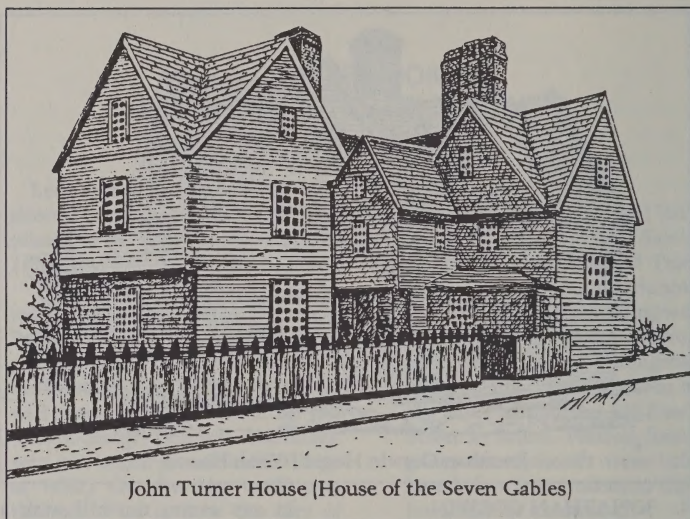
The exact site of the place of execution is not known for certain. Indeed, Dorothy M. Potter, in a paper available at The Essex Institute Library, contends that determining the site is near hopelessly muddled and, she feels, it is entirely possible that the hangings took place near the site of the gaol.

In any event, the hill with a water tower is generally known to Salemites as Gallows Hill but that is probably not the site of the hangings. Instead, a more likely spot is a smaller hill bordered by Boston Street, Pope Street, and Proctor Street. For one thing, this smaller hill was closer to the gaol and in those days of difficult and slow travel this would be an important consideration.

Also, the smaller hill has the features described in 1692 accounts: locust trees and a fissure in the ground into which the bodies of the executed were thrown.

Sidney Perley's *Salem in 1700* and Charles Upham's *Salem Witchcraft* both explain theories about the probable location of the hangings.

THE WITCHCRAFT HYSTERIA IN SALEM TOWN AND SALEM VILLAGE IN 1692



John Turner House (House of the Seven Gables)

A. JOHN TURNER HOUSE

This home built in 1668 by Captain John Turner is better known as The House of Seven Gables. Although it did not figure in the witchcraft hysteria, it is a fine example of 17th century architecture and helps us picture Salem Town in 1692. Of course, it is worth visiting in its own right. It is located at the foot of Turner Street. There is an admission fee.

B. STEPHEN DANIELS HOUSE

At the corner of Daniels and Essex Street, Salem, this home was built in 1667. It is privately owned and accepts overnight guests.

C. JOHN PICKERING HOME

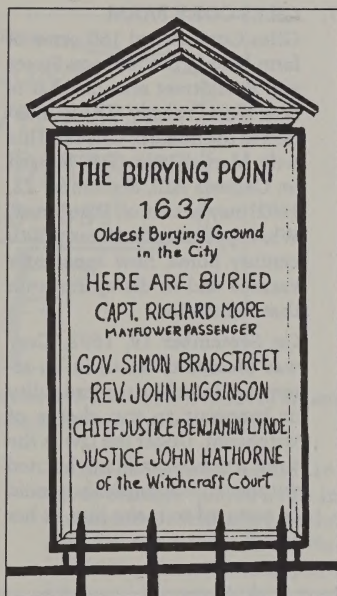
This privately owned dwelling at 18 Broad Street, Salem, still belongs to the Pickering family. Built in 1660, like The House of Seven Gables and the Daniels House, it helps us delineate and feel Salem Town of 1692.

D. BROAD STREET CEMETERY

This burial ground opposite the Pickering Home dates to 1665, although some burials there predate that year. In it are buried Magistrate Jonathan Corwin and his nephew George Corwin, High Sheriff of Essex County, who took the condemned to the place of execution.

E. *CHARTER STREET BURIAL GROUND*

Dating from 1637, this burial ground has the remains of Judge John Hathorne who, along with Jonathan Corwin, was one of the magistrates from Salem Town to conduct the witchcraft examinations. Also associated with the witchcraft delusion and buried here is Bartholomew Gedney, one of the judges during the formal witch trials. Giles Cory's second wife, Mary, was buried here in 1684, eight years prior to the death of her husband, who was pressed to death in an attempt to make him express his guilt or innocence. When the man's tongue protruded in his death agony, High Sheriff George Corwin pushed it back into Cory's mouth with his cane.



Let's move to 20th century Peabody, Massachusetts, parts of which were in Salem Town and other parts in Salem Village in 1692.

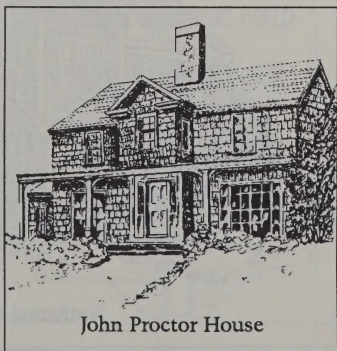
F. *JOHN SOUTHWICK HOUSE*

Built around 1660, this privately owned dwelling still stands at 151 Lowell Street. George Upham's map of 1692 shows this to have been part of Salem Town. The Southwick family were Quakers and in the 1650s had been persecuted for their beliefs.

witchcraft, was spared from hanging because she was pregnant.

6. *JOHN PROCTOR HOUSE*

This home at 348 Lowell Street dates from the 17th century. John Proctor ran a tavern here beginning in the 1660s. He and four others were hanged on Gallows Hill, August 19, 1692. His wife Elizabeth, also convicted of



John Proctor House

7. GILES CORY FARM

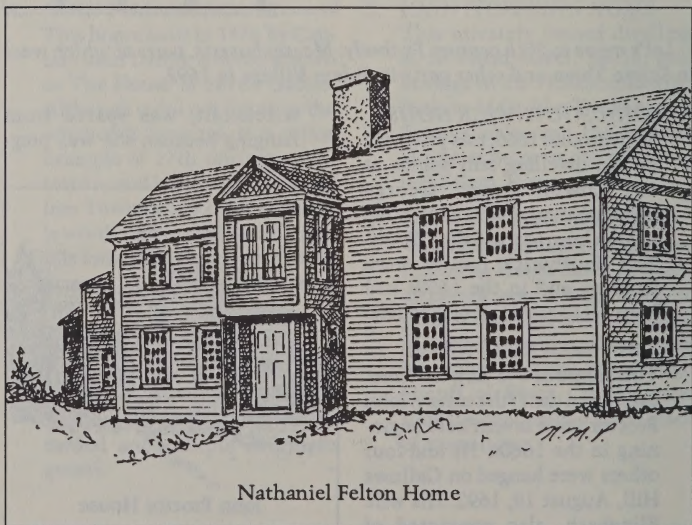
Giles Cory owned 150 acres of farm land in the Johnson Street and Pine Street area of what is now West Peabody. The foundation to the home of Giles and his wife Martha (who was hanged on Gallows Hill, September 22, 1692) may be seen off Pine Street. What appears to be an early 20th century home, now apparently vacated and in disrepair, is on that foundation.

On September 19, 1692, Cory was pressed to death in an attempt to force him to plead guilty or innocent to the charge of witchcraft. Under the law at the time, a person could not be tried without entering a plea but could be tortured to make him or her plead.

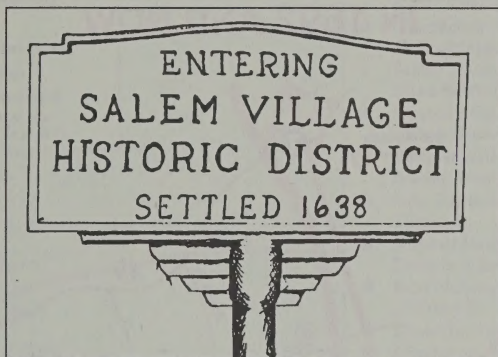
Probably Cory refused to plead knowing that everyone tried had been found guilty. The common belief that Cory refused to plead so that his property would remain with his family in the event he were found guilty is not true.

8. NATHANIEL FELTON HOME

This, the oldest house in Peabody, tradition says was built in 1644. It is located at the top of Felton Street near Brooksby Farm. Nathaniel Felton was one of several of John Proctor's neighbors who signed a petition in his behalf. Because the accusers might in turn accuse petition signers, such attesting to the good character of an accused witch was done at considerable risk.



Nathaniel Felton Home



Now let us go into 20th century Danvers to what was the heart of Salem Village in 1692. This was the area where the witch hysteria began.

As we did in Salem Town, here we will look at sites which played a direct role in the tragedy and at others that merely serve to define and color the area for us. In this regard, it is significant to note that there are several homes and sites surviving from 1692 in that part of Danvers within The Salem Village Historic District.

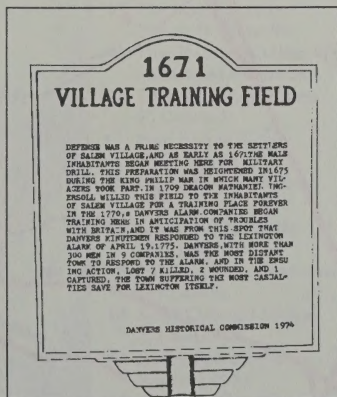
Here, the numbering of the sites will be by their proximity to one another. Sites that played a less significant role will be designated with a letter.

If you are driving, rather than beginning at the numbered sites, it might be convenient to start at the Training Field near which you can park and stroll to some of the other sites for which there is no parking available.

G. TRAINING FIELD

This field at 85 Centre Street, dates back to 1671. In 1709,

Nathaniel Ingersoll, whose tavern or ordinary played a role in the witchcraft delusion, gave the field "to the Inhabitants of Salem Village for a Training place for Ever." Danvers Militia used this field from the 17th century to the Civil War.



SALEM TOWN & SALEM VILLAGE IN 1692 AND NOW



KEY

-  Roads in 1692 still existing
 Today's Highways
 Rivers
 River banks in 1692
 Historic Sites
 Modern Landmarks
*Be sure to see the
touring map on page 21.*

KEY TO HISTORIC SITES

SALEM TOWN (SALEM)

- 1 *Gaol - 4 Federal St.*
- 2 *Courthouse -
70 Washington St.*
- 3 *Salem Town Meeting House -
Essex & Washington Sts.*
- 4 *Jonathan Corwin House
(Witch House) - 310 Essex St.*
- 5 *Gallows Hill -
Boston, Pope & Proctor Sts.*
- A *John Turner House -
Turner St.*
- B *Stephen Daniels House -
Daniels & Essex Sts.*
- C *John Pickering Home -
18 Broad St.*
- D *Broad St. Cemetery*
- E *Charter St. Burial Ground*

SALEM TOWN/VILLAGE (PEABODY)

- F** John Southwick House -
151 Lowell St.
- 6** John Proctor House -
348 Lowell St.
- 7** Giles Cory Farm - Pine St.
- 8** Nathaniel Felton Home -
Felton St.

SALEM VILLAGE (DANVERS)

- Q** *Training Field* - 85 Centre St.
- 9** *The Parsonage* - rear 67 Centre St.
- 10** *The Ingersoll Ordinary* - 199 Hobart St.
- 11** *The Meetinghouse* - Hobart & Forest Sts.
- H** *The Church in Salem Village* - Hobart and Centre Sts.
- 12** *Thomas Haines House* - 35 Centre St.
- I** *John Holten House* - 27 Centre St.
- 13** *Joseph Holten House* - 19 Centre St.
- 14** *Sarah Holten House* - 171 Holten St.
- 15** *Rebecca Nurse Homestead* - 149 Pine St.
- 16** *Sarah Osborne House* - 272 Maple St.
- 17** *Joseph Putnam House* - Routes 1 & 62
- 18** *Bridget Bishop House* - 238 Conant St.

THE WITCHCRAFT HYSTERIA IN SALEM TOWN AND SALEM VILLAGE IN 1692



9. THE SALEM VILLAGE PARSONAGE

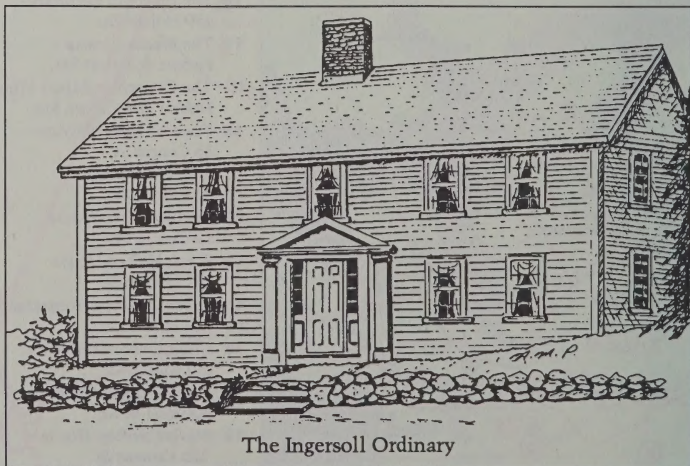
This is where the witchcraft hysteria began. An archaeological dig in 1970 unearthed the foundations to the parsonage where the Reverend Samuel Parris lived with his family and his slaves, Tituba and John Indian. The parsonage was the heart of Salem Village and it was here that Tituba told her tales to the girls and women who accused others of witchcraft. The parsonage is noted with a his-

torical marker near 67 Centre Street and the site, now a town owned park, may be visited. Interpretive signs give its history.

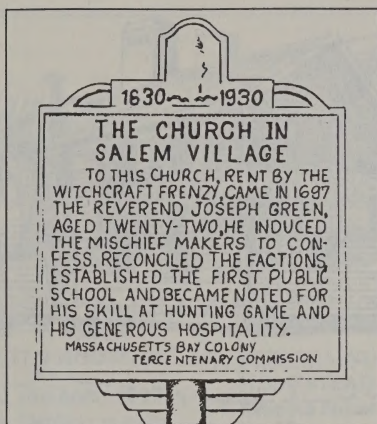
10. THE INGERSOLL ORDINARY

Nathaniel Ingersoll's ordinary (tavern and eating house), built around 1670, was the location where many of the witchcraft hearings took place from March through May, 1692. One woman, Elizabeth Cary of Charlestown, Massachusetts, while visiting at the ordinary with her husband in May, 1692, was accused by the girls of being a witch.

Reverend Parris's slave, John Indian, worked here. To divert suspicion that he was a witch, he rolled and thrashed on the tavern floor as though bewitched. After all, his wife Tituba had confessed



The Ingersoll Ordinary



to being a witch and Sarah Osborne had said she had been tormented by someone black, someone like an Indian. At 199 Hobart Street, the Ingersoll Ordinary is privately owned today.

11. THE MEETINGHOUSE

Just down Hobart Street from the Ingersoll Ordinary near the corner of Hobart and Forest Street was the site of the Salem Village Meetinghouse. Many of the pre-trial examinations of the accused were held here including the March 1, 1692 examinations of the first accused witches Tituba, Sarah Good and Sarah Osborne. Currently, the privately owned John Darling House built in the 1680s sits near this site. It was moved to this location in the 19th century.

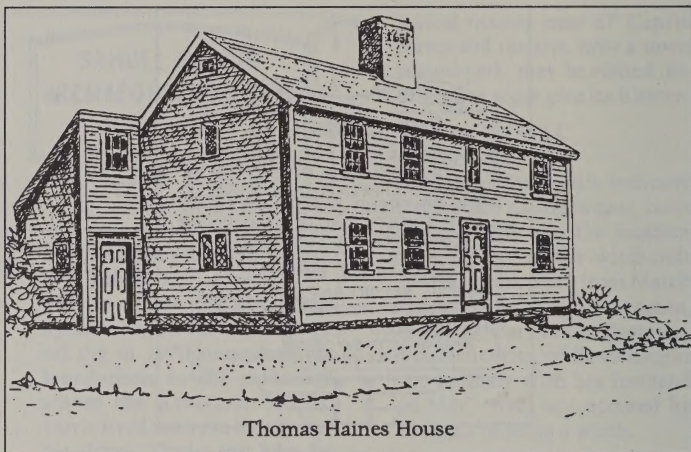
* A house fortified against Indian attackers.

H. THE CHURCH IN SALEM VILLAGE

Across Hobart Street from the Ingersoll Ordinary is the site of the Salem Village First Church. The previous Meetinghouse site of 1692 was abandoned and a new Meetinghouse erected in 1701. A watch house* used to incarcerate accused witches was located here in 1692.

In 1697, Reverend Samuel Parris left Salem Village, the object of extreme resentment by families of the executed, particularly the family of Rebecca Nurse. He was replaced by the 22 year old Reverend Joseph Green. It was at this site in 1706 that Ann Putnam, one of the chief witch accusers gave a confession of forgiveness. The contemporary structure which occupies the site today is marked on the street corner outside with a historical sign post.

THE WITCHCRAFT HYSTERIA IN SALEM TOWN AND SALEM VILLAGE IN 1692



Thomas Haines House

12. THOMAS HAINES HOUSE

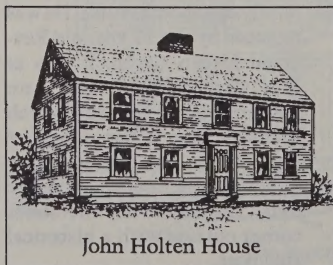
At 35 Centre Street, not far from the Church in Salem Village, is the home where Thomas Haines lived who, along with Nathaniel Ingersoll, testified at William Hobb's hearing that Hobb's daughter Abigail told them her father would leave the house when the Bible was read. This was the kind of "evidence" that could prove very damning to one accused of witchcraft. Today, this home is privately owned.

I. JOHN HOLTEN HOUSE

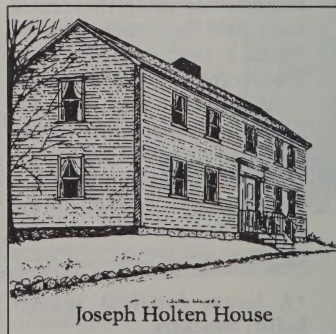
Built ca. 1692, this home at 27 Centre Street is privately owned.

13. JOSEPH HOLTEN HOUSE

Joseph Holten signed a petition supporting Rebecca Nurse and John Proctor. This home at 19 Centre St. is privately owned today, and was built around 1671.

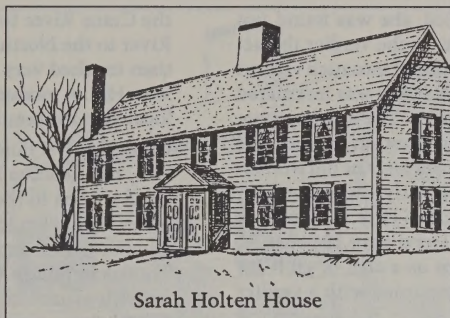


John Holten House



Joseph Holten House

THE WITCHCRAFT HYSTERIA IN SALEM TOWN AND SALEM VILLAGE IN 1692



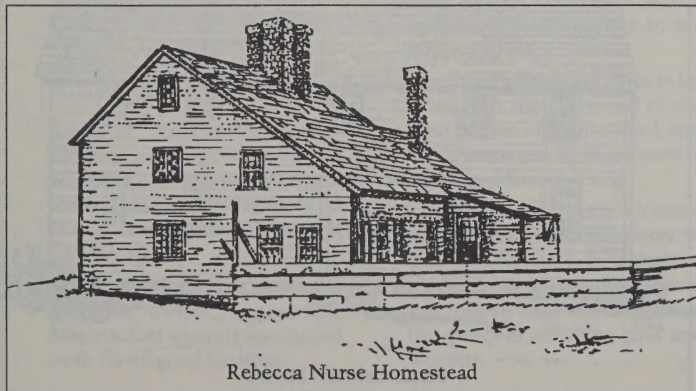
Sarah Holten House

14. SARAH HOLTEN HOUSE

Built ca. 1670, this home at 171 Holten Street, Danvers is a fine example of chronological development. In it, in 1692, resided Sarah Holten the widow of Benjamin Holten who died shortly after Rebecca Nurse scolded him for allowing his hogs to destroy part of her garden. So testified Sarah at Rebecca Nurse's examination and again later at her trial. This testimony was used in Rebecca Nurse's trial for witchcraft.

15. REBECCA NURSE
HOMESTEAD

Rebecca Nurse's story is among the more poignant of the witchcraft tragedies. This mother of eight was 71 years old when she was hanged on Gallows Hill with four other women, July 19, 1692. She had been one of Salem Village's most respected and religious citizens, so much so that the magistrates hesitated in delivering the warrant for her arrest.



Rebecca Nurse Homestead

THE WITCHCRAFT HYSTERIA IN SALEM TOWN AND SALEM VILLAGE IN 1692

When tried, she was found not guilty but at the verdict the accusing girls fell into such violent fits that the jury was instructed to reconsider. The jury foreman, allowed to question Rebecca, got no response from the old woman who apparently could not hear his questions over the noise of the girls. Her silence, apparently, was taken as a sign of guilt for the jury returned with a verdict of guilty.

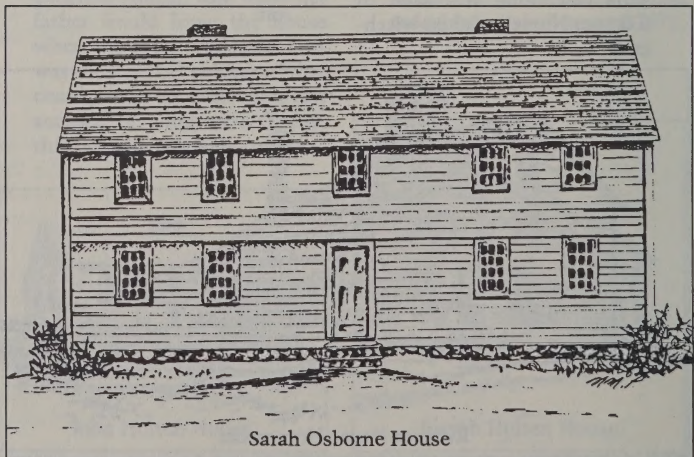
The night of her hanging, her son Samuel came for her body which had been thrown in a crevice in Gallows Hill and took her home by boat while others in the family prepared a place for decent burial on Rebecca's land. This was done at great risk and in defiance of the law. See the map for the route that Samuel rowed his mother's body home. No doubt, his route was along

the Crane River to the Danvers River to the North River which then touched very close to Gallows Hill. A monument to her is located in the family grave yard.

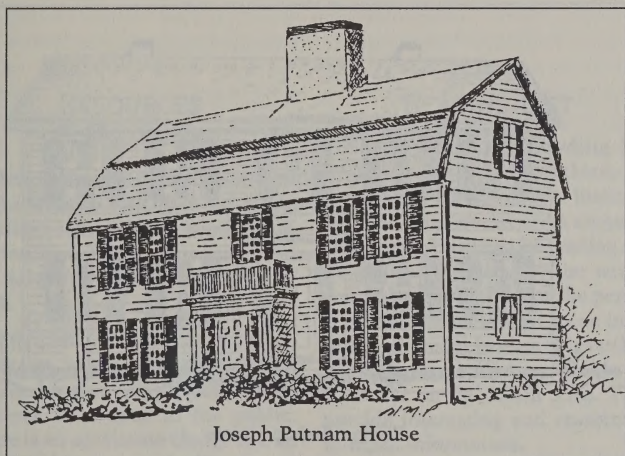
Located at 149 Pine Street, Danvers, the Rebecca Nurse homestead is open to the public from June 15–October 15. Also on the grounds is the reproduction of The Salem Village Meetinghouse which was used in the filming of "Three Sovereigns for Sarah", a Public Television Production. The property is owned by the Danvers Alarm List Company.

16. SARAH OSBORNE HOUSE

Built ca. 1660. Sarah Osborne (or Osburne) was one of the first three accused of witchcraft, along with the slave Tituba and Sarah Good, a disreputable woman who appeared much older than she actually was.



Sarah Osborne House



Sarah Osborne was also disreputable, even though she was a woman of some means. After the death of her husband, Samuel Prince, Sarah took William Osborne into her home as a laborer and lived with him without the blessing of marriage for a considerable period of time, an extremely scandalous arrangement in those days. In addition, she was not a churchgoer although she claimed that was the result of illness.

All in all, these perceived deficiencies made her a likely and acceptable target for the girls' accusations. She was arrested on March 1 but died in jail in Boston on May 10.

Today, Sarah Osborne's home, privately owned, sits at 272 Maple Street where it was moved from its original location.

17. JOSEPH PUTNAM HOUSE

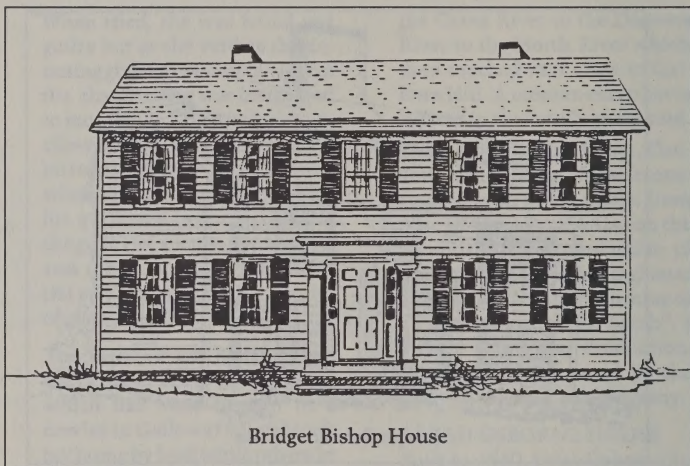
Joseph Putnam was the uncle of Ann Putnam, one of the most influential of the accusing girls, who, publicly repented in the Salem Village Church in 1706.

Joseph, however, was an outspoken opponent of the witchcraft malice, calling it "foul lies." He even warned his niece's family against accusing anyone in his household.

The Joseph Putnam House is located near the cloverleaf at the intersection of the Routes 1 and 62. It is owned by the Danvers Historical Society.

The Putnam Cemetery is located off Route 62 west of the intersection with Route 1. In it are buried Ann and her parents, Thomas and Ann Sr. who was also part of the group of accusing girls and women.

THE WITCHCRAFT HYSTERIA IN SALEM TOWN AND SALEM VILLAGE IN 1692



Bridget Bishop House

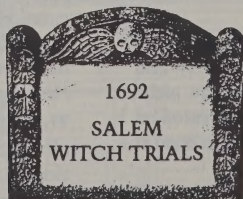
18. THE BRIDGET BISHOP HOUSE

Although not the first accused, Bridget Bishop was the first to be tried and executed. She was hanged on June 10, 1692.

Like Sarah Good and Sarah Osborne, she was a likely target because of her poor reputation.

She ran a tavern near the Salem and Beverly line had been accused of witchcraft years earlier.

The home at 238 Conant Street, Danvers where she lived in 1692 is today privately owned.



RESOURCES & MUSEUMS

The following is a list of places you might wish to visit that are either excellent sources of in-depth information about or are reenactments of the Salem Witchcraft Hysteria of 1692.

THE ESSEX INSTITUTE, 132 Essex Street, Salem, MA contains artifacts and documents pertinent to the hysteria. It is open to the public. There is an admission charge and an additional fee to use the library.

THE DANVERS ARCHIVAL CENTER is located in the Peabody Institute Library, 15 Sylvan Street, Danvers, MA. Open to researchers, the Archives contains the Brehaut witchcraft collection, an extensive collection of books of the Salem witchcraft as well as the original records of the Salem Village Church.

THE WITCH DUNGEON, 16 Lynde Street, Salem, MA offers a live reenactment of the witch trials, a tour of the recreated dungeon, and has original artifacts. There is an admission fee.

THE SALEM WITCH MUSEUM, Washington Square, Salem, MA uses thirteen stage sets to re-enact the accusations, trials and executions of the witchcraft hysteria of 1692. There is an admission fee.

READING LIST

A comprehensive reading list would contain too many titles to list here. However, The Essex Institute and The Danvers Archives are probably the best sources for reading and information relevant to the witchcraft tragedy of 1692. For the person who hasn't time to visit those institutions, listed below are titles still in print and readily available in softcover in the Salem Area. They provide interesting and reasonably in-depth information.

Boyer, Paul and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*.

Brown, David, *A Guide To The Salem Witchcraft Hysteria of 1692*.

Hansen, Chadwick, *Witchcraft at Salem*.

Starkey, Marion L., *The Devil in Massachusetts*.

Trask, Richard, *Salem Village and the Witch Hysteria*.

“TOURING COMPANION” EASY TO FOLLOW TRAVEL DIRECTIONS

Because it is one of Salem's most visited attractions, the Jonathan Corwin House (No. 4 on the maps), better known as the “Witch House,” is a logical starting point for directions to the sites of both Salem Town (today's Salem, MA) and Salem Village (for the most part today's Danvers, MA).

If you happen to be at some other point, the touring map on page 21 offers easy assistance.

From the “Witch House,” you may walk or drive one block north to Lynde Street on your right, then east to Washington Street. From there, sites 1, 2, and 3 and A, B, and E are easily accessible.

Two blocks south of the “Witch House,” you will find Broad Street running westerly, to your right, and sites C and D.

If you wish to visit Gallows Hill (remember, its exact location is unknown and, in any event, you will see nothing dramatic or suggestive of the tragic events of 1692), drive west from the “Witch House” along Essex Street to Boston Street where there will be a monument at the intersection. Turn right. At the foot of the hill, turn left onto Proctor Street. The most likely location of Gallows Hill is between Proctor, Boston, and Pope Streets.

If you wish to visit those sites of Salem Town and Salem Village in what is now Peabody, MA, take first left from Proctor Street onto

Pope Street. Back on Boston Street, turn left. Follow Boston Street, a straight, no-turn drive, to Main Street, Peabody, which, past Peabody Square (again, straight ahead) becomes Lowell Street. Site F, approximately 1-1/2 miles from Gallows Hill, is at 151 Lowell Street on your right and site 6 is on your left at a bend in the road less than 1/4 mile past Route 128.

If you wish to visit the site of Giles Cory's farm, it would probably be easiest to do so from Lowell Street. However, it is a bit out of the way, and virtually nothing survived from 1692 to remind us of the original property. (If you would rather omit the Cory site, skip the next two paragraphs.)

Continue westerly along Lowell Street to Route 1 south to Pine Street. Pine Street is approximately 1/2 mile from the intersection of Lowell Street and Route 1 and is not prominently marked so that you will want to proceed carefully. On Pine Street, approximately 1/4 mile from Route 1, make a hairpin turn to your right. The foundation to Giles Cory's home is at the end of the turn to your left. On it, sits an apparently unoccupied home of the early 20th century vintage.

To see what was the heart of Salem Village and sites whose condition is very reminiscent of 1692, you need to return to Lowell Street. From Giles Cory's homesite, travel

westerly along Pine Street to Johnson Street (your first right) to Lowell Street. Travel easterly approximately 2 miles to Prospect Street on your left.

If you have not visited the Cory property, from John Proctor's home, continue to travel on Lowell Street. Prospect Street will be on your right, less than 1/2 mile from site 6.

Felton Street and site 8 will be on your left. Nathaniel Felton's home is the last on the right at the top of the hill. The home before it on the right belonged to his son.

From Felton Street, return to Prospect Street. Turn left to the top of the hill. Cross Street will fork to your right. At the bottom of the hill, turn left and then take first right, Sylvan Street.

The second left off Sylvan Street, Collins Street will take you to what was the heart of Salem Village.

Beginning at the intersection of Centre Street and Holten Street, a straight drive will take you past sites 14, 13, I, 12, H, 10, 9, and G. If you park near the Training Field, site G, it is a short walk back to site 9, the Parsonage, a most worthwhile visit.

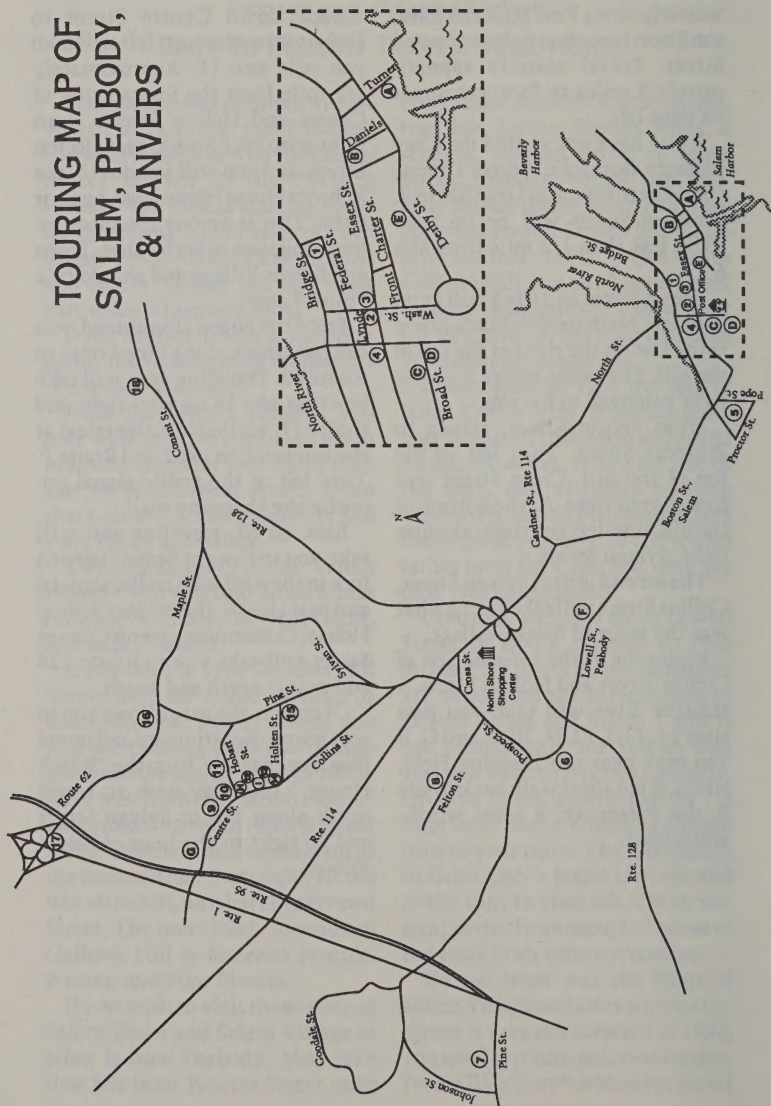
Back down Centre Street to Hobart Street on your left will take you past site 11. Approximately 1/2 mile from the intersection of Centre and Hobart Streets, turn right onto Pine Street, past Holten Street, and you will see site 15, the Rebecca Nurse Homestead, on your right. This is among the most interesting sites of both Salem Town and Salem Village and should be a "must" stop.

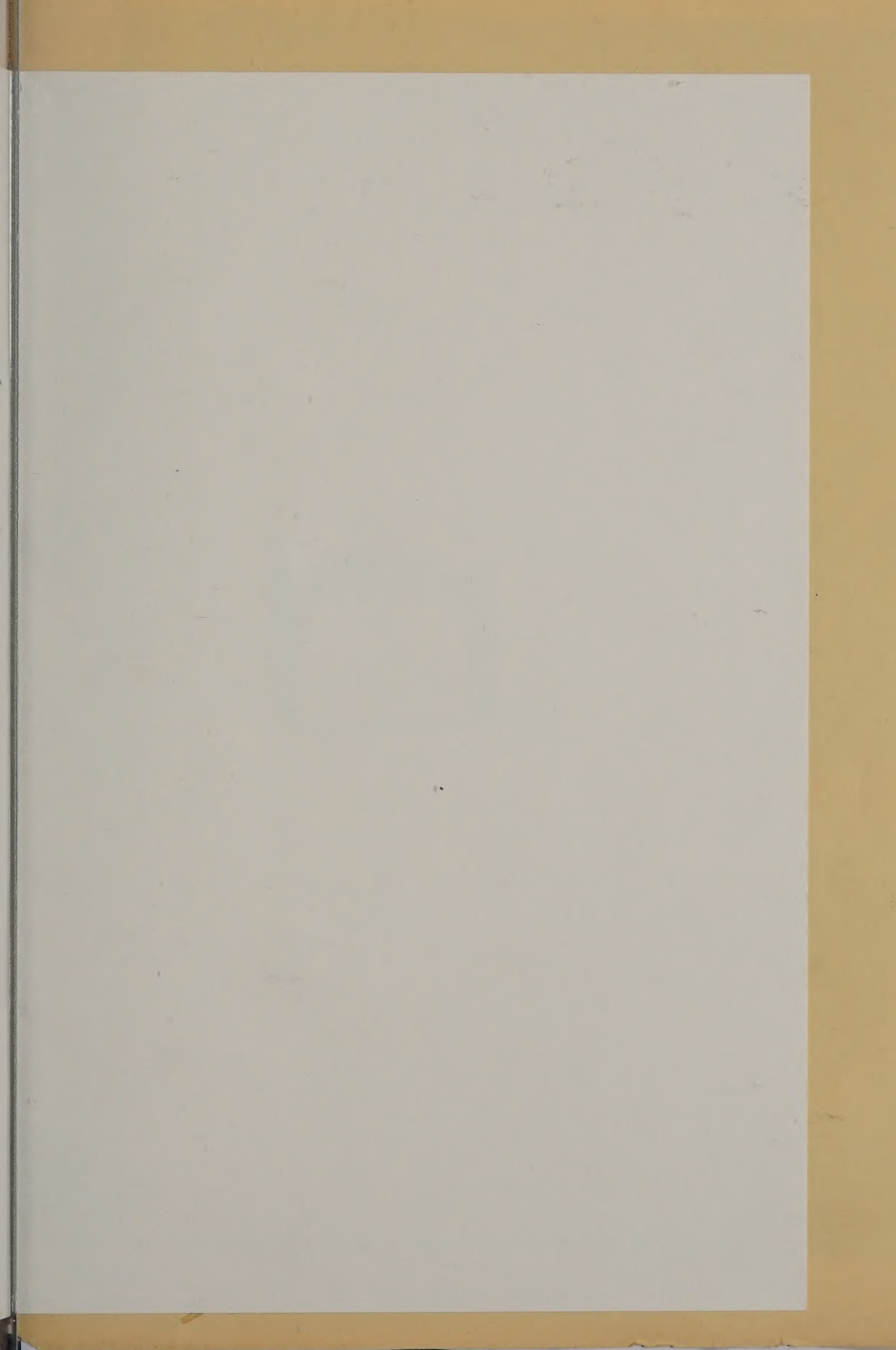
From the Nurse Homestead, you can backtrack along Pine Street to Route 62. Traveling west will take you past site 16 on your right and to site 17, nestled in a cloverleaf at the intersection of 62 and Route 1. Turn left at the traffic signal opposite the shopping mall.

Back on 62, traveling east will take you to Conant Street (left at a fork in the road with traffic signals) and past site 18, the Bridget Bishop House. Continuing east on Conant Street will take you to Route 128 and points north and south.

Of course, the map allows you to set up your own itinerary and travel plan. For example, from the "Witch House," you may wish to travel north along 114 to Sylvan Street and go right to the heart of Salem Village.

TOURING MAP OF SALEM, PEABODY, & DANVERS







THE WITCHCRAFT HYSTERIA IN SALEM TOWN AND SALEM VILLAGE IN 1692



NATIONAL INSERTABLE-TAB INDEXES ENABLE YOU TO
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INSERTS ON WHICH TO WRITE YOUR OWN CAPTIONS.

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23-680







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Think of Percodan.[®]

Percodan. Because it doesn't contain codeine. Its narcotic component is oxycodone. And although its habit forming potential is somewhat greater than codeine, it does make a therapeutic difference. A difference both you and your patients will appreciate. Percodan works quickly—usually within 15 minutes. Its effectiveness is sustained for up to 6 hours. And, especially valuable for the patient with recurring pain. Constipation is rarely a problem and a single tablet every 6 hours is adequate in most cases.

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Literature available upon request.

Percodan is unique among narcotic analgesics. Think of it next time.



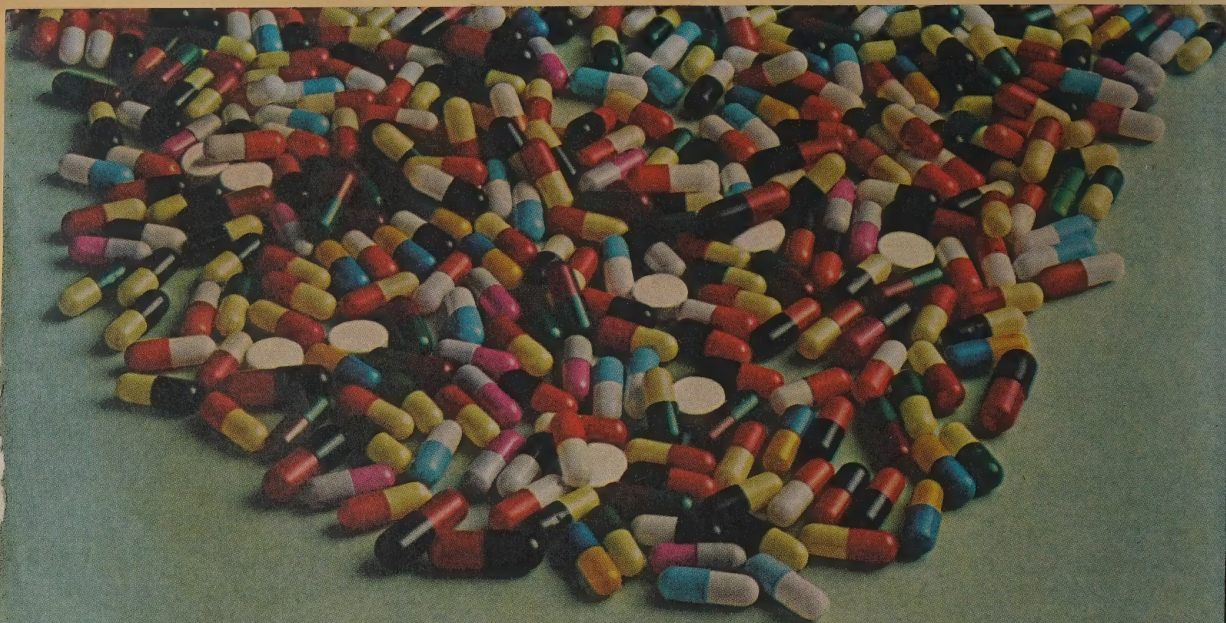
Each yellow, scored tablet of Percodan contains 4.50 mg. oxycodone HCl (Warning: May be habit forming), 0.38 mg. oxycodone terephthalate (Warning: May be habit forming), 0.38 mg. homatropine terephthalate, 224 mg. aspirin, 160 mg. phenacetin, and 32 mg. caffeine.

Usual Adult Dose: 1 tablet every 6 hours, preferably after meals or with milk.

Precautions and Side Effects: The habit forming potentialities of Percodan are somewhat less than those of morphine and somewhat greater than those of codeine. The usual precautions should be observed as with other opiate analgesics. Percodan should be used with caution in patients with known idiosyncrasies to aspirin and phenacetin, and those with blood dyscrasias. It is generally well tolerated but in some patients, nausea, emesis or constipation may occur.

Endo Laboratories, Inc., Garden City, N.Y. 11530 





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that doesn't contain codeine.

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The Visionary
Grail
Moral Story
Grail

1130-1150
80-82

95-101 (94-96)
149-150
172-173

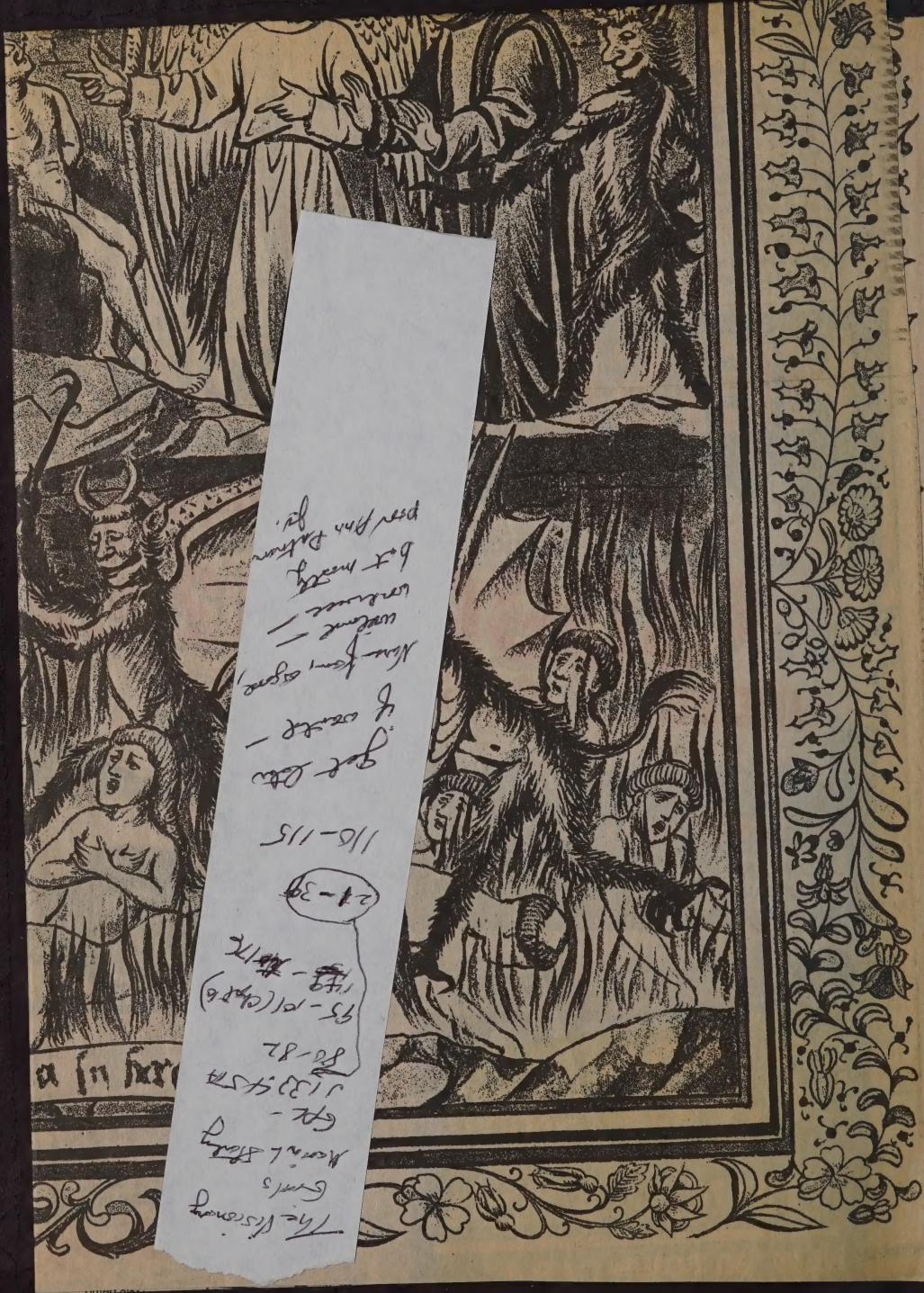
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Other many - great step grandmothers
Sond (Hooper) (Hawkes) Wardwell

It Happened in Essex County

A CURIOUS OMISSION: the case of Sarah Hawkes

By Marjorie Wardwell Otten

It is curious that in many narrations of the life of Adam Hawkes of Saugus, no mention is made of the fact that his younger daughter, Sarah, was one of many accused of witchcraft in 1692. Along with her mother and half-sister, she was imprisoned at Salem on September 1 and remained there for over four months. On January 10, 1692/3, at Salem, the three women were brought to trial: Sarah Hawkes, 21 1/2, and her half-sister, Mercy Wardwell, 19, were found "Not Guilty." However, the widow Sarah (Hooper) Hawkes Wardwell, age 42, was adjudged "Guilty."

"As in all cases of accusations of witchcraft, there was an underlying motive," Lotin Putnam Demos, *Embracing Salem*, New York, 1983, and in the case of Sarah Hawkes and her Wardwell family, several motives have been put forth. The homestead of Samuel Wardwell, who had raised Sarah Hawkes since she was 1 1/2 years of age, was in the South End of Andover adjoining the property of Nathan Parker in the North End, the two properties being the dividing line of the two areas of Andover. The combined properties were in the very center of the Township, an ideal place to operate an "ordinary," one of the most lucrative endeavors of the colonial period.

"On or about the 15th of August," 1692, Samuel Wardwell became the first member of the family to be accused and imprisoned. At that same time period, Sarah Parker, 22, daughter of the late Nathan Parker, was also accused and imprisoned. Two weeks later, on September 1, Sarah Wardwell, Sarah Hawkes, and Mercy Wardwell found themselves accused and imprisoned. Mary (Ayer) Parker, widow of the late Nathan Parker, was also imprisoned at that time; she alone refused to confess to being a "witch." To date, no one who had confessed and repented had been brought to trial. Yet on September 13, Samuel Wardwell was brought before the Grand Jury, and there recanted his confession. On September 22, 1692, Samuel Wardwell and Mary (Ayer) Parker were among the eight persons hanged at Salem. Had some persons so wanted the Wardwell-Parker properties that they had sent two innocent persons to their death? Both properties remained in the families. Years later, the Parkers established a "prosperous tavern" at their homestead.

It has been suggested that it was the estate of Sarah Wardwell and her daughter, Sarah Hawkes, that caused the accusations against the family. Carol F. Karlsten, in *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman*, asserts that widows were prime targets for witchcraft accusations as they had no male support and generally had "estates" desired by others; however, the author does not reveal the names of those who wanted the "estates" of the two Sarahs. It is presumed that Sarah Wardwell had held onto the 188 acres she had acquired in the settlement of the Adam Hawkes' estate, and that their value and revenue had increased tremendously in 20 years. By this time, Sarah Hawkes had received from her father's estate 40 pounds due to her, and, in all probability, the 50 pounds due "upon age or marriage."

Sarah Hawkes' marriage may prove yet another motive. It must have been obvious at the time that she and Francis Johnson were courting. He was the grandson of the Rev. Francis Dane, who had been the minister in Andover since 1648. "The wrath of the Andover accusers was concentrated upon the Rev. Francis Dane to an unparalleled extent. They did not venture to attack him directly. His venerable age and commanding position made it inexpedient; but they struck as near him, and at as many points, as they dared. They accused, imprisoned, and caused to be sentenced to death his daughter

duplicate
beginning in Heaven file

Abigail (Dane) Faulkner, and his granddaughter Elizabeth Johnson, Jr." (Charles W. Upham, *Salem Witchcraft*, repr. 1976). Twenty members of his family were likewise imprisoned and 15 or more of his extended family. Was the accusation against Sarah Hawkes and her family just one more attack against Rev. Dane? Three weeks after her release from prison, Sarah Hawkes married Francis Johnson on February 1, 1692/3. By this time her mother, the widow Wardwell, and his sister, Elizabeth Johnson, Jr., had been reprieved by the Governor and had returned to Andover.

Sources:

- Andover Vital Records
Bailey, Sarah Loring, *Historical Sketches of Andover, Massachusetts*: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston, 1880 (reprint 1974).
Boyer, Paul, and Nissenbaum, Stephen (Editors), *The Salem Witchcraft Papers: Verbatim Transcripts of the Legal Documents of the Salem Witchcraft Outbreak of 1692*. New York, De Capo Press, 1977.
Breen, Helen, "Adam Hawkes: A Puritan in The Wilderness," reprinted in TEG 1994. (from *The Wakefield Daily Item* March 1984).
Otten, Marjorie Wardwell, "The Witch Hunt of 1692: A Tragedy in Massachusetts," 1990, typescript (Patriot Institute Andover Historical Society, et al).
Otten, Marjorie Wardwell, "Samuel Wardwell of Andover and A Line of His Descendants," 1985; revised 1992.
Smith, Ethel Farrington, *Adam Hawkes of Saugus, Massachusetts, 1605-1672*. Baltimore, MD: Gateway Press, 1980.
Upham, Charles W., *Salem Witchcraft*. 2 Volumes. Reprint 1976.
Karlsten, Carol F., *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman*. 1987.



Werner Construction Management Ltd., West Allis, has a contract with Belin Hospital, Green Bay, to identify building materials that contain asbestos.

Town & Country Electric Inc., Appleton, was ranked 68th among the nation's electrical contractors, up from 117th, according to Engineering News-Record Magazine.

Design Build Inc., Pewaukee, is repairing the roof of Alico Foundries, Milwaukee.

Financial services
Philly Inc., West Allis-based computer services company, has agreed to buy the California retail automated teller machine processing network of GTE Commercial Services Inc., Long Beach, Calif.

Sunstone Financial Group Inc. and Sunstone Consulting Group Inc., 207 E. Buffalo St., Milwaukee, have been founded to offer marketing, distribution and administrative services to investment companies and consulting services to banks and other financial companies.

Manufacturing
J.L. Case, Racine-based manufacturer of agricultural and construction equipment, has awarded the 1990 Industry Recognition Award from the Society of Automotive Engineers for its work in the off-highway and power plant industries.

Krones Inc., Franklin, manufacturer of packaging equipment, has moved plans for a new 450,000-sq-ft facility addition for expanding its carbon bottle filler assembly, pressing, fabrication and machine shop operations and enlargement of the filler laboratory and testing facilities.

Kramer International Inc., manufacturer of design castings for the fluid handling industry, has bought an additional 10,000 square feet of manufacturing space next to its present building at 114 E. Pittsburgh Ave., Milwaukee.

Regal Ware Inc., Kewaskum, housewares manufacturer, has been recognized by Montgomery Ward for its delivery of top-quality goods with a minimum of returns.

Penda Corp., Portage, manufacturer of Pen-dallers truck bedliners, has introduced several accessories, including a cargo tray for vans and sport-utility vehicles, a tray for organizing items in auto trunks and a tie-down system for pickup trucks.

Marketing
Tri-Ad Communications, advertising, public relations and video services company, has opened offices at 1109 N. Mayfair Rd., Wauwatosa.

Marketing Associates International Inc., Green Bay, has been selected to handle marketing communications, advertising and public relations for Kellinor Scientific, manufacturer of blood storage units, chromatography and testing facilities.

Business News
Date Buss Editor
Jeff Squire

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To reach Business News Desk
call 224-2391.

matography cabinets, ultra-cold freezers and other refrigeration units for the health, science and industrial markets.

Nelson & Schmidt Inc. is the new name of the Ken Schmidt Co. advertising and public relations agency in Milwaukee.

Undsay & Stone Advertising Inc., Madison, has been hired to develop advertising, marketing and public relations for the consulting group of Jones Associates, Madison.

Brown & Muth, Waukesha, has been hired to handle public relations for Crystal Clear Communications Inc., as executive consulting firm in Bayside.

Printing and publishing
Kalmbach Publishing Co., Brookfield, has brought out a new publication, Scale Modeling Buyer's Guide, a catalog featuring more than 4,000 modeling items. Kalmbach also will introduce Great Model Railroad magazine this fall.

Schroeder Printing Co., Cedarburg, has bought a Heidelberg M-Offset printing press with CP Tronic Controls, one of the most advanced presses available.

Retailing
Byte Shop of Milwaukee Inc., Greenfield, has joined Connecting Point of America Inc., a nationwide chain of 480 independent computer stores.

Goliath Pharmaceuticals Inc., owner of three Milwaukee area pharmacies, has bought two more, the one owned by Miles, Phillips & Shors, Elm Grove, and in the Ruby Isle Shopping Center in Brookfield.

Thienerville Paint and Wallpaper has moved to a larger store in the historic Trading Post Building, 180 S. Main St.

Miscellaneous
The American Club, Kohler, has become one of 34 Historic Hotels of America, a new program of the National Trust for Historic Preservation aimed at recognizing hotels that have preserved their historic architecture of ambience.

Ansay & Johns Inc., residential and commercial refrigeration, heating and air conditioning company, has moved from Cedarburg to Saukville Industrial Park.

Pysis Inc., has been established at 11516 N. Port Washington Rd., Mequon, to offer engineering, consulting and training in computer systems.

CEO Search, 2591 N. Summit Ave., Milwaukee, has been formed to work in placement and recruiting for chief executive officer and senior-level management positions.

Personnel-Industrial Relations Assn. of Wisconsin has received the Superior Merit Award from the Society for Human Resource Management for its support of efforts in the human resource profession.

Power Quality Systems Group has been organized by Trans-Coil Inc., Milwaukee, to address power quality problems associated with power conversion equipment.

American Society for Quality Control will relocate its headquarters to 611 E. Wisconsin Ave., Milwaukee.

Great Big Pictures Inc. has been selected by the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., to produce display enlargements for the upcoming exhibit, "Beyond the Java Sea." The lab, with offices in Milwaukee and Madison, also will produce a large color exhibit for the Washington National Cathedral.

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AAI	10	10	10	10	10	0
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Legal Executions in New England (1627-1860)

HV 8699 U 5 H 388 (1988)

VI JHS

by David Allen Heen

Re: Heardes

Samuel Wardwell, white, age 46. Witchcraft. This man was a carpenter from the town of Andover. He seems to have attracted suspicion of witchery because of his reputation as a fortune teller. The fact that his prophecies were accurate wound up doing him more harm than good. The earliest mention of Wardwell dates from August 15, 1692. That was the day on which he was alleged to have used witchcraft to cause a young woman to be thrown from her horse. The victim in this case was one Martha Sprague, a resident of Boxford. One of the so-called "afflicted girls" (Mary Walcott) later testified that she had seen a spectral image of Wardwell pull Martha Sprague from her saddle. The lunatic Mary Warren also claimed that Wardwell had tortured her for refusing to sign the devil's book. Wardwell was arraigned at Salem on September 1, 1692. He quickly confessed that he was in league with the devil. When pressed for details he said that he had made a pact with the devil 20 years earlier. It was agreed between the devil and Wardwell that the latter should live to the age of 60 with no bodily infirmities. Wardwell further embellished his tale by saying that he had renounced his Christian baptism and accepted a rechristen-

ing by the devil. He said that he had signed the devil's book and consorted with demons in the shape of cats. One evil spirit in particular, he said, had come to him in the guise of a Negro. This confession earned Wardwell a conviction for capital felony. He was not, however, sentenced to death on the spot. Because he had confessed there was hope that he could be rehabilitated. That changed two weeks later when Wardwell retracted his confession. For so doing, he was included in the next batch of prisoners ordered for execution. He was accordingly hanged at Salem on September 22, 1692.

Lydia had watched powerless as her husband's estate was confiscated; she had watched as her women friends were beaten and brutalized in the streets. Finally, she was compelled to act. Her strength might lie in simple and sudden confrontation—to shock and shame the Puritan church into a realization of their misdeeds. Strange as it was, her protest may have helped. By the following year the persecution of Quakers in New England had stopped.

*Pages from
Salem Witchcraft & Hawthorne's
House of Green Gables
by Emily A. Robinson
Covers pages now protected in
binders sent to various
families involved. Copies should
be made & inserted here.*

SAMUEL WARDWELL, CARPENTER

IN 1664 A FRESH OPPORTUNITY presented itself to the Quakers. The English had taken New Amsterdam from the Dutch, thereby opening land in New Jersey for settlement. Eliakim and Lydia Wardwell and their three young children wisely decided to leave New England forever. They settled in New Jersey, taking with them Eliakim's widowed mother Elizabeth. In New Jersey Eliakim became a Quaker leader.

Eliakim's two younger brothers remained in Massachusetts. Samuel Wardwell, aged 21, had nearly finished his apprenticeship as a carpenter. Benjamin Wardwell, aged 24, was already living in Salem, having become a sailor before the mast. Because of the thriving commercial shipping business in Salem, there was a great need for seamen. This was the period when Salem was starting to feel prosperity from its growing mercantile trade with England and the West Indies.

Samuel Wardwell moved to Salem and took up his occupation as carpenter. During these years of rapid growth, there was ample work; old houses were being enlarged and many new homes were being built. In 1668 John Turner had an elegant house constructed on a splendid site overlooking the harbor. "So faithfully had this contract been fulfilled, that now, as the carpenter approached the house, his practiced eye could detect nothing to criticize its condition. The peaks of the seven gables rose up sharply; the shingled roof looked thoroughly watertight; and the glittering plasterwork entirely covered the exterior walls, and sparkled in the October sun."⁶⁷ This was the House of the Seven Gables, the foremost relic of Salem's past. Today the

⁶⁷ Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables*, Chapter 13.

new studies of treatment and in continuing treatment that they
 might even identify a new way of treating that was better
 than the existing way. When they started out of treatment
 at—endocrinology methods have shown that all types of
 drugs in treatment, a new study, not only with the
 old methods and the existing way, but also with the
 existing way of treatment, and they are now
 working on it.

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house has been beautifully restored. With its almost human-like visage it still looks proudly out to the sea in calm and in storm, just as it did in the days of witchcraft.

The young carpenter married and the couple soon had a son Thomas, named after Samuel's father, Thomas Wardwell. Sadly, Samuel Wardwell's wife died in 1671. The town of Andover needed skilled workers and was enticing them to move there by offering 20-acre plots for a nominal price. Samuel's occupation as a carpenter made him eligible. Yet, while he wanted to make a fresh start, he must have had some misgivings, because the chief resident in Andover was Simon Bradstreet, the same magistrate who had so harshly treated his brother Eliakim. In 1665 Samuel's first cousin, Elihu Wardwell, a resident of Ipswich, had married Elizabeth Wade, daughter of Jonathan Wade, the richest man in Ipswich. Elizabeth (Wade) Wardwell's brother, Nathaniel Wade, was the drinking companion of Dudley Bradstreet, son of Simon Bradstreet of Andover. Nathaniel started courting Dudley's sister Mercy Bradstreet, and they were married on October 31, 1672 in Andover.⁶⁸ This family association with the Bradstreets may have lessened Samuel's reluctance to settle in Andover.

In 1672 Samuel made his fatal decision and moved to Andover with his young son to begin a new life. But was the conflict that Samuel's brother had with Bradstreet and the Rev. Seaborn Cotton forgotten, or did the grudges live on? Recall that in 1663 Eliakim in a spurt of anger had told magistrate Simon Bradstreet that his daughter Dorothy had the reputation of a "dishonest woman." To say the least, this accusation had not pleased the magistrate. Nor could it have pleased Seaborn Cotton who was married to Dorothy. Seaborn was the uncle of a nine-year-old prodigy, Cotton Mather, who in a couple of years

68 As was customary the two fathers, Simon Bradstreet and Jonathan Wade, met to decide the marriage settlement. At first there was a fairly serious financial disagreement between them, but it was finally settled amicably, so the young persons might proceed in marriage with both of their consents. A few weeks before the marriage, Mercy's mother, Anne Bradstreet, the poet, died on September 16, 1672 in Andover, aged 60.

would become the youngest person ever admitted to Harvard College, before or since.

When Samuel moved to Andover, the Barker family was already firmly established. First settler Richard Barker was a town official. His beautiful daughter Sarah Barker, aged 25 in 1672, was unmarried. Samuel Wardwell and Sarah Barker fell in love. But Sarah's father, Richard Barker, turned down the prospective marriage because Samuel was not one of the established elite. It seemed next to impossible for Samuel to improve his position under the rigid Puritan rule.

Samuel often amused himself by telling fortunes and acting as an amateur magician. Twenty years later, in his witchcraft confession, he described his situation as it appeared to him in 1672. "When I was a young man I could make all my cattle come round about me when I pleased. I was sensible I was in the snare of the Devil. I used to be much discontented that I could get no more work done. And I had been foolishly led along with telling of fortunes, which sometimes came to pass. Also when any creature came into my field, I used to utter, 'The Devil take it.' And it may be the Devil took advantage of me by that.

"Being once in a discontented frame I saw some cats, together with the appearance of a man who called himself a prince of the air and he promised me I should live comfortably and be a captain. And he required me to honor him, which I promised to do. And it was about twenty years ago [that is, about 1672]. The reason for my discontent then was because I was in love with a maid named [Sarah] Barker who slighted my love. And the first appearance of the cat then was behind Captain [Simon] Bradstreet's house. About a week after that, a black man appeared in the daytime at the same place, and called himself prince and lord. And told me I must worship and believe him, and he promised as above, with this addition that I should never want for anything. But the black man has never performed anything. And further when I went to prayer with my family, the Devil would begin to be angry.

"At the time when the Devil appeared and told me that he was prince of the air, then I signed his book by making a mark like a square with a black pen. And the Devil brought me the

pen and ink. I covenanted with the Devil until I should arrive to the age of 60 years, and I am now about the age of 49 years. And at that time the Devil promised on his part, as I just expressed."⁶⁹

The indictment, written in 1692, reads, "Samuel Wardwell, of Andover, carpenter, about twenty years ago in the Town of Andover, wickedly and feloniously, with the Evil Spirit, the Devil, a covenant did make, wherein he promised to honor, worship and believe the Devil, contrary to the Statute of King James the First, and against the peace of the Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, their crown and dignity."⁷⁰

Wardwell's neighbor, Ephraim Foster, living in the north part of Andover, believed in Wardwell's ability to prophesy. When Ephraim, aged 20, married Hannah Eames, aged 16, in 1677, Wardwell predicted that they would have five daughters before a son should be born to them. This had proven true. Their oldest child, daughter Rose Foster, was born in 1678. Their next two daughters died young, in Ephraim's mind possibly from witchcraft. Then daughters Hannah and Jemina were born. Their first boy, their sixth child, was born in 1688. In 1692 eldest daughter Rose was ill, believed to be afflicted by witchcraft.

Ephraim Foster had often seen Wardwell tell fortunes and observed that in so doing Wardwell always "looked first into the hand of the person, and then cast his eyes down on the ground before he told anything."⁷¹ To Ephraim this indicated that Wardwell was in league with Satan, master of the underworld.

In 1692 Thomas Chandler, an original proprietor and blacksmith of Andover, said, "I have often heard Samuel Wardwell of Andover tell young persons their fortune. He was much addicted to that, and made sport of it." Abigail Martin, Jr., aged sixteen, added, "I testify that some time last winter Samuel Wardwell was at my father's house with John Farnum. I heard John Farnum ask Wardwell his fortune, which he did. Wardwell told him that he was in love with a girl, but he would be crossed, and should go to the southward, which Farnum

⁶⁹ Woodward, *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, 2:146-152.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

admitted to be his thought. Wardwell further told Bridges he had like to be shot with a gun, and should have a fall off from his horse. Farnum afterwards admitted that Wardwell told right. And further I heard him tell James Bridges his fortune. Wardwell said that he loved a girl fourteen years old, which Bridges admitted to be the truth. But he could not imagine how said Wardwell knew; for he never spoke of it. John Bridges, father of James Bridges, said he heard James say, 'I wonder how Wardwell could tell so true.'⁷²

Andover historian Sarah Loring Bailey wrote in 1880, that, in Samuel Wardwell, "we see one of those odd geniuses, or wonder-loving characters, of whom every community has some always, who deal in the marvelous, tell great stories, dupe the credulous to the amusement of the crowd, and who, in an age of superstition, were apt to claim a knowledge of future events, and who, perhaps, believed in a measure in their own supernatural gifts."⁷³

Sarah Hooper was born on December 7, 1650. From a well-to-do family, Sarah was tall and beautiful with dark hair and even features. Sarah's father took care to introduce her to the elite of Salem, the Corwins, the Hathornes, the Gedneys. When Sarah was 19 her father made his decision and arranged, against her wishes, her marriage to Adam Hawkes, a rich widower 65 years old. In June 1670, the elderly Hawkes, in failing health, married the vibrant Sarah Hooper.

A baby, Sarah Hawkes, was born to the young wife one year after her marriage, on June 1, 1671. Only eight months later, on March 13, 1672, her husband, Adam Hawkes, died. Adam left no will, unusual in Puritan times for someone of his age and wealth. It was especially strange because he made no written provision for his young wife and baby. Possibly the old man was displeased with them. Adam had two children from his first marriage, twins John Hawkes and Susanna (Hawkes) Cogswell, now aged 38. An agreement was reached whereby the young widow, aged 21, was awarded one-third of Adam's land and

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 211.

property.⁷⁴ However the usual provision that the widow could remain in her present dwelling place was omitted, so Sarah and her baby had to leave their home. The baby, Sarah Hawkes, was awarded £90, of which £5 was to be paid every two years until £40 was paid, and then £50 at age or marriage. The sizable inheritance of the attractive young widow caught the attention of all, and many a swain vied for the position of courting her.

In 1672, after the rejection of his marriage proposal to Sarah Barker, Samuel Wardwell turned his own attentions to the widow Sarah. "It is wonderful how many absurdities were promulgated in reference to the young man. He was fabled, for example, to have the strange power of getting into people's dreams, and regulating matters there to his own fancy. There was a great deal of talk among the neighbors, particularly the petticoated ones, about what they called the witchcraft of his eye." To everyone's amazement, the wealthy and aristocratic Sarah (Hooper) Hawkes soon chose to marry the penniless Samuel Wardwell. The date was January 9, 1673; she was 22 and he was 29. Tongues must have wagged; here was a real piece of gossip. "That low carpenter man. He no business so much as to look at her a great way off!" Imagine the impudence, the audacity of this young man of his "station and habits" daring to marry so far out of his class. Equally surprising was that Major William Hathorne, the Salem magistrate who had been a leading Quaker persecutor, made the trip from Salem to Andover on horseback to perform the wedding ceremony. This was the only time that Major William Hathorne ever came to Andover to celebrate a marriage. Certainly he did not come because of "the mesmerizing carpenter."⁷⁵ What interest could the major have taken in Sarah or her daughter?

With Samuel's hard work as a carpenter and with the advantages of his new wife's inheritance, the young family prospered. By 1692, they owned a large farm in the south part of Andover, the holdings stretching over to Prospect Hill, to Ducktail Swamp, back up the Boston road to the north part of Andover, with land over on the Merrimack fields near the widow

74 Essex County, Massachusetts. *Court Records, Probate*, 12:899.

75 Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables*, Chapters 13-14.

Parker. They also owned a great deal of land in Lynn, Sarah's third of Adam Hawkes' property. This was an extensive estate for a carpenter who only twenty years before had owned practically nothing. Samuel and Sarah Wardwell's children, three girls and three boys, were all born in Andover. Their first child, a daughter, Mercy Wardwell, was born in 1673. Their youngest child, a girl named Rebecca, was born on September 18, 1691.

The family of Samuel Wardwell had found security and happiness. Then in March 1692 the witch hunt started in Salem Village. In early July Samuel Wardwell prophesied his own fate. The blow struck on Monday, August 15, 1692. At age 49, Samuel Wardwell was arrested for witchcraft and imprisoned in Salem. The magistrate who tracked him down was John Hathorne, son of Major William Hathorne. About two weeks later, Samuel's wife Sarah Wardwell, 41; her daughter Sarah Hawkes, 21; and their daughter Mercy Wardwell, 18, were arrested and also imprisoned in Salem. Sarah Wardwell carried her baby, Rebecca, with her to prison. The mother and three daughters survived imprisonment. When the heavily timbered oaken door of the jail was finally flung open, Sarah Wardwell "bore in her arms a child, a baby who winked and turned aside its little face from the too vivid light of day."⁷⁶

JOHN HATHORNE, MAGISTRATE

WILLIAM HATHORNE MADE FULL use of his position as magistrate to obtain wealth. During the Quaker persecution the authorities took a yoke of oxen from the Quaker John Small to settle a fine. Small's wife came to court and asked the magistrates William Hathorne and Daniel Denison, "If her husband and the Friends were such an accursed people, how then did they meddle with their goods, for they must be accursed also?" Denison turned to the woman and said, "Woman, we have none of it, for we give it to the poor." As she was speaking, John Gedney, the rich Salem innkeeper in whose tavern the court was held, entered the room. "Is this man the poor you give it to? For it is this man that had my husband's oxen," she cried. "Woman," replied Hathorne, "would you have us starve, while we sit about your business?"⁷⁷ In 1692, John Hathorne, son of the magistrate, and Bartholomew Gedney, son of the innkeeper, would sit together as justices on the witchcraft court.

William Hathorne (1607-1681) had four sons, Eleazer Hathorne, born in 1636, Nathaniel Hathorne, born in 1639, John Hathorne, born in 1641, and William Hathorne, Jr., born in 1646. Nathaniel Hathorne died as a young man. As noted earlier, William Hathorne became a major in 1661, and became a magistrate, an assistant to the governor, in 1662. That year, John became twenty-one and his father gave him a portion of Mill Pond Farm on the outskirts of Salem Town. His father retained about sixty acres. John was employed in Salem Town to keep accounts for merchants. In 1668 Major William Hathorne turned

77 Bishop, *New England Judged*, 245.

over his downtown house on Main Street in Salem Town to his oldest son Eleazer, and returned to live permanently in his house on Mill Pond Farm.⁷⁸

In March 1675, at age 33, John Hathorne married Ruth Gardner. The bride was only 14. She had been born when the Quaker persecution was at its height. Her mother was an open convert and her father was a sympathizer. Her parents were fined mercilessly for absence from Puritan church services, and persistently molested in other ways. Finally in 1673 her parents moved to Connecticut. But they left behind in Salem their daughter Ruth in the household of her childless uncle, Captain Joseph Gardner and his wife. John Hathorne received permission from the Gardners to court Ruth which led to their marriage.

In 1675 King Philip's War commenced, the only Indian war that nearly succeeded in driving the white man from New England. Throughout the war John Hathorne took advantage of the excellent opportunities it afforded for war profiteering. He entrenched himself in business, purchased a wharf, and secured a license to sell strong liquors. It was an auspicious time to build his permanent family seat.

John Hathorne wished to erect a mansion, framed in heavy oak timbers and designed to endure for many generations. He built his house in the center of Salem Town, on the west side of School Lane near South River. John and his child-bride moved into the new mansion as soon as it was finished, at the end of 1675. But what would be the fate of this grand house and the Hathorne descendants destined to live in it? "What we call real estate—the solid ground to build a house on—is the broad foundation on which nearly all the guilt of this world rests. A

78 Major William Hathorne had a brother, John Hathorne, who ran a tavern in Lynn and died in 1676. In 1652 this John Hathorne was charged with forgery and confessed himself guilty. In 1657, the peninsula of Nahant was purchased from an Indian sagamore for a suit of clothes; John Hathorne, Adam Hawkes, and a few others laid out the land for division. In 1663 John Hathorne complained that two residents of Lynn had given false testimony. They accused him of slander; he was found guilty and had to pay a fine and make a public acknowledgment in the meetinghouse. John Hathorne died in 1676 in Lynn, leaving sons and daughters.

...and that the subject of the book is not only a study of the life of the author but also a study of the life of the nation.

In 1827, the year of the publication of the book, the United States was in the midst of a great social and political change. The country was growing rapidly, and the people were becoming more and more conscious of their rights and responsibilities. The book reflects this spirit of change and the desire for a better society.

The book is a study of the life of the author, John Hathorne, and the life of the nation. It is a study of the life of a man who was a pioneer in the field of literature and a man who was a pioneer in the field of social and political thought.

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JOHN HATHORNE'S 'WUTHERING'

WUTHERING is a study of the life of the author, John Hathorne, and the life of the nation. It is a study of the life of a man who was a pioneer in the field of literature and a man who was a pioneer in the field of social and political thought.

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connection with his work; on one sea voyage he landed at a small settlement on the Maine coast. There for a few gold guineas he bought from a sagamore Indian called Robin Hood a vast and as yet unexplored and unmeasured tract. This Maine property, known to the Hathornes as the eastern land, embraced woods, lakes, and rivers. Apparently Robin Hood was aptly named, for he continued to sell the same land to other speculators. John Hathorne would spend a lifetime trying to track down these purchasers to buy back their deeds and give himself clear title. To later generations of Hathornes the eastern land offered dreams of great wealth. "When the pathless forest that still covered this wild principality should give place—as it inevitably must, though not perhaps till ages hence—to the golden fertility of human culture, it would be the source of incalculable wealth." In point of fact, it would bring nothing but bitter disappointment. "This impalpable claim, resulted in nothing more solid than to cherish, from generation to generation, an absurd delusion of family importance," wrote Nathaniel Hawthorne.⁸³

In 1684 the English monarch, King Charles II, annulled the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company under which the Puritans ruled. However the king's decree was blithely ignored in Boston, and things went on as before. With the death of King Charles II and the accession of King James II in 1685, the new king dismissed Simon Bradstreet as governor and appointed a temporary council to rule Massachusetts. Next the king named Sir Edmond Andros as the royal governor. On December 19, 1686, Andros landed in Boston and proclaimed himself captain general and governor-in-chief. With the complete abrogation of the old Massachusetts Bay charter, the colonists feared that the crown would demand ownership of all the land in the colony. They were all too familiar with the situation in England where the crown and the aristocracy owned the soil, and the common people were merely tenants. The colonists legitimately feared that the same feudal system might be imposed upon them.

83 Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables*, Chapter I.: Although most people today regard the state of Maine as being north of Boston, the colonists regarded it as being east of Boston. Actually it is northeast.

The large landowners in New England had carefully used all possible means to substantiate their claims to the soil. Specifically they had implemented a scheme of persuading the descendants of the sagamores who had ruled New England to convey land deeds to them. This was an outlandish course of action; it was known that the crown held no regard for signatures of Indians. However, the colonists thought that the deeds signed by the Indians might embarrass the new royal governor just enough to prevent him from executing the king's plan. When Andros asked the senior minister of Salem, the Rev. John Higginson, Sr. whether New England was king's territory, Higginson replied that it belonged to the colonists because they held it by just occupation and purchase from the Indians.

Action taken by Salem to safeguard its vested interests resulted in a deed dated October 11, 1686. The grantees were John Ruck, John Higginson, Sr., Timothy Lindall, William Hirst, and Israel Porter, selectmen and trustees for the township of Salem.⁸⁴ The deed was signed, sealed and delivered by David Nonnuphanohow, Cicely Petaghuncksq, and eight other Indians. The consideration of release was £20 in current money. The Salem magistrate Bartholomew Gedney was present and the deed was acknowledged before him. The deed was written on parchment, a document of remarkable beauty and elaborateness of execution.⁸⁵

The deed for Lynn, which includes the present city of Lynn and towns of Saugus, Lynnfield, Nahant, Swampscott, and a portion of Reading, was granted by David Kunkshamooshaw, who by credible intelligence was grandson to old sagamore George No Nose, so-called, alias Wenepawweekine, and by four other Indians. The land was obtained for a consideration of the sum of £16 of current sterling money of silver in hand paid to the Indians claiming, viz. David Kunkshamooshaw &c. The deed was executed on May 31, 1687. It was witnessed by John Hawkes and

84 John Ruck was the father of Sarah (Ruck) Hathorne Burroughs. She was the widow of the deceased Captain William Hathorne, Jr. She married the Rev. George Burroughs in Salem Village in 1682 and she died in Maine in 1690. John Higginson, Sr. was the senior minister of Salem and Israel Porter was the brother-in-law of John Hathorne.

85 Perley, *Indian Land Titles of Essex County*, 64-87.

three other residents of Lynn and by Samuel Wardwell of Andover. The deed was acknowledged before Bartholomew Gedney, magistrate of Salem.⁸⁶

The extensive and valuable Lynn land of the deceased Adam Hawkes was owned by his son, John Hawkes, and by his widow, Sarah (Hooper) Hawkes Wardwell. The value of Sarah's holdings was not lost on Bartholomew Gedney, aged 46, the magistrate acknowledging the deed. Gedney had become a magistrate, an assistant to the governor, in 1680. He was a captain in the militia at the time, and soon would be promoted to major. This crafty man was the son of John Gedney, the wealthy Salem innkeeper. Bartholomew Gedney lived all his life in Salem and owned a shipyard there. He is best known in history for his land speculations.

Bartholomew Gedney and his friend, John Hathorne, were two of the witchcraft judges who condemned the carpenter, Samuel Wardwell. This "pestilent wizard" was hanged and buried on Gallows Hill on September 22, 1692. In January 1693, Samuel's wife, Sarah Wardwell, was sentenced to death. Her grave was dug, but the governor, Sir William Phipps, reprieved her at the last minute. Yet the attainder—the loss of all civil rights legally consequent to a death sentence—remained in place and she could neither own nor pass down property. Her lands in Lynn were confiscated, falling into the hands of the assignees of Bartholomew Gedney, John Hathorne, John Corwin, and the others who divided the plunder of the witch hunt. They took "possession of the ill-gotten spoil—with the black stain of blood sunken deep into it. The wizard had been foully wronged out of his homestead, if not out of his life," wrote Nathaniel Hawthorne.⁸⁷

John Hathorne was the most active and the most diligent government official in searching out and arresting those people accused of witchcraft in 1692. He rightly deserves the title of chief witch-hunter. "He is a determined and relentless man, with the genuine character of an inquisitor."⁸⁸ In *The Custom*

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables*, Chapter 1.

⁸⁸ Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables*, Chapter 14.

House, Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote that John Hathorne "inherited the persecuting spirit, and made himself so conspicuous in the martyrdom of the witches, that their blood may fairly be said to have left a stain upon him. So deep a stain, indeed, that his old dry bones, in the Charter Street burial-ground, must still retain it." Again Hawthorne, with his ancestor, John Hathorne, in mind, wrote, "We shall only add, therefore, that the Puritan—so, at least, says chimney-corner tradition, which often preserves traits of character with marvelous fidelity—was bold, imperious, relentless, crafty; laying his purposes deep, and following them out with an inveteracy of pursuit that knew neither rest or conscience; trampling on the weak, and, when essential to his ends, doing the utmost to beat down the strong."⁸⁹

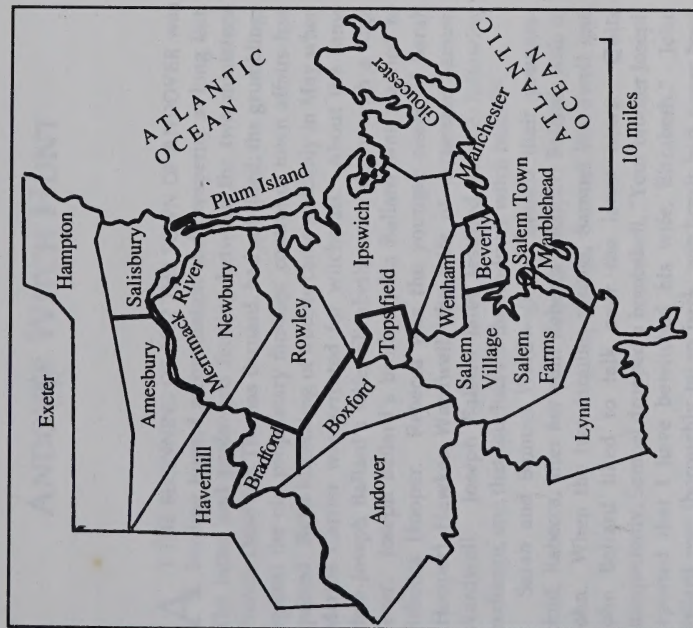
Joseph Hathorne, a younger son of John Hathorne, inherited his father's house on Mill Pond Farm. The rocky outcrop of Gallows Hill, standing less than a couple of thousand feet from the house, shed an ominous shadow across the door. "It is not the less certain, however, that awe and terror brooded over the memories of those who died for this horrible crime of witchcraft. Their graves, in the crevices of the rocks, were supposed to be incapable of retaining the occupants who had been so hastily thrust into them."⁹⁰ Joseph, a small boy in 1692, had been too young to understand his father's prominent role in the witchcraft hangings. By the time of Joseph's death, however, the house had vanished. Had it burned to the ground? Or had Joseph ordered it torn down? Joseph's great-grandson would later write, "There is no such unwholesome atmosphere as that of an old home, rendered poisonous by one's defunct forefathers and relatives. It was a relief to me if that house could be torn down, and so the earth be rid of it, and grass be sown abundantly over its foundation."⁹¹

Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The House of the Seven Gables* is based upon the Salem witchcraft tragedy. The novel explores

⁸⁹ Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables*, Chapter 8.

⁹⁰ Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables*, Chapter 13.

⁹¹ Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables*, Chapter 17.



Essex County and the towns of Hampton and Exeter in 1692.

SALEM VILLAGE WITCH HUNT

BY 1692 THE IRON-HANDED RULE imposed on Massachusetts by the Puritan old guard was in serious jeopardy. The common people, in a quest for democracy, had begun to question the very basis of theocratic government. Only the elect, about four or five percent of the people, were allowed to vote and participate in the colonial government. These visible saints of the Puritan church were those who had obtained the high honor of church membership. Everyone else was still required to pay ministry taxes, attend services, and adhere to the strict Puritan code. An undercurrent of dissent was growing, not only among the disenfranchised, but also among liberal church members who favored a plural society. Leading merchants, such as Thomas Brattle of Boston and Philip English of Salem, joined in expressing these viewpoints.

The township of Salem had three main parts, Salem Town (now the city of Salem), Salem Farms (now the city of Peabody), and Salem Village (now the town of Danvers). Most of the people lived in Salem Town, a thriving seaport, simply referred to as Salem. Salem Farms was west of the town and Salem Village was north of Salem Farms. Each was a community of only a few hundred residents living on scattered farms. The people of Salem Farms generally identified with Salem Town, whereas the people of Salem Village had shown a bit of independence over the years. Salem Village had its own center, about five miles northwest of the center of Salem Town. In the village center were a meetinghouse, a parsonage, a tavern, and a few private houses. The meetinghouse was used both as church building and municipal building. Because the meeting house was



FIGURE 1. THE EASTERN HEMISPHERE

THE EASTERN HEMISPHERE

By the time the Eastern Hemisphere was first explored by Europeans, it was already a well-known landmass. The Eastern Hemisphere was the first to be explored by Europeans, and it was the first to be settled by Europeans. The Eastern Hemisphere was the first to be explored by Europeans, and it was the first to be settled by Europeans.

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ANDOVER WITCH HUNT

AT THE BEGINNING OF 1692 THE TOWN OF ANDOVER was heading toward reconciliation and prosperity at long last. The bitter and prolonged feuding between the two ministers, Francis Dane and Thomas Barnard, had subsided; the grumblings against the old proprietary families' control of town affairs had quieted. But a foreboding of trouble came suddenly in May when Martha Carrier was arrested for witchcraft. About the same time Joseph Ballard's wife, Elizabeth, came down with a high fever. Joseph Ballard's brother John Ballard was married to Rebecca Hooper. Rebecca was the younger sister of Sarah (Hooper) Hawkes Wardwell, the wife of carpenter Samuel Wardwell. Joseph Ballard later testified to the following exchange, one that touched off the Andover witch hunt.¹⁵¹

Sarah and Samuel Wardwell had named their youngest child, Rebecca, after her aunt Rebecca (Hooper) Ballard, wife of John. When the two families visited, Samuel Wardwell and John Ballard liked to talk over the latest news. Quite unexpectedly, Samuel dropped a bombshell, "Your brother Joseph reported that I have bewitched his wife, Elizabeth." John Ballard was thoroughly taken back; witchcraft had never been mentioned to him as a possible cause of Elizabeth's fever. The next day John made a special trip to his brother's house to find Joseph worried and anxious, sitting outside Elizabeth's room. Elizabeth was getting worse. Said John, "Samuel Wardwell told me that you have reported that he has bewitched Elizabeth." Like his brother, Joseph Ballard was completely surprised. It had never occurred to him that Elizabeth's sickness was the

151 Woodward, *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, 2:152.

result of witchcraft. All that he could blurt out in reply was, "I have no knowledge that my wife is afflicted by witchcraft."

Yet the more Joseph Ballard thought about it, the more he wondered why Samuel Wardwell had raised the subject of witchcraft. Joseph went to the carpenter and told him, "I doubt that you are guilty of hurting my wife. For I have no such thoughts, nor have I spoken any such words of you or any other person." However Samuel did have a reputation for making predictions and prophecies. Elizabeth's disease had baffled the doctors. Joseph, now thinking that her sickness might indeed be due to witchcraft, told the carpenter, "Therefore I do not know whether you are guilty [of witchcraft]." Samuel Wardwell answered equivocally, "I admit that I said that to your brother John."

What strange behavior! Had Samuel Wardwell foreseen that he soon would be charged with witchcraft? Had the carpenter, comprehending that he was a marked man, predicted his own fate?

Elizabeth Ballard's fever did not abate. Witchcraft loomed larger and larger in Joseph Ballard's mind. Desperate, he went to the parsonage. The Rev. Thomas Barnard swiftly returned with Ballard to his house. Barnard confirmed that Satan often worked through the human agency of a witch to cause sickness. As far as Barnard could tell, Elizabeth lay dying under the spell of a witch. Her cure depended upon finding who had bewitched her.

Thomas Barnard turned to his trusted ally, Cotton Mather. Students at Harvard together, the two had been close friends ever since. Cotton Mather had helped support Barnard in his continual squabbles with Dane. Conveniently, Cotton Mather was an acknowledged expert in matters of witchcraft. As the two men talked, the case of Hugh Stone, his wife Hannah, and his mother-in-law Ann Foster quickly came up.

Ann Foster, aged 72 in 1692, was the widow of Andrew Foster. Born in Scotland, he was one of the original proprietors of the town of Andover in 1643. The Fosters had five children born between 1640 and 1655. In 1685, the ancient Andrew Foster died, said to be close to one hundred years old.

The Rev. Barnard set as his objective a confession from Ann Foster. After his experience counseling her son-in-law, a murderer, in the prison cell, Barnard offered to counsel Ann Foster. Following Barnard's lead, other ministers, the Rev. John Hale among them, visited her in prison. Their objective was to make her aware of her sins and lead her to confess witchcraft, always playing upon her fears. After hours of indoctrination by the ministers, Ann Foster became easy prey for the magistrates. They obtained what they wanted, a confession signed and owned by Ann Foster. Synopses of four of the examinations, July 15, July 16, July 18, and July 21, have been preserved.¹⁵⁵

Five years after the event, the Rev. John Hale wrote the following account in a futile attempt to exonerate himself of his cowardly and deceptive actions. "Goody Foster said that she with two others, one of whom acknowledged the same, rode from Andover to the same Village witch meeting upon a stick above ground, and that in the way the stick broke, and gave the said Foster a fall. I happened to be present in the prison when this Foster owned again her former confession to the magistrates. And then I moved that she may be further questioned about some particulars. It was answered that the magistrates had not time to stay longer, but I should have liberty to examine her further by myself, the which thing I did. And I asked her if she rode to the meeting on a stick. She said, yea. I inquired what she did for victuals. She answered that she carried bread and cheese in her pocket. And some time after she told me, she had some trouble on her spirit. And when I inquired what? she said she was in fear that George Burroughs and Martha Carrier would kill her, for they appeared to her in specter (for their persons were kept in other rooms in the prison) and brought a sharp pointed iron like a spindle and threatened to stab her to death with it because she had confessed her witchcraft, and told of them, that they were with her, and that Martha Carrier was the person that made her a witch."¹⁵⁶ The inquisitors had terrified this old woman by leading her to believe that Burroughs and Carrier wanted to attack her as she lay chained in her cell.

¹⁵⁵ Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 214.

¹⁵⁶ Hale, *A Modest Enquiry*, in Burr, *Narratives*, 418.

Ann Foster's testimony provided spectral evidence which could be used against Martha Carrier and the Rev. George Burroughs in their upcoming trial. This evidence would supplement nicely that of the afflicted girls. Also extracted from Ann Foster was testimony against "two men besides Mr. Burroughs, the minister, & one of them had gray hair."¹⁵⁷ This man with gray hair was an obvious reference to the Rev. Francis Dane, the senior minister of Andover and the nemesis of the Rev. Barnard.

Ann Foster, the first person delivered from Andover by the Rev. Thomas Barnard, had confessed. Magistrates and ministers were delighted. Cotton Mather was ecstatic. "'More, more!' he cried, with nervous haste in his utterance, as if anxious to retain his grasp of what sought to escape him. 'This is what I need! Give me more!'"¹⁵⁸ The Andover conspiracy was born; its assigned goal was to obtain more confessions. "By these things you see how this matter was carried on, viz. chiefly by the complaints and accusations of the afflicted, bewitched ones, as it was supposed, and then by the confessions of the accused, condemning themselves and others," wrote the Rev. John Hale.¹⁵⁹

The Salem witchcraft affair may be conveniently divided into two major episodes, the Salem Village witch hunt and the Andover witch hunt. The arrest phase of the Salem Village episode occurred over the four-month time period from March 1, 1692, to July 1, 1692. Essentially all the arrests associated with this episode were made in that interval, from the arrest of Tituba, Sarah Good, and Sarah Osborne on March 1, to the arrest of Margaret Hawkes and Candy on July 1. Only one Andover resident was arrested during that period: Martha Carrier, on May 31, 1692. All the complainants against Martha Carrier came from Salem Village, and she should be classified as a victim of the Salem Village witch hunt.

The arrest phase of the Andover witch hunt began after the arrest phase of the Salem Village witch hunt was over. All the

¹⁵⁷ Essex County Archives, *Witchcraft*, 2:22.

¹⁵⁸ Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables*, Chapter 7.

¹⁵⁹ Hale, *A Modest Enquiry*, in Burr, *Narratives*, 421.

Not counting the two slaves, Tituba and Candy, the Rev. Samuel Parris had been successful in obtaining only these three confessions. The remaining seventy-five odd witches imprisoned from March to July had adamantly refused to confess even under pressure. This failure by Parris weakened the credibility of the entire witch hunt. In fact, public sentiment was noticeably turning away from the Puritan church toward the imprisoned. Important ministers in Boston were beginning to question the validity of the spectral evidence provided by the afflicted circle.

Recall that Cotton Mather had drawn up a statement entitled *The Return of Several Ministers* which was presented to the Council on June 15, 1692. To dispel mounting criticism of the prosecution, Cotton Mather acknowledged the need for evidence in addition to the spectral evidence of the girls. Of course, the so-called human testimony, more accurately, the basest type of slander (spectral in nature but not classified as such), could readily be obtained. But in order to insure the credibility of the witch hunt, confessions were needed. Cotton Mather turned his full attention in that direction, believing it essential to obtain a series of confessions. Looking at the confessions of the Hobbs mother and daughter, he guessed that his best strategy was to play generation against generation. He needed another minister who would form a second conspiracy to carry out this task. The Rev. Nicholas Noyes and the Rev. John Hale were helpful, but they preferred to remain apart from the men targeting women and filing legal complaints against them.

The Rev. Cotton Mather instinctively knew that the Rev. Thomas Barnard was the right man for the job. To all appearances these two ministers were very different. Cotton Mather held himself aloof and was not a polished speaker, having stammered as a boy. Barnard was a man of genuine charisma whose sermons were capable of igniting an extreme form of religious fervor. "This vocal organ was itself a rich endowment; inasmuch that a listener, comprehending nothing of the language in which the preacher spoke, might still have been swayed to and fro by the mere cadence. Like all other music, it

breathed passion and pathos, and emotions high and tender, in a tongue native to the human heart."¹⁶²

In the factual world of today it is difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend the mesmerizing effect of a preacher like Barnard. As a speaker, he could influence the thoughts and actions of people to a degree that Cotton Mather never could. Cotton Mather's sermons spoke to the intellect; Barnard's sermons spoke to the emotions. With his eloquence and the intensity of his discourse, Barnard might well convince a devout and anxious woman that she had fallen into the ways of sin and hence into witchcraft. Even if he did not quite convince her, his charming speech often convinced her Puritanical husband that she had strayed from the narrow path. Barnard's strategy was to offer the hope of redemption as an enticement for an accused woman to confess her witchcraft. Not only did he claim that confession and repentance would save her soul but he suggested that they might save her life.

Barnard was destined to succeed beyond all expectation. The confessions he induced in the Andover witch hunt painted a picture of witchcraft which precisely confirmed Cotton Mather's conception of the Devil's work to take over New England. Cotton Mather wrote, "I believe that never were more satanical devices used for the unsettling of any people under the sun, than what have been employed for the extirpation of the vine which God had here planted. We have been advised of an horrible plot against the country by witchcraft, which if were not seasonably discovered, would probably blow up, and pull down all the churches in the country."¹⁶³

On July 19, 1692, Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse, Susannah Martin, Elizabeth Howe, and Sarah Wildes, were hanged in Salem. None of them confessed, even to the end. This black day was just four days after Ann Foster's arrest. Joseph Ballard, Ann Foster's accuser, was in Salem and present at the hangings. "Imagine an ancient multitude of people, congregated at the hillside, spreading far below, clustering on the steep old roofs,

162 Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, Chapter 22.

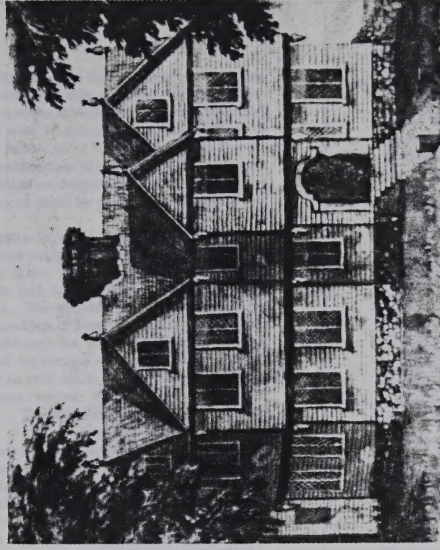
163 Cotton Mather, *Wonders*, 13-14.

and climbing the adjacent heights, wherever a glimpse of this spot might be obtained. I strove to realize and faintly communicate, the deep, unutterable loathing and horror, the indignation, the affrighted wonder, that wrinkled on every brow, and filled the universal heart."¹⁶⁴

Now was the time to go after the next two generations of the Foster family. Joseph Ballard's wife, Elizabeth had become even sicker; her burning fever could not be treated, and she was on the verge of death.¹⁶⁵ A few hours after the executions, Joseph Ballard, still in Salem, went to the house of Jonathan Corwin and swore out a complaint for the arrest of the daughter and granddaughter of the imprisoned Ann Foster.¹⁶⁶ He accused them of practicing witchcraft on his wife, whom he described as being sorely afflicted with strange pains and pressures for several months. Ballard posted a bond of £100 to prosecute his complaint to the effect that the law directed. The complaint was signed by the three Salem magistrates: John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin, and Bartholomew Gedney, all members of the Puritan old guard and all justices on the Court of Oyer and Terminer.

The accused daughter of Ann Foster was Mary (Foster) Lacey, 40, who had married Lawrence Lacey in 1673. The Laceys were respected citizens of Andover. The accused granddaughter of Ann Foster was Mary Lacey, Jr., 18, daughter of Lawrence and Mary Lacey. Mother and daughter, both named Mary Lacey, were arrested and imprisoned in Salem. Several ministers visited them in prison, indoctrinating them and urging them to confess.

On July 21 the three Salem magistrates examined the three women: Ann Foster, daughter Mary (Foster) Lacey, and granddaughter, Mary Lacey, Jr. The executions, two days before, were still fresh in people's minds. The magistrates were intent upon getting the two Laceys to confess. Never was there a baser exhibition of trickery and deceit than that displayed by the magistrates during these examinations.



The house of Jonathan Corwin, now called the Witch House

¹⁶⁴ Hawthorne, *Alice Doane's Appeal*.

¹⁶⁵ Elizabeth Ballard died on July 27, 1692.

¹⁶⁶ Jonathan Corwin's house, called the Witch House, is open for visitors in Salem today.

THIRD TRIAL, AUGUST 5, 1692

AT THE THIRD MEETING of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, six more were tried, four men and two women: the Rev. George Burroughs, the minister at Wells, Maine; John Proctor and Elizabeth Proctor, his wife, of Salem Farms; John Willard of Salem Village; George Jacobs, Sr. of Salem; and Martha Carrier of Andover. Not one would confess; all were condemned on August 5, 1692. They were hanged on August 19 with the exception of Proctor's wife who escaped death by pleading for the life of her unborn child.

Burroughs, the minister at Salem Village from 1681 to 1683, had created several enemies there, in particular, the Putnam family. After leaving Salem Village, Burroughs preached at Casco and then at Wells, both towns being in Maine. In his trial he pleaded not guilty. The afflicted girls and some of the confessing witches accused him of being a king in Satan's empire. They claimed that, although he was a small man, he had performed feats beyond the strength of a giant. Burroughs had lost two wives, each by an early death. His second wife had been Sarah (Ruck) Hathorne, widow of the deceased Captain William Hathorne, Jr. The witnesses swore that Sarah had privately complained to the neighbors that their house was haunted by spirits. Cotton Mather claimed that during his trial Burroughs dodged questions and contradicted himself in making his defense. Cotton Mather wrote that Burroughs "was accused by eight of the confessing witches, as being a head actor at some of their hellish rendezvous, and one who had the promise of being a king in Satan's kingdom, now going to be erected." The "eight of the confessing witches" were Abigail Hobbs, Deliverance Hobbs, Margaret Jacobs, Ann Foster, Mary (Foster)

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The next day the two were examined separately at Beadles' tavern in Salem Town. An onlooker, Joseph Flint, went into the room where the grandfather was held and told him that his granddaughter had confessed that she was a witch. George Jacobs, Sr. said, "She was charged not to confess." When Flint asked him who charged her, Jacobs reflected and then answered, "If she were innocent, and yet confessed, she would be an accessory to her own death."¹⁸⁰

George Jacobs, Sr. was condemned on August 5. On August 18, the day before he was executed, Margaret retracted her confession and received forgiveness from both him and the Rev. George Burroughs. She made the following declaration to the court. There is no mistaking that Margaret, 16, was a person of exceptional courage and integrity.

"The humble declaration of Margaret Jacobs unto the honored court now sitting at Salem, sheweth: That whereas your poor and humble declarant being closely confined here in Salem jail for the crime of witchcraft, which crime, thanks be to the Lord, I am altogether ignorant of, as will appear at the great day of judgment. May it please the honored court, I was cried out upon by some of the possessed persons, as afflicting of them; whereupon I was brought to my examination, which persons at the sight of me fell down, which did very much startle and affright me. The Lord above knows I knew nothing, in the least measure, how or who afflicted them; they told me, without doubt I did, or else they would not fall down at me; they told me if I would not confess, I should be put down into the dungeon and would be hanged, but if I would confess I should have my life; the which did so affright me, with my own vile wicked heart, to save my life made me make the confession I did, which confession, may it please the honored court, is altogether false and untrue. The very first night after I had made my confession, I was in such horror of conscience that I could not sleep, for fear the Devil should carry me away for telling such horrid lies. I was, may it please the honored court, sworn to my confession, as I understand since, but then, at that time, was ignorant of it, not knowing what an oath did mean. The Lord, I hope, in whom I

Lacey, Mary Lacey, Jr., Richard Carrier, and Andrew Carrier. Because of her confession on July 30, Mary Toothaker could also be included in this group.¹⁷⁸

Tried next was John Proctor, a wealthy innkeeper and landowner. While he and his wife were in prison, sheriff George Corwin¹⁷⁹ came to their house and seized all their possessions. The sheriff sold some of their cattle at half price and killed the rest, sending the cured meat to the West Indies for sale. He even drained the beer from a barrel, and carried away the barrel. He emptied a pot of broth and carried away the pot. Nothing was left in the house, not even food, to support the Proctor children. No part of the property was ever returned to the family. In prison Proctor earnestly requested the Rev. Nicholas Noyes to pray with and for him but Noyes refused, ostensibly because Proctor would not admit to being a witch. Proctor asked for a short respite, saying that he was not fit to die, but that too was denied.

John Willard had refused to act as a deputy to arrest some of the accused. Soon afterward he was accused of causing the demise of Daniel Wilkins, a young man who was bewitched to death. The authorities sent men to hunt down and apprehend Willard, who had escaped to Nashaway, about 40 miles from Salem.

The seizure of the property of a condemned witch for the enrichment of the authorities was standard procedure. When George Jacobs, Sr. was condemned, sheriff George Corwin and officers came and seized all he had. Jacobs' second wife, Mary, had even her wedding ring snatched from her; only after great effort did she eventually recover it. She was forced to buy provisions from the sheriff, things that he had taken, for her own sustenance. Still unable to cope, she was helped by the charity of her neighbors.

Margaret Jacobs, the sixteen-year-old granddaughter of George Jacobs, Sr., had been arrested with him on May 10, 1692.

178 Cotton Mather, *Wonders*, 120.

179 Sheriff George Corwin was the nephew of magistrate John Corwin and the son-in-law of magistrate Bartholomew Gedney.

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"And now, may it please your honors, your poor and humble declarant having, in part, given your honors a description of my condition, do leave it to your honors' pious and judicious discretions to take pity and compassion on my young and tender years; to act and do with me as the Lord above and your honors shall see good, having no friend but the Lord to plead my cause for me; not being guilty in the least measure of the crime of witchcraft, nor any other sin that deserves death from man; and your poor and humble declarant shall forever pray, as she is bound in duty, for your honors' happiness in this life, and eternal felicity in the world to come. So prays your honors' declarant. Margaret Jacobs."¹⁸¹

Pity and compassion were unknown to the court; the justices understood only the hysterical and inflammatory outcries of Cotton Mather and his fellow clergy. Livid with rage, the court scheduled Margaret Jacobs for trial at the next meeting in September. But Margaret was not brought to trial because she was so ill with an "impostume" on her head that it was expected that she would die in jail. She survived, however, and when tried in January 1693 by the newly formed Superior Court of Judicature, she was found not guilty.

The court, determined to convict Martha Carrier, would stop at nothing. On July 22, 1692, two weeks before her condemnation on August 5, her sons, Andrew Carrier, 15, and Richard Carrier, 18, were arrested, imprisoned in Salem, and examined. The Rev.

*Salem Witches (by Elders A Robinson)
& Hawthorne's House of Seven Gables*

THIRD TRIAL, AUGUST 5, 1692

AT THE THIRD MEETING of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, six more were tried, four men and two women: the Rev. George Burroughs, the minister at Wells, Maine; John Proctor and Elizabeth Proctor, his wife, of Salem Farms; John Willard of Salem Village; George Jacobs, Sr. of Salem; and Martha Carrier of Andover. Not one would confess; all were condemned on August 5, 1692. They were hanged on August 19 with the exception of Proctor's wife who escaped death by pleading for the life of her unborn child.

Burroughs, the minister at Salem Village from 1681 to 1683, had created several enemies there, in particular, the Putnam family. After leaving Salem Village, Burroughs preached at Casco and then at Wells, both towns being in Maine. In his trial he pleaded not guilty. The afflicted girls and some of the confessing witches accused him of being a king in Satan's empire. They claimed that, although he was a small man, he had performed feats beyond the strength of a giant. Burroughs had lost two wives, each by an early death. His second wife had been Sarah (Ruck) Hathorne, widow of the deceased Captain William Hathorne, Jr. The witnesses swore that Sarah had privately complained to the neighbors that their house was haunted by spirits. Cotton Mather claimed that during his trial Burroughs dodged questions and contradicted himself in making his defense. Cotton Mather wrote that Burroughs "was accused by eight of the confessing witches, as being a head actor at some of their hellish rendezvous, and one who had the promise of being a king in Satan's kingdom, now going to be erected." The "eight of the confessing witches" were Abigail Hobbs, Deliverance Hobbs, Margaret Jacobs, Ann Foster, Mary (Foster)

Lacey, Mary Lacey, Jr., Richard Carrier, and Andrew Carrier. Because of her confession on July 30, Mary Toothaker could also be included in this group.¹⁷⁸

Tried next was John Proctor, a wealthy innkeeper and landowner. While he and his wife were in prison, sheriff George Corwin¹⁷⁹ came to their house and seized all their possessions. The sheriff sold some of their cattle at half price and killed the rest, sending the cured meat to the West Indies for sale. He even drained the beer from a barrel, and carried away the barrel. He emptied a pot of broth and carried away the pot. Nothing was left in the house, not even food, to support the Proctor children. No part of the property was ever returned to the family. In prison Proctor earnestly requested the Rev. Nicholas Noyes to pray with and for him but Noyes refused, ostensibly because Proctor would not admit to being a witch. Proctor asked for a short respite, saying that he was not fit to die, but that too was denied.

time, in the years gone by, that face has been uplirreu
heavenward from the pulpit of the East Meetinghouse [in Wells,
Maine], when the Reverend Mr. Burroughs seemed to worship
God. What!—he? The holy man!—the learned!—the wise!
let—to look at him—who, that had not known the proof, could
relieve him guilty? Who would not say, that over the dusty

The seizure of the property of a condemned witch for the enrichment of the authorities was standard procedure. When George Jacobs, Sr. was condemned, sheriff George Corwin and officers came and seized all he had. Jacobs' second wife, Mary, had even her wedding ring snatched from her; only after great effort did she eventually recover it. She was forced to buy provisions from the sheriff, things that he had taken, for her own sustenance. Still unable to cope, she was helped by the charity of her neighbors.

Margaret Jacobs, the sixteen-year-old granddaughter of George Jacobs, Sr., had been arrested with him on May 10, 1692.

178 Cotton Mather, *Wonders*, 120.

179 Sheriff George Corwin was the nephew of magistrate John Corwin and the son-in-law of magistrate Bartholomew Gedney.

the severe child abuse practiced by the Puritan authorities. Their verbal abuse of Sarah was at least as damaging as the physical abuse they meted out against her brothers, Richard and Andrew Carrier three weeks before.

Apparently the confessions of the two small children, Sarah Carrier and Thomas Carrier, Jr. were taken only for the purpose of adding to the weight of evidence against their mother, already condemned but not yet executed. The four imprisoned Carrier children were forced to watch their mother's execution on August 19. They did not know whether they would be next. The treatment of the Carrier children represents one of the darkest incidents in the Salem witchcraft affair.

To Cotton Mather the confessions of the Carrier children represented an important symbol. He wrote, "Before the trial of this prisoner, several of her own children had frankly and fully confessed, not only that they were witches themselves, but their mother had made them so. This confession they made with great shows of repentance, and with much demonstration of truth. They related place, time, occasion; they gave an account of journeys, meetings and mischiefs by them performed, and were very credible in what they said. This rampant hag, Martha Carrier, was the person, of whom the confessions of the witches, and her own children among the rest, agreed, that the Devil had promised her, she should be Queen of Hell."¹⁸⁵

Elizabeth Proctor was reprieved until the birth of her child. On August 19, 1692, the other five condemned were carried in a cart through the streets of Salem to execution. Nathaniel Hawthorne, in *Main-Street*, recaptures the grisly scene.

"Then, here comes the worshipful Captain Corwin, sheriff of Essex, on horseback, at the head of an armed guard, escorting a company of condemned prisoners from the jail to their place of execution on Gallows Hill. The witches! There is no mistaking them! The witches! As they approach up Prison Lane, and turn into the Main-street, let us watch their faces. Listen to what the people say. There is old George Jacobs, Sr., known hereabouts,

185 Cotton Mather, *Wonders*, 155-159. The confessing witches were Ann Foster, Mary Lacey, Jr., Margaret Emerson, and Mary Toothaker.

these sixty years, as a man whom we thought upright in all his way of life, quiet, blameless, a good husband before his pious [first] wife was summoned from the evil to come, and a good father to the children whom she left him.

FURTHER ARRESTS IN ANDOVER

See that aged couple—a sad sight truly—John Proctor, and his wife Elizabeth.¹⁸⁶ If there were two old people in all the County of Essex who seemed to have led a true Christian life, and to be treading hopefully the little remnant of their earthly path, it was this very pair. Behind them comes a woman, with a dark, proud face that has been beautiful, and a figure that is still majestic. Do you know her? It is Martha Carrier. Last of the miserable train comes a man clad in black, of small stature and a dark complexion, with a clerical band about his neck. Many a time, in the years gone by, that face has been uplifted heavenward from the pulpit of the East Meetinghouse [in Wells, Maine], when the Reverend Mr. Burroughs seemed to worship God. What!—he? The holy man!—the learned!—the wise! Yet—to look at him—who, that had not known the proof, could believe him guilty? Who would not say, that over the dusty track of the Main-Street, a Christian saint is now going to a martyr's death."

On Gallows Hill, standing on the ladder with the noose around his neck, Burroughs proclaimed his innocence with such purpose that nearly everyone present was deeply moved. His prayer (which he concluded with the Lord's Prayer) was given with impressive composure and devotion. The scene was so affecting that it seemed for a moment that the spectators would stop the execution. Suddenly the afflicted girls, right on cue, screamed that the Black Man was standing next to him dictating the prayer. Cotton Mather, mounted upon a horse, seized the moment to address the people. Burroughs had never been properly ordained, he declared. To convince them of Burroughs'

186 In fact, Elizabeth Proctor was not present with the others, as she had been reprieved until the birth of her child.

guilt, Cotton Mather said that the Devil has often been transformed into an Angel of Light. Cotton Mather's speech did what was needed to distract the people. The executions went on.

Again in *Main-Street* Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote, "Ah! no; for listen to wise Cotton Mather, who as he sits there on his horse speaks comfortably to the perplexed multitude, and tells them that all has been religiously and justly done. Do you see that group of children, and half-grown girls, and among them, an old, hag-like Indian woman, Tituba by name? Those are the Afflicted Ones. Behold, at this very instant, a proof of Satan's power and malice! Betty Parris, the minister's daughter, has been smitten by a flash of Martha Carrier's eye, and falls down in the street, writhing with horrible spasms and foaming at the mouth, like the possessed ones spoken of in Scripture. Hurry on the accused witches to the gallows, ere they do more mischief."

When George Burroughs was cut down, he was dragged by the hangman's noose to a grave about two feet deep between the rocks. His shirt and breeches, the expensive clothes of a minister, were pulled from his body as loot. His body was thrown into the same grave as Willard and Carrier, and one of his hands and his chin were left uncovered.

In one day five good and innocent people had been executed. Nathaniel Hawthorne was a writer of extraordinary sensitivity. To discover the details of his ancestor's central role in this appalling business must have been deeply shaking. The knowledge must have forced an anguished re-examination of his family, of himself, and of his beliefs regarding the nature of good and evil.

FURTHER ARRESTS IN ANDOVER

ROBERT CALEF, IN HIS INVESTIGATIONS of the witchcraft affair, made full use of eyewitness accounts. Regarding the confessions, he wrote in his *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, "It may be further added concerning those that did confess, that besides the powerful argument, of life (and freedom from hardships and irons not only promised, but also performed to all that owned their guilt), there are numerous instances of the tedious examinations before private persons, many hours together; they all the time urging them to confess (and taking turns to persuade them) till the accused were wearied out by being forced to stand so long, or for want of sleep, etc. and so brought to give an assent to what they said; they then asking them, Were you at such a witch meeting, or have you signed the Devil's book, etc. upon their replying, yes, the whole was drawn into form as their confession." Yet nearly every one of the seventy-odd people arrested during the Salem Village witch hunt refused to confess, preferring irons and death. On the other hand, nearly all those arrested during the Andover witch hunt quickly confessed.

Calef continued, "That which did mightily further such confessions, was their nearest and dearest relations urging them to it. These seeing no other way of escape for them, thought it the best advice that could be given; hence it was the husbands of some, by counsel often urging, and utmost earnestness, and children upon their knees entreating, have at length prevailed with them, to say they were guilty."¹⁸⁷ Only husbands and children from Andover did this; none from other towns urged

187 Calef, *More Wonders*, 273-274.

family of Johnson, was at the time reflecting the nature of the storm which was now coming on him, and he was in a state of mind to receive the news of his death with a calmness which was not to be expected. The following passage from his letter to his wife, written at the time, is a good example of his character, and of his mind.

"I am glad that God and his merciful providence have preserved me from the evil which was now coming on me. I am glad that I am still able to do my duty, and that I am still able to do it with a calmness which is not to be expected."

Johnson's letter to his wife, written at the time, is a good example of his character, and of his mind. It is a letter which shows that he was a man of a high and noble mind, and that he was a man who was not to be moved by the storms of life. It is a letter which shows that he was a man who was not to be moved by the storms of life, and that he was a man who was not to be moved by the storms of life. It is a letter which shows that he was a man who was not to be moved by the storms of life, and that he was a man who was not to be moved by the storms of life.

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day, together with Stephen Johnson, his grandson. Three more family members were imprisoned on September 7.

The table shows the eight members of the Rev. Dane's immediate family who were charged and imprisoned:

August 10	his granddaughter Elizabeth Johnson, Jr., 22
August 11	his daughter Abigail (Dane) Faulkner, 40
August 29	his daughter Elizabeth (Dane) Johnson, 51
August 29	his granddaughter Abigail Johnson, 10
August 30	his grandson Stephen Johnson, 13
September 7	his son's wife Deliverance (Haseltine) Dane, 37
September 7	his granddaughter Abigail Faulkner, Jr., 9
September 7	his granddaughter Dorothy Faulkner, 12

More of the Rev. Dane's family, immediate and extended, were attacked than any other family in the entire Salem witchcraft persecution. The execution of the Rev. George Burroughs and the accusations against the Dane family were part of the old guard's plan to make examples of tolerant and liberal Puritan clergymen who were deviating too far from the orthodox line. The persecutors showed no more mercy to clergymen and their families than they did to ordinary citizens. Indeed, their treatment of Burroughs and the Dane family was vicious to an unparalleled degree.

✓ A curious aside on the Tyler case is found in the story of Rebecca (Blake) Eames. Born in 1641, Rebecca Blake married, in 1661, Robert Eames of Rowley Village (named Boxford in 1685). Their daughter, Hannah Eames, born in 1661, married, in 1678, Ephraim Foster, one of the Andover conspirators in 1692.

Five years after Rebecca's marriage, her sister, Prudence Blake, married a man from the same town, Rowley Village (named Boxford in 1685). He was none other than Moses Tyler. ✓ Prudence (Blake) Tyler died in 1689 and Moses Tyler soon took a second wife, the widow Sarah (Hasey) Sprague. Her daughter, Martha Sprague, was sixteen in 1692. Using her as an afflicted girl, Moses Tyler made his series of vile accusations in 1692.

At the beginning of August 1692 the Andover conspiracy accused Rebecca (Blake) Eames and she was imprisoned. By

August 9, 1692, (if not earlier) the Andover conspiracy accused her son, Daniel Eames, who was also imprisoned.

On the morning of August 19, 1692, the Rev. George Burroughs, George Jacobs, Sr., John Proctor, John Willard, and Martha (Allen) Carrier were hanged at Salem. As previously noted, all of the executed had scorned confession. The authorities required certain recalcitrant prisoners to watch the executions in an effort to induce confessions. During an examination of Rebecca right after the hangings, "she was asked if she was at the execution? She was at the house below the hill. She saw a few folk. The woman of the house had a pin stuck into her foot, but she said she did not do it." After such intimidation, Rebecca started answering Hathorne's leading questions in the affirmative. To the question, "But have you been a witch 26 years?" she answered, "No, I can remember but 7 years." To the question, "Does not the Devil threaten to tear you in pieces if you do not do what he says?" she answered, "Yes, he threatens to tear me to pieces."¹⁹³ Is it surprising that her confession mimicked what the authorities wanted to hear?

Why did Hathorne mention 26 years? An explanation is to be found in her examination on August 31, 1692. "Rebecca Eames further acknowledges & declares that she was baptized about three years ago in Five Mile Pond and that her son Daniel was also then baptized by the Devil, and that her son Daniel has been a wizard about thirteen years. [She] further confirms what she formerly acknowledged, viz., that she has been a witch this 26 years, and the Devil then appeared to her in the likeness of a black man, and she then gave herself, she says, soul and body to the Devil, and that she was then in such horror of conscience, that she took a rope to hang herself, and a razor to cut her throat, by reason of her great sin in committing adultery, & by that the Devil gained her, he promising she should not be brought out or ever discovered."¹⁹⁴ This incident happened in 1665, shortly before Moses Tyler married Rebecca's sister, Prudence Blake. Might the Devil to whom Rebecca gave herself have been Moses Tyler?

193 Woodward. *Records of Salem Witchcraft*. 2:143-146.

194 Ibid.

Rebecca's daughter, Hannah (Eames) Foster, supported the activities of her conspirator husband, Ephraim Foster, in the Andover witch hunt. Hannah did so despite the fact that her mother as well as her brother, Daniel Eames, were in prison. Hannah and her daughter, Rose Foster, participated as afflicted persons in the Andover touch test on September 7, which resulted in imprisonment of some of the most respected women in Andover. Ten days later, on September 17, Hannah's mother, Rebecca (Blake) Eames, was condemned to death by the Court of Oyer and Terminer.

On August 15, 1692, the carpenter Samuel Wardwell, 49, was arrested for witchcraft. The year 1692 was a full twenty-nine years after the troubles of Samuel's brother, Eliakim Wardwell, with the Rev. Seaborn Cotton and magistrate Simon Bradstreet in 1663. Seaborn's wife, Dorothy, was Simon Bradstreet's daughter. Might the long-held grudge be responsible in part for the carpenter's arrest? How much did Cotton Mather know about the Wardwell family from discussions with his uncle, Seaborn Cotton?

Thrown into the Salem dungeon, Wardwell refused to confess. On September 1, 1692, his wife, Sarah (Hooper) Hawkes Wardwell, 41, was arrested. Also arrested were their daughter Mercy Wardwell and Sarah's daughter Sarah Hawkes. One by one, the three women were examined by their formidable opposition, Salem magistrates John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin, and Bartholomew Gedney. Justice of the peace John Higginson, Jr. was also present. Hathorne, as usual, did most of the questioning. "A red fire kindled in his eyes, and he made a quick pace forward, with something inexpressibly fierce and grim darkening forth, as it were, out of the whole man. To know Judge Pyncheon [Magistrate Hathorne] was to see him at that moment. And it rendered his aspect not the less, but more frightful, that it seemed not to express wrath or hatred, but a certain hot fellness of purpose, which annihilated everything but itself."¹⁹⁵ Samuel Wardwell, fearful of the welfare of his family if he persisted in pleading his innocence, made a confession. All that survives is an

account written by John Higginson, Jr. In it the carpenter gave the testimony as to events which supposedly happened when he had come to Andover as a young man twenty years before. "The first appearance of the cat then was behind Captain [Simon] Bradstreet's house. About a week after that a black man appeared in the daytime at the same place, and called himself prince and lord."¹⁹⁶

It was known to everybody in Andover that Wardwell "told young persons their fortunes, and he was much addicted to that, and made sport of it." When Wardwell told Dorothy Eames her fortune, she said, "After that, I believed Wardwell was a witch or else he could have never told what he did." Constable Ephraim Foster confirmed that Wardwell was a fortune-teller, saying, "This I have both seen and heard several times and about several persons."¹⁹⁷ Foster seemed to believe that Wardwell, who so often had found amusement with magic and fortune-telling, was under the power of supernatural beings.

Following the cruel treatment of Eliakim and Lydia Wardwell by Simon Bradstreet and Seaborn Cotton, Samuel Wardwell might well have carried his own grudge. Wardwell may have fabricated a confession in an effort to save his family from hanging, but he could not resist the temptation of placing the Devil at Bradstreet's back door. Thus he made sport of his own trumped up confession in the same manner that he made sport as the local fortune teller.

On September 13 Samuel Wardwell renounced his confession. Andover historian Sarah Loring Bailey wrote in 1880, "Even in the materialism of the nineteenth century, the mystery is not all solved, of those at least almost preternatural powers which some persons seem to have in certain abnormal conditions. It cannot, therefore, be much wondered at that the simple-minded fortune-teller of the seventeenth century, in old Andover, when his minister and all the most devout magistrates told him he was a witch, should temporarily at least, believe that he was. But it shows that he had, in spite of his odd ways, more strength of character and real principle than might at first be supposed,

¹⁹⁶ Woodward, *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, 2:148-152.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁹⁵ Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables*, Chapter 8.

that he did not long remain thus obscured as to his estimate of himself. At the last, although he knew that his only hope of safety was in adhering to his confession, he wholly denied its truth. His mind, once cleared, became strong and steady, and his statements true and consistent."¹⁹⁸

Wardwell's retraction was, "The written confession was taken from my mouth, and I said it, but I belied myself." He then added, "It is all one. I know I shall die for it whether I admit it or not."¹⁹⁹ Of all the victims he alone made such a statement. Samuel Wardwell knew that he was a marked man. He knew that he was going to hang in either case. He saw that his testimony could not help his family. He preferred to hang for the truth.

The selectmen of Andover petitioned the court at Ipswich "that whereas Samuel Wardwell and his wife were lately apprehended and committed to prison for witchcraft, and have left several small children who are incapable of providing for themselves, and are now in a suffering condition, we have thought it necessary and convenient that they should be disposed of in some families where there may be due care taken of them."²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 212-213.

¹⁹⁹ Woodward, *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, 2:150.

²⁰⁰ Essex County Archives. *Witchcraft*, 2:45; Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 220-221. Baby Rebecca had gone to prison with her mother. Samuel Jr., aged 14, was put into the house of his uncle (by marriage), John Ballard; William, aged 12, was apprenticed to weaver Samuel Frye; Eliakim, aged 5, was bound out to Daniel Poor, one of the Andover selectmen; and Elizabeth, aged 3, was put in the house of John Stevens.

ANDOVER TOUCH TEST, SEPTEMBER 7, 1692

ONE OF THE MOST BIZARRE AND SHOCKING EVENTS in the entire Salem witchcraft affair was the Andover touch test. This travesty was carried out by the Rev. Thomas Barnard. It drew upon the delicate strands linking clergy with congregation, husband with wife, and parent with child. The New England Puritans habitually indulged in morbid brooding. Had they committed an unpardonable sin? Had they scrupulously observed each ordinance, performed the proper works, experienced the necessary degree of faith? Because the religion of the Puritans hinged upon questions of such enormous dimensions, one inevitable result was an accompanying emotional intensity. In their religious experience, the manifest theological doctrines were but the tip of the iceberg. Submerged beneath lay a vast hidden bulk of unconscious passions—"perpetual remorse of conscience, a constantly defeated hope, strife among kindred, various misery, a strange form of death, unspeakable disgrace."²⁰¹

Typically these passions were most intense within families, affecting the relationships between husband and wife, parents and children, blood relatives and in-laws. "As there is a tempting flesh, and a tempting world, which would seduce us from our obedience to the laws of God, so there is a busy Devil, who is called the Tempter, because by him, the temptation of the flesh and the world are managed."²⁰² The Puritans had to stand

²⁰¹ Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables*, Chapter 12.

²⁰² Cotton Mather, *Wonders*, 172.

and Abigail Hobbs apparently were afterthoughts. Margaret Scott, arrested during the Andover witch hunt, was not from Andover, Boxford or Haverhill, the three main towns involved, and so presents a special case. A seventy-year-old woman, a widow of twenty years, she was arrested about August 4. Little is known about the details of her arrest as there are no complaints, warrants or examinations extant. She would not confess.

Previous to the September 17 meeting of the court, no one who had confessed had been brought to trial. Because nearly everyone from Andover had confessed, the only way to have a trial for Andover people was to include confessors. Of the nine called for trial, Wilnot Redd, Margaret Scott, and Mary Parker never confessed; Samuel Wardwell confessed but afterwards recanted. The remaining five—Rebecca Eames, Abigail (Dane) Faulkner, Ann Foster, Mary (Foster) Lacey, and Abigail Hobbs—had confessed. Abigail Hobbs, aged 22, previously had been a darling of the court. She was the first (after Tituba) to confess in the Salem Village witch hunt, as noted earlier. While in prison she had willingly acted as an afflicted person in the courtroom. As a confessing witch she had accused many of witchcraft and worked to please the magistrates. But now that the court had many confessing witches from Andover, Abigail Hobbs was dispensable.

One explanation for the arrest of the children of Andover was to collect testimony against their parents and others.²¹⁸ For example, the authorities had not been able to get a satisfactory confession from Abigail (Dane) Faulkner. The best attempt was on August 30, when Abigail (Dane) Faulkner "at first denied witchcraft as she had done before, but afterwards she owned that she was angry at what folks said when her niece, Elizabeth Johnson, Jr., was taken up. She did look with an evil eye upon the afflicted persons & did consent that they should be afflicted, because they were the cause of bringing her kindred out. And she did wish them ill & her spirit being raised she did pinch her hands together but it was the Devil not she that afflicted them."

²¹⁸ The authorities regarded a person eighteen years or under as a child when they allowed the release of imprisoned children on bail starting in October 1693.

This statement was the only concession that she made. Even to Puritan fanatics, it barely qualified as a confession. On September 7, two of her children, Abigail Faulkner, Jr., 9 and Dorothy Faulkner, 12, were arrested at the touch test. A memorandum was written that the two children "now in prison confessed before the honored magistrates upon their examination here in Salem, the 16 day of this instant September 1692, that [the specter of] their mother appeared before them and made them witches." The next day, September 17, at the trial of their mother, the two children were made to "affirm before the grand inquest that the above written evidences are truth."²¹⁹ The magistrates, as usual, twisted the terrified children's references to their mother into a witchcraft accusation.

Mercy Wardwell, 18, was among the children brought to the courtroom to read and affirm the confessions drawn up for them. On September 15 Mercy was shown her confession; it contained the statement, "Her companions were her father, mother, sister Sarah Hawkes, and William Barker."²²⁰ Realizing that the magistrates intended to use this statement as evidence against her father at his trial, and against her mother if she came to trial, Mercy retracted her words. The scribe wrote, "Said she did not know that her father and mother were witches." On the next day, September 16, Mercy was again brought into the courtroom at the grand jury inquest for Mary Parker. Along with the other Andover children, Mercy had acted the role of an afflicted girl at the examination of Mary Parker on September 2. Mary Parker, aged 55 and a widow, had refused to confess.²²¹ When Mercy understood that the magistrates intended to use the part she played as an afflicted person as evidence against Mary Parker, Mercy once again refused to fall in line. The scribe wrote that Mercy said, "I did not certainly know that said Parker was a

²¹⁹ Woodward, *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, 2:129-135.

²²⁰ Sarah Hawkes was not scheduled for trial and William Barker had escaped. William Barker and Samuel Wardwell, good friends, were free-thinkers of Andover.

²²¹ On September 2, when John Hathorne asked, "How long have ye been in the share of the Devil?" Mary Parker resolutely answered, "I know nothing of it." (Essex County Archives, *Witchcraft*, 2:30.)

witch."²²² On both occasions Mercy might well have renounced more had she not been cut off by the hostile magistrates.

Giles Corey, the husband of the condemned Martha Corey, stood mute; that is, he refused to plead either guilty or not guilty. As a result, the law said that he could not be tried by jury. The enraged judges used an archaic law against this man. They would crush him by piling large stones upon him until he made a plea. Corey remained adamant and would not enter a plea. During the pressing, his tongue was pressed out of his mouth; Sheriff Corwin used his cane to force it in again as he lay dying. The day was September 19, 1692.

In the two court meetings in September, fourteen women and one man were condemned. The magistrates intended to hang them all. But the half-dozen or so ministers directing the clerical aspects of the witch hunt objected. To reject the charge that spectral evidence alone was used for conviction, these ministers had made valiant attempts to induce confessions. The Rev. Barnard, in sharp contrast to his Salem Village counterpart, Samuel Parris, had obtained a nearly perfect success ratio; everyone from his parish in Andover had confessed, except for two.²²³ The execution of confessors at this juncture might bring further confessions to a screeching halt. The decision was made not to hang the five condemned who had confessed—Abigail (Dane) Faulkner,²²⁴ Rebecca Eames, Mary (Foster) Lacey, Ann Foster, and Abigail Hobbs. Instead they would be held in prison until the time was ripe. But the ten condemned who were non-confessors would be hanged on schedule. One was Mary Bradbury, wife of Thomas Bradbury. Recall that he was the court clerk at

²²² Essex Institute, *Witchcraft Collection*, "Examinations."

²²³ The two Andover non-confessors were Martha Carrier and Mary Parker. In addition, there were two Andover recanters, Samuel Wardwell, who completely renounced his confession, and his daughter Mercy Wardwell, who partially renounced hers. Martha Carrier, arrested as part of the Salem Village witch hunt, was hanged on August 19, 1692. Mary Parker and Samuel Wardwell, both condemned on September 17, were hanged on September 22, 1692.

²²⁴ Abigail Faulkner had made a weak confession, if one at all. In any case Abigail Faulkner was temporarily safe from the hangman because she was pregnant.

Salisbury when the three Quaker women were flogged in 1662. Mary Bradbury was allowed to escape.

Now there were nine who would be hanged. Among them was Dorcas Hoar who belonged to the parish of the Rev. John Hale of Beverly. This was Hale's time to shine. He convinced Dorcas that that confession would save her life, at least for a little while. John Hale, together with three other ministers, Nicholas Noyes, Daniel Epes, and John Emerson, drew up a petition in which they stated that Dorcas was ready to confess the witchcraft for which she was already condemned. They said that she had identified others guilty of the same crime. They requested that she be granted a month's additional time or more to prepare for death. They warned that, if she relapsed or again started afflicting others by witchcraft, there would be grounds to hasten her execution. The four ministers ended the petition by saying that her short reprieve might not only tend to save her soul, but also encourage others to confess and give glory to God. The four submitted the petition on Wednesday, September 21. Later that day magistrate Bartholomew Gedney heard her confession and consented that her execution be reprieved until further order. This petition, better than any other extant document, stated the explicit position of the clergy who were driving the witch hunt. They regarded confessions as essential; to encourage others to confess, they deemed that only non-confessing witches should be hanged until further developments.

With Dorcas Hoar plucked from the hangman, eight were left. These eight—seven women and one man—were hanged on Thursday, September 22, a chill and rainy day. They were Martha Corey, Mary Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Margaret Scott, Wilnot Redd, Mary Parker, and Samuel Wardwell. All had remained resolute in their refusals to confess. In the morning the eight were loaded onto a cart. When the cart reached the outskirts of the town, it turned off the main road and began to climb Gallows Hill. In going up the hill, the cart became stuck in a muddy rut. The afflicted girls following close behind chanted, "The Devil hinders the cart."²²⁵

The courage of these eight who had refused to fabricate confessions was truly astonishing. Martha Corey, wife to Giles Corey, protested her innocence upon the ladder and concluded her life with a prayer. Martha Corey had been imprisoned since March 21. Mary Easty, sister of Rebecca Nurse, took her last farewell of her husband, children and friends. Those present reported that it was distinct, devout, and affectionate, drawing tears from the eyes of many.

Ann Pudeator, widowed in 1682, held two valuable estates in Salem Town. After her condemnation she petitioned the Court, saying that "the evidence of John Best, Sr., and John Best, Jr., and Samuel Pickworth, which was given against me in Court, were all of them false and untrue, and, beside the above-said John Best has been formerly whipped and likewise is recorded for a liar. I would humbly beg of your honors to take it into your judicious and pious consideration, that my life not be taken away by such false evidences and witnesses as these be. Likewise, the evidence given in against me by Sarah Churchill and Mary Warren I am altogether ignorant of, and know nothing in the least measure about it, nor nothing else concerning the crime of witchcraft, for which I am condemned to die."²²⁶ Not interested in the truth, the Court took no heed of her petition.

Mary Parker was the widow of Nathan Parker, an original proprietor of Andover. The Parker land was extensive and valuable, lying adjacent to the Wardwell farm. After Mary's execution, sheriff George Corwin, sent an officer to Andover to seize her estate, saying it was forfeited to the king. The officer seized the cattle, corn, and hay, and ordered her two sons to go to Salem and make a deal with Corwin, or else the land would be exposed to sale. Corwin settled with the sons, demanding £10 from them but taking £6. Apparently Corwin feared the mounting opposition of Andover's leading families, closing ranks to prevent land confiscation in Andover. The Parker land was saved.

When it was his turn, Wardwell spoke to the people claiming his innocence. The executioner stood beside him, smoking. Smoke blew into Wardwell's face and interrupted his

226 Upham, *Salem Witchcraft*, 2:329-330.

words. The afflicted girls chanted, "The Devil hinders Wardwell with smoke." After the execution the Rev. Nicholas Noyes, pointing to the bodies, declared, "What a sad thing it is to see eight firebrands of hell hanging there."²²⁷

That evening, Thursday September 22, justices William Stoughton, John Hathorne, and Samuel Sewall met with Cotton Mather to help him prepare his forthcoming book, *The Wonders of the Invisible World*. These men were the hard core of the Puritan old-guard witch hunters. It was raining so hard that William Stoughton stayed overnight and left early in the morning. Cotton Mather recognized William Stoughton as "a real friend to New England."²²⁸

A commemorative stone for the executed victims has never been placed on Gallows Hill. Today the place serves as a town park. Except for a small corner set aside for a playing field, the hill still remains in its natural state. There are few such fine views of Salem as from this tragic spot. The city, embraced by two arms of the sea, extends from the foot of the hill to the harbor. Beyond stretch the bay and the islands. Mankind has desecrated the Earth, but time has not changed the ocean. The sea looks as it did to those who died on Gallows Hill. No one has identified the precise spot of the burials; the innocent rest in graves unconfined and unknown.

Fear no more the heat of the sun,
Nor the furious winter's rages;
Thou thy worldly task hast done,
Home art gone, and ta'en thy wages.²²⁹

227 Calef, *More Wonders*, 262-265.

228 Thomas Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, 1:365.

229 Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, Act 4, Sc. 2.

including John Emerson, Daniel Epes, Zachariah Symmes, and Samuel Cheever, also played some role in the summer of 1692.²³¹

Confessions were needed for various purposes. The civil authorities wanted to use accusations made by confessing witches to implicate others as witches. Some of the clergy were convinced that confessions helped to establish the reality of the invisible world of the Devil, a favorite theme in their sermons. Cotton Mather wrote, "There is witchcraft. First we have the testimony of Scripture for it: Exod. 22:18, *Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live*. Secondly we have the testimony of experience for it. Many witches have like those in Acts 19:18 confessed and showed their deeds. This confession is often made by them that are owners of as much reason as the people that laugh at all conceit of witchcraft. There can be no judgment left of any human affairs if such confessions must be ridiculed."²³²

The ministers visited the prisons to confer with the prisoners in an effort to elicit confessions. "The prison being full of persons committed on suspicion of witchcraft, I went and preached unto the persons in prison, (on Act. 24, 25) with a special help from the spirit of the Lord," wrote Cotton Mather of his activities during the summer of 1692.²³³ The Rev. John Hale also wrote that he talked with the inmates of the prison. The Rev. John Emerson, on a visit to the prison, told Mary (Lovett) Tyler that she was certainly a witch and urged her to confess.

The following table lists all the known confessors in the Salem tragedy, their marital status and age, and the date of their first confession. The first five, Tituba, Abigail Hobbs, Deliverance Hobbs, Margaret Jacobs (who later recanted), and Candy were part of the Salem Village witch hunt; the rest, except Dorcas Hoar, were part of the Andover witch hunt. Eight of the confessors were brought to trial and condemned: Abigail

231 Because of the doings of a few ministers, the whole Puritan church has been disgraced in the eyes of history. In the fall of 1692, Increase Mather and other ministers representing the majority of the clergy played a significant role in bringing the tragedy to an end.

232 Cotton Mather, *A Discourse on Witchcraft*.

233 Cotton Mather, "Diary," Summer, 1692.

THE ANDOVER CONFESSIONS

ONLY ABOUT A DOZEN MINISTERS were actively engaged in the witch hunt. Their acknowledged leader was Cotton Mather; he interacted directly with the civil authorities, giving advice and instructions when needed. It was essential that all confessions adhered to established church doctrine. Cotton Mather set the tone in his letter of May 31, 1692, giving instructions to John Richards, one of the justices of the Court of Oyer and Terminer. "Now first a credible confession of the guilty wretches is one of the most hopeful ways of coming at them, & I say a credible confession, because even confession itself sometimes is not credible. All the difficulty is how to obtain this confession. For this I am far from urging the un-English method of torture [physical torture]. What ever has a tendency to put the witches into confusion, is likely to bring them unto confession too. Here cross & swift questions have their use."²³⁰ These words of Cotton Mather about a credible confession served as a guideline throughout the witch hunt.

Cotton Mather's father, Increase Mather, was also prominent at high levels in the witch hunt, but he was much less fanatic than his son. At the operational level of the witch hunt were the Rev. Samuel Parris, a member of the Salem Village conspiracy, and the Rev. Thomas Barnard, a member of the Andover conspiracy. Assisting from the sidelines were the Rev. Nicholas Noyes, assistant minister at Salem, the Rev. John Hale of Beverly, and the Rev. Deodat Lawson, a former minister at Salem Village who visited Salem Village during the initial phase of the Salem Village witch hunt. Other ministers,

230 Cotton Mather, "Letter of May 31, 1692 to John Richards."

Stoughton did not sign death warrants for these five, so they were spared from the mass execution of September 22. Also the condemned Dorcas Hoar was spared from that execution because she made a last minute confession. But Stoughton had no intention of keeping this policy in place. At the trials of the Superior Court of Judicature held in January 1693, he did sign death warrants for eight condemned women, including those whom he had spared in September.²⁷⁰

Spectral evidence was now the subject of furious controversy among the New England clergy. The idea of continuing the trials as before alarmed many people. Phipps was particularly unhappy about the use of the spectral evidence provided by the afflicted girls. On inquiry he was informed by the justices of the court that although they began with this spectral evidence, they also relied on human testimony. Human testimony consisted of nothing more than base slander against the accused offered by various witnesses. This type of slander was also spectral in nature. Despite objections, the court and chief judge Stoughton, in particular, insisted on trying the accused by the use of spectral evidence. They scheduled the next trial for November 1, 1692, in Salem.

On October 3, 1692, Increase Mather presented his *Cases of Conscience Concerning Evil Spirits* before a conference of ministers. Pointing out the dangers of "over-hasty suspecting or too precipitant judging," he came out strongly against the use of spectral evidence. In the same month the Rev. Increase Mather visited the Salem prison and made a revealing investigation of the conditions under which the confessions had been obtained.²⁷¹ The tide had finally turned and was ebbing.

270 Of the five confessing witches condemned in September, Ann Foster had died in jail and Abigail Faulkner was still pregnant. The three left, namely Abigail Hobbs, Mary (Foster) Lacey, and Rebecca Eames, plus Dorcas Hoar (the last minute confessor), plus Elizabeth Proctor, a non-confessing witch relieved for pregnancy in August, plus the three confessing witches (Mary Post, Elizabeth Johnson, Jr., and Sarah Wardwell) condemned in January 1693, made up the eight.

271 Upham, *Salem Witchcraft*, 2:204.

COLLAPSE OF THE WITCH HUNT

THE MASS EXECUTION OF EIGHT PEOPLE on September 22, 1692, marked a turning point in the witchcraft affair. On one hand, the witch hunters were going full tilt, destroying their enemies and taking their lands and goods. On the other hand, a strong reaction led by several high ranking citizens had begun to set in. When Governor Phipps returned from command of the army in Maine on September 29, 1692, he found people seriously alarmed at the Court's proceedings.

By this point, nineteen persons had been hanged, one pressed to death, and eight more condemned. Of these twenty-eight, more than a third were church members. Most had unblemished reputations, yet not one had been cleared. Many in the community believed that at least some, if not all of this number were innocent. About 150 accused witches were in prisons awaiting trial; another 200 had been accused but were not yet imprisoned. The prison at Salem was overflowing; many of the accused were in other prisons, also full. The names of most of the 150 that were imprisoned are known from official records. Because complaints had not been filed for the additional 200, none can be identified today except for the few mentioned in contemporary accounts.

In order to obtain confessions, some ministers had held out the hope of leniency, false though it may have been. As a result more than fifty of the prisoners had confessed witchcraft. However, five of these confessors did not find leniency but were condemned in September trials.²⁶⁹ To placate these ministers, chief justice

269 The five were Abigail Hobbs, Ann Foster, Mary (Foster) Lacey, Abigail Faulkner, and Rebecca Eames.

truly say of them that while they lived among us, we have had no cause to judge them such persons as, of late, they have been represented and reported to be, nor do we know that any of their neighbors had any just grounds to suspect them of that evil that they are now charged with."²⁸² The petition affirmed the innocence of all, a bold step, indicative of the courage of the Rev. Dane.

On January 2, 1693, the day before the scheduled date for the trials of the Superior Court of Judicature at Salem, the Rev. Francis Dane, in a letter to an unnamed clergyman, made a statement concerning his parishioners who had been accused and imprisoned. In his letter Dane vindicated Andover from the scandalous reports. "Many innocent persons have been accused & imprisoned. The conceit of specter evidence as an infallible mark did too far prevail. Hence we so easily parted with our neighbors of honest & good report. Hence we so easily parted with our children, and thus things were hurried on, hence such strange breaches in families. Several that came before me, that spake with so much sobriety, professing their innocence, they were too much urged to confess."²⁸³ In a postscript the Rev. Dane said of his granddaughter Elizabeth Johnson, Jr., "she is but simplify at the best."²⁸⁴

Charles Upham in 1867 lucidly described Francis Dane's predicament and courage. "The wrath of the accusers was concentrated upon him to an unparalleled extent from their entrance into Andover. They did not venture to attack him directly. His venerable age and commanding position made it inexpedient; but they struck as near him, and at as many points, as they dared. They accused, imprisoned, and caused to be convicted and sentenced to death, one of his daughters, Abigail (Dane) Faulkner. They accused, imprisoned, and brought to trial another, Elizabeth (Dane) Johnson. They imprisoned, and brought to the sentence of death, his granddaughter, Elizabeth

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ This statement by Dane confirms Calef's statement that Elizabeth Johnson, Jr. and Mary Post "were, as appears by their behavior, the most senseless and ignorant creatures that could be found."

Johnson, Jr. They cried out against, and caused to be imprisoned, several others of his grandchildren. They accused and imprisoned Deliverance the wife, and also the man-servant, of his son Nathaniel. Elizabeth (Jackson) Howe was the wife of his nephew. Surely, no one was more signalized by their malice and resentment than Francis Dane; and he deserves to be recognized as standing pre-eminent, and, for a time, almost alone, in bold denunciation and courageous resistance of the execrable proceedings of that dark day."²⁸⁵

The first meeting of the new Superior Court of Judicature was held at Salem, January 3, 1693, ten months after the start of the witchcraft affair. Spectral testimony was not admitted as evidence in this court; this essentially left human testimony and confession as the only evidence to be allowed against the accused.

Fifty-six prisoners were brought to court. Thirty were cleared by the grand jury; the remaining twenty-six were bound over for trial by jury. Except for three, all were found innocent. According to Calef, "Two [Elizabeth Johnson, Jr. and Mary Post] of which were, as appears by their behavior, the most senseless and ignorant creatures that could be found; besides which it does not appear what came in against those was more than among the rest that were acquitted. The third [Sarah Wardwell] was the wife of Wardwell, who was one of the twenty executed, and it seems they had both confessed themselves guilty; but he retracting his said confession, was tried and executed; it is supposed that this woman fearing her husband's fate, was not so stiff in her denials of her former confession, such as it was. These three received sentence of death."²⁸⁶

The witchcraft epidemic had almost played itself out. Yet Sarah Wardwell found herself among the three condemned by the new court. From Calef's description, it might appear that the other two were condemned in order to avoid the impression that Sarah Wardwell was being singled out.

The next meeting of the Superior Court of Judicature was held at Charlestown on January 31, 1693. In his letter of February 21,

²⁸⁵ Upham, *Salem Witchcraft*, 2:460.

²⁸⁶ Calef, *More Wonders*, 332-333.

acknowledged his mistakes and stated his desire to humble himself in the sight of God and his people. Sewall stood alone while the note was read in clear tones to the congregation.

When Sarah Wardwell came home after her release in May 1693 with her baby Rebecca, she found her children scattered and her Andover farm devastated. Sheriff George Corwin had come from Salem with his deputy and assistants during the past September. Vulture-like, they had seized all moveable property from the farm, including five cows, a heifer, a yearling, a horse, nine hogs, and eight loads of hay, and even had harvested six acres of corn upon the ground. They had taken her husband's carpenter tools. Fortunately their efforts to confiscate Andover land had been thwarted by the town's leading citizens who belonged to the resistance movement. The Wardwell land in Andover²⁹² was safe, but Sarah's more valuable land in Lynn, the legacy of Adam Hawkes, was gone.

In 1694 Governor Sir William Phipps left Boston for England, where he died in 1695. "Before he went he pardoned such as had been condemned, for which they gave about 30 shillings each to the King's attorney."²⁹³ The leadership of Massachusetts fell upon William Stoughton who became acting governor. His old guard resisted and repressed any motion, even the slightest, toward redress and restitution of the property of the witchcraft victims.

The condemned were still under their attainders. John Proctor, executed on August 19, 1692, had been a rich man, with extensive acreage in Ipswich and in Salem Farms. In 1696 his widow Elizabeth Proctor, who had been among the condemned, petitioned the General Court for the recovery of her husband's lands. "Before my husband was executed, it is evident that somebody contrived a will wherein his whole estate is disposed of. Although the sentence was executed on my dear husband, yet I

²⁹² Some of the Wardwell property now forms the campus of Andover Academy. In 1778 Samuel Phillips purchased the estate of Solomon Wardwell, a carpenter, and the first Academy building was his carpenter shop. Solomon was the great-grandson of Samuel Wardwell.

²⁹³ Calef, *More Wonders*. 336.

am still alive. Since my husband's death, the said will is proved and approved by the judge of probate and, by that kind of disposal, the whole estate is disposed of. Although God has granted my life, yet those who claim my husband's estate, by that which they call a will, will not suffer me to have one penny of the estate which, as I humbly conceive, does belong or ought to belong to me by the law, for they say I am dead in the law."²⁹⁴ Nothing came of her petition.

After Stoughton's death on July 7, 1701, new hope was raised that some restitution would be made to the witchcraft victims. On March 2, 1703, twenty-one residents of Andover, Salem Village, and Topsfield petitioned the General Court requesting the reversal of attainders. Sarah Wardwell was among them. This was her last known act before her death, her final effort to recover her property in Lynn. Not until October 17, 1711 did the General Court pass an act to reverse the attainders of George Burroughs and others for witchcraft.²⁹⁵ The executed Samuel Wardwell was included but not his wife, Sarah Wardwell. Her son, Samuel Wardwell, Jr. made one last attempt. In a petition on February 19, 1712, he wrote, "My mother Sarah Wardwell was condemned by the court at Salem sometime in January 1693, but her name is not inserted in the late Act of the General Court, for

²⁹⁴ Massachusetts Archives, *Witchcraft*, 135:110.

²⁹⁵ The others named on the act were the condemned Mary Bradbury, Martha Carrier, Giles Corey and his wife, Rebecca Eames, Mary Easty, Abigail Faulkner, Ann Foster, Sarah Good, Dorcas Hoar, Abigail Hobbs, Elizabeth Howe, George Jacobs, Sr., Mary (Foster) Lacey, Rebecca Nurse, Mary Parker, Mary Post, John Proctor, Samuel Wardwell, Sarah Wilds, and John Willard. Intentionally left off the list were the condemned women Bridget Bishop, Elizabeth Johnson, Jr., Susannah Martin, Alice Parker, Elizabeth Proctor, Ann Pudeator, Wilmot Redd, Margaret Scott, and Sarah Wardwell. Bridget Bishop's valuable house and land in Salem Town across the street from the house of the Rev. Noyes, Susannah Martin's land in Amesbury, Ann Pudeator's two estates on the north line of the common in Salem Town, Elizabeth Proctor's extensive acreage in Salem and Ipswich, and Sarah Wardwell's acreage in Lynn had been confiscated, not to be returned. In 1700 magistrate Bartholomew Gedney, an owner of many properties in Salem, had possession of one of the Pudeator estates, and John Best, one of her accusers, the other.

the taking off the attainer of those who were condemned. My mother, being since deceased, I thought it my duty to endeavor that her name may have the benefit of that Act."²⁹ His petition failed.

Families struggled for years to recover their lands, but to no avail. On August 28, 1957, almost two hundred and fifty years later, the General Court passed a resolve declaring that "Whereas, one Ann Pudeator and certain other persons were indicted, tried, found guilty, sentenced to death, and executed in the year 1692 for witchcraft; and said persons may have been illegally tried, convicted and sentenced by a possibly illegal Court of Oyer and Terminer, and whereas the General Court of Massachusetts is informed that certain descendants of said Ann Pudeator and said other persons are still distressed by the record of such proceedings; therefore be it resolved that no disgrace or cause for distress attaches to said descendants, and be it further resolved that the passage of this resolve shall not affect in any way whatever the title to, or rights in any real or personal property, nor shall it require or permit the remission of any penalty, fine or forfeiture hitherto imposed or incurred."

The resolve did not lift any of the remaining attainders, and it further confirmed the status quo as to property rights. The ghost of Stoughton, slightly agitated by all the commotion, fell back again into peaceful repose. The spoils of witchcraft fanaticism were secure.

²⁹ 296 Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 220.

PART II: THE HOUSE OF THE SEVEN GABLES

18

MATTHEW MAULE, WIZARD

IMAGINE TRAVELING BACK IN TIME to the Salem of 1692, a small coastal settlement on a narrow neck of land jutting out into the harbor. In the center of town stands the meetinghouse with its bell tower pointing skyward. Houses and small cottages line the dirt tracks stretching down to the waterfront and its wharves. Merchant ships and fishing boats crowd the inner harbor. Inland, a deep forest blankets the land, broken only by a few scattered farms and villages.

In our day, the reality of seventeenth century New England lives on through the genius of Nathaniel Hawthorne and his narratives. An artist of exceptional sensitivity and insight, Hawthorne suffered most of his life from the knowledge of his ancestors' role in the enforcement of the Puritan code. Major William Hathorne persecuted the Quakers; magistrate John Hathorne persecuted the accused witches.

In the *The House of the Seven Gables*, Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote, "Old Matthew Maule, in a word, was executed for the crime of witchcraft. He was one of the martyrs to that terrible delusion, which should teach us that the influential classes are fully liable to all the passionate error that has ever characterized the maddest mob. Clergymen, judges, statesmen—the wisest, calmest, holiest persons of their day—stood in the inner circle round about the gallows, loudest to applaud the work of blood. If any one part of their proceedings can be said to

deserve less blame than another, it was the singular indiscrimination with which they persecuted not merely the poor and aged, as in former judicial massacres, but people of all ranks; their own equals, brethren, and wives."

"Amid the disorder of such various ruin, it is not strange that a man of inconsiderable note, like Maule, should have trodden the martyr's path to the hill of execution almost unremarked in the throng of his fellow sufferers. But, in after days, when the frenzy of that hideous epoch had subsided, it was remembered how loudly Colonel Pyncheon had joined in the general cry, to purge the land from witchcraft; nor did it fail to be whispered that there was an invincible acrimony in the zeal with which he had sought the condemnation of Matthew Maule. It was well known that the victim had recognized the bitterness of personal enmity in his prosecutor's conduct towards him, and that he declared himself hunted to death for his spoil."²⁹⁷

Given that the real-life magistrate John Hathorne is the fictional Colonel Pyncheon, the question arises, who is the real-life counterpart of the fictional wizard Matthew Maule?

In the Salem witchcraft affair, only six men were executed as wizards. George Jacobs, Sr., John Willard, John Proctor, and the Rev. George Burroughs were hanged on August 19, 1692. Giles Corey was pressed to death on September 19, 1692. Finally, Samuel Wardwell was hanged on September 22, 1692.

A former minister of Salem Village, George Burroughs had been hounded out by the acrimony, snooping, and refusal on the part of some parishioners to pay their share of the minister's salary. Although he had been upheld and the parish reprimanded by the General Court, he preferred to leave rather than struggle further with the congregation. It is clear that Burroughs had incurred the wrath of the Putnam family of Salem Village, and it was they who accused him of witchcraft in 1692.

Under ordinary circumstances a Puritan minister would be immune to witchcraft accusations. However the ruling old guard deemed otherwise, and they threw the Virginia-born Burroughs to the wolves, the witch hunters. In 1692 Burroughs was the

pastor of the church in Wells, Maine. His principal crime seemed to be a disbelief in witchcraft itself. Apparently the condemnation of a tolerant and forgiving minister was an important symbol for the staunch Puritans. A Harvard graduate and clergyman, George Burroughs was an important figure and does not fit the description of Matthew Maule in the novel, a man "of inconsiderable note."

Nathaniel Hawthorne described George Jacobs, Sr. in *Main-Street* as upright, quiet, blameless, a good husband, and a good father. He does not fit Hawthorne's description of the wizard Matthew Maule.

In *Main-Street*, Hawthorne described John Proctor and his wife Elizabeth as an aged couple who appeared to have led a truly Christian life. John Proctor, a well-known and wealthy innkeeper, is not the Matthew Maule of Nathaniel Hawthorne's book.

Eighty-year-old Giles Corey, a brave man, was not hanged but pressed to death for standing mute. He is not the character Matthew Maule.

This leaves one man, Samuel Wardwell, the last person, as it turned out, to be hanged for witchcraft in Salem. Wardwell was convinced that he was singled out for execution no matter how he pleaded. At first he refused to confess, but after his wife, stepdaughter and daughter were arrested he made a confession, desperately hoping that it would protect them. Up to that time, any accused witch who had confessed was not brought to trial. Despite his confession, Wardwell soon realized that he would be tried and convicted. An old hand at predictions, he foresaw that he would be sent to his death for witchcraft. On September 13, 1692, Samuel Wardwell renounced his confession and was immediately brought to trial. He was condemned on September 17 and hanged on September 22.

The Wardwells, a family of strong convictions, continually found themselves on the wrong side of Puritan law. They were Antinomian heretics, Quakers, and finally accused witches. Samuel Wardwell's father, Thomas Wardwell, a follower of Anne Hutchinson, was banished from Boston for heresy in 1637. Samuel Wardwell's brother Eliakim, and Eliakim's wife Lydia, converted Quakers, were forced to make their escape to New Jersey in 1664. For Samuel Wardwell, the accused wizard, there was neither banishment nor escape.

Calef gave the following eyewitness account, "Wardwell having formerly confessed himself guilty, and after denied it, was soon brought upon his trial; his former confession and spectral testimony was all that appeared against him. At execution while he was speaking to the people, protesting his innocence, the executioner being at the same time smoking tobacco, the smoke coming in his face, interrupted his discourse, those accusers said, 'The Devil hinders him with smoke.'"

John Hathorne sat on horseback watching the execution. Eight were executed on that rainy day, September 22, 1692, on Gallows Hill. Compare the above contemporary account by Calef with this fictional account given by Nathaniel Hawthorne. "At the moment of execution—with the halter about his neck, and while Colonel Pyncheon [the real-life John Hathorne] sat on horseback, grimly gazing at the scene—Maule had addressed him from the scaffold and uttered a prophecy."

Of all the men accused in 1692, Samuel Wardwell alone had a history of telling fortunes and making prophecies. He alone found amusement as an amateur magician. Adding to the horror of this lapse of Puritan morality was his curiosity, imagination, and inclination toward independent thinking, traits that were unwelcome to the old guard.

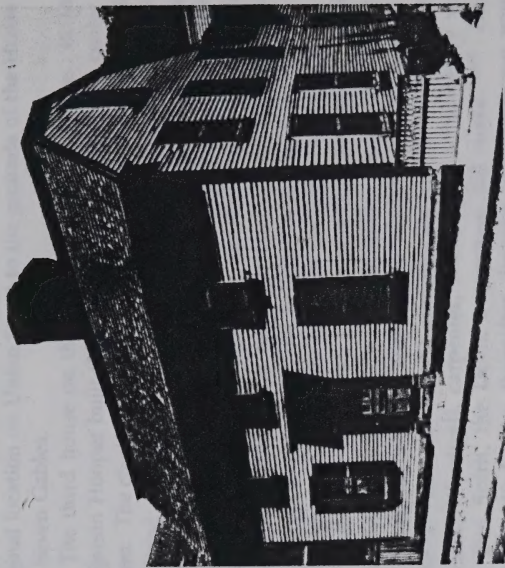
Samuel Wardwell was a simple man, a carpenter, a person of small importance, "a man of inconsiderable note." The son of Matthew Maule in the novel was a carpenter named Thomas. The son of Samuel Wardwell in real life was a carpenter named Thomas. The fictional Matthew Maule corresponds to the real-life carpenter Samuel Wardwell.

Samuel Wardwell died in the final execution of the Salem witchcraft mania, a tragedy that was destined to lead to the fall of the New England Puritan oligarchy. Its demise is symbolized in the *The House of the Seven Gables* with the death of the fictitious Colonel Pyncheon, corresponding to the real-life John Hathorne, "The ironhearted Puritan, the relentless persecutor, the grasping and strong-willed man, was dead! Dead, in his new house!"²⁹⁸

THE LIFTING OF THE CURSE

UNTIL THE PRESENT CENTURY Salem was unique. No other city in America could boast of so many antique, wooden, gable-roofed houses. Three hundred years ago the occupants of those houses professed a full belief in the supernatural; they were eyewitnesses to the days of witchcraft. During this century nearly every one of those ancient structures was destroyed or mutilated beyond recognition. One wonders if the real reason was that the town of Salem wanted to purge itself of its past and get rid of the ghosts that haunted those antique houses. Although Nathaniel Hawthorne believed that ghost stories should not be treated seriously, he was tempted to play with the notion in his fiction. Now, in this chapter, the ghosts that inhabit the pages of *The House of the Seven Gables* are at last identified.

In Salem today, halfway down a narrow street, tourists can find three weather-beaten wooden houses. These ancient buildings, in the midst of a beautiful garden, face the blue waters of the harbor. The most famous, with its huge chimneys and acutely-peaked gables, is the House of the Seven Gables. In 1668 John Turner had the original structure built at its present location, which was then near "a natural spring of soft and pleasant water—a rare treasure on the sea-girt peninsula." Tradition says that the carpenter "did his work so faithfully that the timbered framework fastened by his hands still holds together." In 1782, the grandson of John Turner sold the house to Captain Samuel Ingersoll, whose wife was a Hawthorne. Their daughter, Miss Susie Ingersoll, inherited the house and lived a solitary life in it. Her cousin, Nathaniel Hawthorne, eighteen years her junior, was almost her sole visitor. To Nathaniel Hawthorne, the house was "an object of curiosity from my



Hawthorne's birthplace as it appeared one hundred years ago

boyhood, both as a specimen of the best and stateliest architecture of a long-past epoch, and as the scene of events more full of interest than a gray feudal castle."²⁹⁹

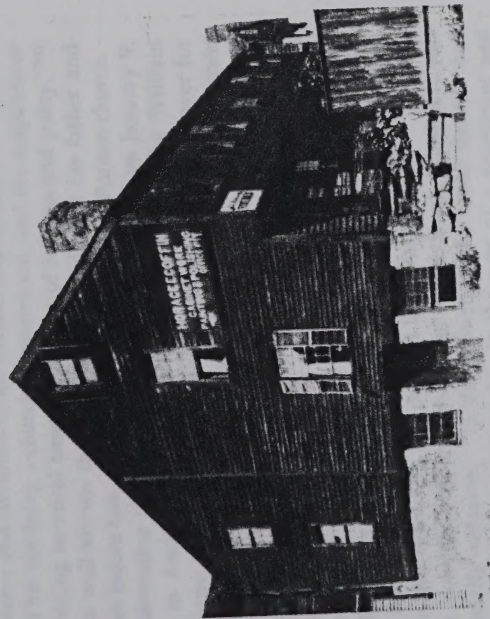
The second house on the site is the birthplace of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Purchased by Hawthorne's grandfather in 1772, the author was born here on July 4, 1804. After his birth, the family lived there for only a few years. By 1900 it was owned by a sturdy Irish woman and her husband, who kept the shutters drawn, and allowed no one to tour the house, having refused, apparently, offers as high as \$5.00. In 1958 it was moved from its original location on Union Street to the grounds of the House of the Seven Gables.

The third house on the site is the Hooper house. In 1682 Benjamin Hooper built this house for his family in the center of Salem. The clapboards covering the outside were cut from the log by hand; the space between the outer and inner walls was cemented with brick and mortar, a common means of protection against fire. The beams, exposed in the low studded rooms, were hewn from rough logs with an axe, and their crude ornamentation was accomplished with an auger box. Years later the house became a bakery. This "old bakery," was moved in 1911 to its new foundation next to the House of the Seven Gables.

Remember that Sarah Hooper was born in 1650, the oldest daughter of the well-to-do Hooper family. In 1670 at the age of 19, Sarah became the wife of the wealthy Adam Hawkes of Lynn, 65 years old. In 1672, after moving from Salem to Andover, "Samuel Wardwell, carpenter, wickedly and feloniously with the Evil Spirit, the Devil, a covenant did make."³⁰⁰ Adam Hawkes died soon thereafter, leaving his handsome young widow Sarah a small fortune in money and extensive and valuable acreage in Lynn. Several young men of well-placed Puritan families vied for her attention but "her eyes fell upon the carpenter, clad in a green woolen jacket, a pair of loose breeches, open at the knees, and with a long pocket for his rule, the end of which protruded. A glow of artistic approval brightened over her face; she was struck with admiration—which she made no

299 Ibid.

300 Woodward. *Records of Salem Witchcraft*. 2:147.



The Hooper house as it appeared one hundred years ago

attempt to conceal—of the remarkable comeliness, strength and energy of his figure." Not long widowed, Sarah, 22, married the carpenter, 29, a man beneath her class. Did the rejected suitors believe that the carpenter had exercised a subtle influence over her? "Might not this influence be the same that was called witchcraft?"³⁰¹

Did the carpenter, who became wealthy from his marriage to Sarah, also hope to gain social standing? "But, after all, what worked most to the young carpenter's disadvantage was, first, the reserve and sternness of his natural disposition, and next, the fact of his not being a church communicant, and the suspicion of his holding heretical tenets in matters of religion and polity."³⁰² It was well-known that Samuel Wardwell, like his father and brother before him, never lovingly embraced the Puritan church.

Remember that the wedding was performed on January 9, 1673 in Andover by the Puritan magistrate, Major William Hathorne; it was the only time he ever set foot in Andover for such an occasion.³⁰³ The major saw all of his sons except John meet with mysterious and untimely deaths and did not rule out witchcraft as the cause. After the major's death in 1680, John Hathorne became a magistrate, carrying on in his father's footsteps.

The major's brother, also named John Hathorne, lived in Lynn and had worked closely with Adam Hawkes in the early days when that town was laid out and land was plentiful.³⁰⁴ Adam's land, now the property of Samuel's wife, Sarah Wardwell, was especially valuable. "In the growth of the town, the site had become exceedingly desirable in the eyes of a prominent and powerful personage, who asserted plausible claims to the proprietorship of this, and a large adjacent tract of land. Colonel Pyncheon [magistrate John Hathorne], the claimant, as we

301 Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables*, Chapter 13.

302 Ibid.

303 At the time of Sarah's marriage to Samuel Wardwell, the major had two unmarried sons, John, 31, and William, Jr., 26. The major's eldest son, Eleazer, 36, was married to Abigail Corwin.

304 At the time of Sarah's marriage to Samuel Wardwell, the Lynn John Hathorne had an unmarried son, John, Jr., aged 26, as well as two younger sons.

gather from whatever traits are preserved, was characterized by an iron energy of purpose. Matthew Maule [Samuel Wardwell], on the other hand, though an obscure man, was stubborn in the defense of what he considered his right. No written record of this dispute is known to be in existence. Our acquaintance with the whole subject is derived chiefly by tradition. This controversy between two ill-matched antagonists—at a period, moreover, when personal influence had far more weight than now—remained for years undecided, and came to a close only with the death of the party [Samuel Wardwell] occupying the disputed soil. The mode of his death, too, affects the mind differently, in our day, from what it did a century and a half ago. It was a death that blasted with strange horror the humble name of the dweller [Samuel Wardwell], and made it seem almost a religious act to obliterate his place and memory among men."³⁰⁵

"After the reported wizard's death, his humble homestead had fallen an easy spoil into Colonel Pyncheon's [magistrate John Hathorne's] grasp."³⁰⁶ Julian Hawthorne, the son of Nathaniel, wrote that magistrate John Hathorne, "a punctiliously righteous person according to the Puritan code of morality, ended a poorer man than he began—the witch's curse having taken effect on the worldly prosperity of the family. The site of the present town of Raymond, in Maine, once belonged to the Hathornes [the eastern land]; but the title deeds were in some unaccountable way lost, and were not recovered until the lapse of time had rendered the claim obsolete."³⁰⁷

In 1792, one hundred years after the death of their grandfather Samuel Wardwell on Gallows Hill, the brothers Peter and Samuel Wardwell settled near Raymond, Maine, on the so-called Hathorne lands.³⁰⁸ "In the course of time, the territory was partially cleared and occupied by actual settlers."³⁰⁹ By Nathaniel Hathorne's day the Wardwells had spread over a significant area on "lands which they or their

305 Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables*, Chapter 1.

306 Ibid.

307 Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and his Wife*, 1:26.

308 W. S. Spur, *A History of Otisfield, Maine to 1944*.

309 Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables*, Chapter 1.

fathers had wrested from the wild hand of nature by their own sturdy toil." Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote, "It was an ordinary saying that the old wizard, hanged though he was, had obtained the best end of the bargain in his contest with Colonel Pyncheon [magistrate John Hathorne]; inasmuch as he got possession of the the great Eastern claim [the eastern land in Maine]. A very old aged woman, recently dead, had often used the metaphorical expression, in fireside talk, that miles and miles of Pyncheon [Hathorne] land had been shoveled into Maule's [Wardwell's] grave; which, by the by, was but a very shallow nook, between two rocks, near the summit of Gallows Hill. Again, when the lawyers were making inquiry for the missing document, it was a byword that it would never be found, unless in the wizard's skeleton hand."³¹⁰

"It is not the less certain, however, that awe and terror brooded over the memories of those who died for this horrible crime of witchcraft. Their graves, in the crevices of the rocks, were supposed to be incapable of retaining the occupants who had been so hastily thrust into them. Old Matthew Maule [Samuel Wardwell], especially, was known to have as little hesitation of difficulty in rising out of his grave as an ordinary man in getting out of bed, and was as often seen at midnight as living people at noonday. This pestilent wizard (in whom his just punishment seemed to have wrought no manner of amendment) had an inveterate habit of haunting a certain mansion, styled the House of the Seven Gables."³¹¹

"What sense, meaning, or moral such as ghost stories should be susceptible of, can be traced to the ridiculous legend that, at midnight, all the dead Pyncheons [Hathornes] assemble in the parlor. First comes the ancestor himself [magistrate John Hathorne], in his black cloak, steeple hat, and trunk breeches. The stout Colonel [magistrate John Hathorne] is dissatisfied! So decided is the look of discontent as to impart additional distinctness to his features; through which the moonlight passes, and flickers on the wall beyond. Something has strongly vexed the ancestor! With a grim shake of his head, he turns away.

310 Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables*, Chapter 13.

311 Ibid.

Here come other Pyncheons, the whole tribe. A mother lifts her child.³¹² In a corner, meanwhile, stands the figure of an elderly man [Samuel Wardwell], in a leather jerkin and breeches, with a carpenter's rule sticking out of his side pocket; he points his finger at the bearded Colonel and his descendants, nodding, jeering, mocking, and finally bursting into obstreperous, though inaudible laughter."³¹³

Hathorne family tradition held that the condemned wizard had cursed the magistrate and his descendants. The novel's theme of an ancestral curse springs from Hawthorne's fancy that the wrongdoing of John Hathorne, the relentless witch-hunter, lived into successive generations, even to his own. And, in one very real sense, it did. For Hawthorne, the curse he inherited took a wrenching twist: Instead of dark portents and nebulous forebodings, Nathaniel Hawthorne wrestled with the more immediate, sinister forces of guilt, the guilt he so keenly felt on discovering the long, chilling catalog of his ancestors' misdeeds. Anthony Trollope perceptively commented that Hawthorne created *The House of the Seven Gables* because he had to write it. The book was Hawthorne's attempt to lift the curse of guilt and release himself from the heavy burden that it imposed upon him.

The characters of Phoebe and Holgrave in the novel are the key to the removal of the curse. Much of Phoebe's character is drawn from Nathaniel's wife Sophia (Peabody) Hawthorne, although in the novel Nathaniel makes Phoebe a Pyncheon. Holgrave, the artist and writer in the novel, is a thinly disguised image of Nathaniel himself. Significantly, Nathaniel makes Holgrave a descendant of the wizard. Holgrave does not disclose his relationship until, at the end of the book, he is confident that he has won Phoebe's love. On the death of Judge Pyncheon, Holgrave reveals the dusty secret

312 It is tempting to imagine that the mother and child are Sarah (Hooper) Hawkes Wardwell and her daughter Sarah Hawkes. By happy chance, the Hooper house was saved and moved to its present site next to the House of the Seven Gables.

313 Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables*, Chapter 18.

Sept. 1	Sarah (Hooper) Hawkes Wardwell, 42, condemned, survived	<i>examination:</i> Martha Sprague Abigail Martin
Sept. 1	Sarah Hawkes, 21	<i>examination:</i> Rose Foster
Sept. 1	Mercy Wardwell, 19	<i>examination:</i> Martha Sprague Rose Foster
Sept. 1	Mary (Ayer) Parker, about 55, condemned, hanged	<i>examination:</i> Martha Sprague Timothy Swan
Sept. 7	Mary (Clement) Osgood, about 55	<i>touch test</i>
Sept. 7	Eunice (Potter) Frye, 51	<i>touch test</i>
Sept. 7	Abigail (Wheeler) Barker, 36	<i>touch test</i>
Sept. 7	Mary (Lovett) Tyler, about 40	<i>touch test</i>
Sept. 7	Hannah Tyler, 14	<i>touch test</i>
Sept. 7	Joanna Tyler, 11	<i>touch test</i>
Sept. 7	Martha Tyler, 11	<i>touch test</i>
Sept. 7	Deliverance (Haseltine) Dane, about 37	<i>touch test</i>
Sept. 7	Rebecca (Aslet) Johnson, 40	<i>touch test</i>
Sept. 7	Rebecca Johnson Jr., 17	<i>touch test</i>
Sept. 7	Abigail Faulkner, Jr., 9	<i>touch test</i>
Sept. 7	Dorothy Faulkner, 12	<i>touch test</i>
Sept. 7	Sarah (Lord) Wilson, about 44	<i>touch test</i>
Sept. 7	Sarah Wilson, Jr., 14	<i>touch test</i>
Sept. 7	John Sadie, Jr., about 13	<i>touch test</i>
Sept. 7	Henry Salter, about 65	<i>touch test</i>
Sept. 7	Joseph Draper, 21	<i>touch test</i>
Sept. 7	Male Slave of the Rev. Dane	<i>touch test</i>

The first step in identifying the conspiracy is to eliminate the Salem Village girls Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam, Jr., Mercy Lewis, Mary Walcott, and Mary Warren, as they were instruments of the Salem Village conspiracy. Next eliminate Mary Lacey, Jr., an imprisoned witch, brought into the courtroom to act as an afflicted person. Associate each Andover afflicted girl with her father, or in the case of Martha Sprague with her stepfather and stepbrother. Three married women also were afflicted; associate them with their husbands. Timothy Swan acted both as an afflicted and an accuser; his two brothers were also accusers. The men so determined were the legal accusers, the plaintiffs. The following table is the result.

Legal accuser or plaintiff	Afflicted circle
Joseph Ballard, 50	Elizabeth (Phelps) Ballard, 46
Samuel Phelps, 41	Sarah Phelps, Jr., 10
Daniel Bigsby, 41	Hannah (Chandler) Bigsby, 35
Robert Swan, Jr., 35	Timothy Swan, 29
Timothy Swan, 29	
John Swan, 24	
Moses Tyler, about 50	Martha Sprague, 16
Joseph Tyler, 21	
Ephraim Foster, 35	Hannah (Eames) Foster, 31
	Rose Foster, 14
Samuel Martin, 47	Abigail Martin, Jr., 16

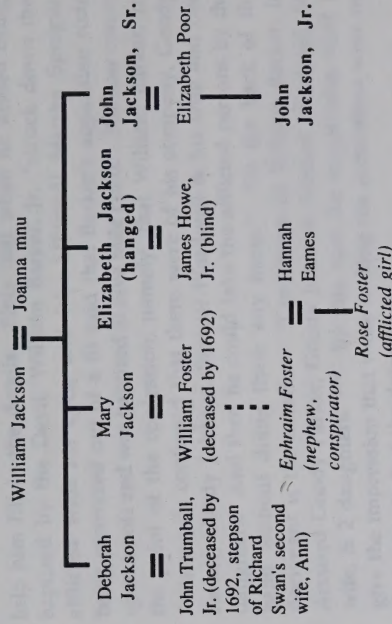
The table shows the names of ten legal accusers, a small group. To these add the names of the Rev. Thomas Barnard, who masterminded the Andover touch test where eighteen were arrested, and Thomas Chandler, father-in-law of accusers Daniel Bigsby and Samuel Phelps. Because this small and interwoven group of twelve filed all the complaints in the Andover witch hunt, it can be concluded that they formed a conspiracy. Thus the table plays the role of a "smoking gun" in exposing the conspiracy. Like the Salem Village witch hunt, the Andover witch hunt was not driven by uncontrolled mass hysteria, but by the planned and deliberate actions of a conspiracy.

of Mary (Waite) and Robert Lord, Sr. of Ipswich. Isaac Foster married Hannah Jackson, and after her death in 1677 married Hannah Downing, daughter of Theophilus Downing of Salem. After Hannah's death, Isaac Foster married Martha Hale.

In 1677, Ephraim Foster, 20, married Hannah Eames, 16. She was born in 1661 in Rowley Village (named Boxford in 1685), eldest daughter of Rebecca (Blake) and Robert Eames. The Foster children included oldest child Rose, born in 1678 in Andover, 1692 Ephraim Foster, 35, constable for the north part of Andover, his wife, Hannah (Eames) Foster, 31, and children were living in Andover close to the Boxford line. On May 13, 1692, their eighth child, Gideon, was born. On May 31, 1692, Elizabeth (Jackson) Howe of Ipswich Farms was imprisoned. About August 1 Hannah's mother, Rebecca (Blake) Eames, was imprisoned, and by August 9 Hannah's brother, Daniel Eames. About August 24 Ephraim Foster and Moses Tyler filed a complaint against Mary Bridges, Jr., Sarah Bridges, Hannah Post, and Susannah Post. On August 25, Ephraim Foster, Samuel Martin and Moses Tyler filed a complaint against William Barker, Sr., Mary Barker, and Mary (Osgood) Marston.

John Jackson, Sr. was the only son of William Jackson. William Jackson had three daughters, Elizabeth, Mary, and Deborah. On his death in 1688 William Jackson had left his large estate to his grandson John Jackson, Jr., with young John's father, John Jackson, Sr., acting as trustee. In the event of the death of John Jackson, Jr., the estate was to be divided between William Jackson's three daughters.

Sarah Wilson, Jr. were imprisoned in 1692. Another sister was Susannah (Lord) Osgood, the wife of Thomas Osgood of Andover. Thomas was the brother of Christopher Osgood, whose daughter Mary (Osgood) Marston was imprisoned in 1692.



One of the daughters was already dead; she was Elizabeth (Jackson) Howe, hanged August 19, 1692. One of the remaining daughters was Mary (Jackson) Foster, a widow in Boxford. Her deceased husband was William Foster, the uncle of Ephraim Foster. The other remaining daughter was Deborah (Jackson) Trumbull, also a widow. Her deceased husband was John Trumbull, Jr., stepuncle of the Swan brothers of Andover. The elimination of John Jackson, Sr. and his son John Jackson, Jr. would leave the estate to the two widows, and in effect place it under the control of Ephraim Foster and the Swan brothers.

On August 25, 1692 Ephraim Foster and Joseph Tyler filed a complaint against John Jackson, Sr., John Jackson, Jr., and John Howard for afflicting Rose Foster and Martha Sprague. On August 31 Ephraim Foster, Moses Tyler, and Samuel Martin filed a complaint against Sarah Wardwell, Sarah Hawkes, Mercy Wardwell, William Barker, Jr., and Mary (Ayer) Parker. On September 7, Hannah (Eames) Foster and daughter Rose Foster were part of the afflicted group at the Andover touch test. Among the accused was Sarah (Lord) Wilson, sister of Ephraim Foster's aunt, Abigail (Lord) Foster. On September 14 Ephraim Foster testified against Samuel Wardwell, who was hanged on September 22, 1692.

who bid him set his hand to his book and serve him as long as he, the said Barker, lived, which he promised. And thereupon he set his hand to this book by putting his finger thereon. He says the black man brought red stuff along with him in an inkhorn and he, the said Barker, dipped his finger into it and therewith made a red mark on the paper. He confesses he was to do any service the black man appointed him to do and was to have suit of clothes for it. He said further the black man would have him baptized but he never was. He says further that Goody Parker went with him last night to afflict Martha Sprague and that he afflicts by clinching his hands together. He says he now is sorry and hates the Devil, but yet struck down the afflicted with his eyes. And Martha Sprague, being recovered out of a fit, said that Barker's apparition and Goody Parker rode upon a pole and was baptized at Five Mile Pond. He now says there was such a load upon his stomach that he could not speak. A little after, he owned he was baptized by the black man at Five Mile Pond and did also renounce his former baptism. He knows Goody Parker to be a witch and says the Devil dipped his head into the water and spoke these words, that the said Barker was his forever and ever. He said he could not think of his baptism before and that the load that was upon his stomach is not so heavy as it was but just before. He still afflicted Martha Sprague & shut her mouth, but by laying his hand thereon opened it again. And afterwards confessed that there were of his company Goody Parker, Goody Johnson, Samuel Wardwell & his wife and two daughters. And then he could take the afflicted persons by the hand without doing them any harm. Wm. Barker, Jr. signed & owned the above said examination & confession before me, John Higginson, Jr., Justice Peace. The MARK of William Barker, Jr.³⁵⁸

This document once again displays the handiwork of the magistrates who drew up this so-called confession from notes taken by the scribe at the examination. Fourteen-year-old William Barker, Jr. was accused for "exercising acts of witchcraft ... which he could not deny but could not remember it." This was a common trick. They told him that the mere fact that he could not remember had no bearing. He was guilty, and they would

help him fill in the details. Note that when he denied being baptized by the Devil, William Barker, Jr. "struck down the afflicted with his eyes, and [the afflicted] Martha Sprague being recovered out of a fit said that Barker's apparition rode upon a pole and was baptized at Five Mile Pond." But now comes the point of the confession, namely, that William Barker, Jr. "afterwards confessed that there were of his company, Goody Parker, Goody Johnson, Samuel Wardwell & his wife and two daughters. And then he could take the afflicted persons by the hand without doing them any harm." On the back of the document is the notation: "Confession of William Barker, Jr. Accused Goody Parker, Goody Johnson, Samuel Wardwell, his wife, & 2 daughters."³⁵⁹ By this ruse the magistrates tried to give the impression that those making the accusations were not the plaintiffs but the defendants.

The first confession of William Barker, Sr., that of August 29, 1692, is given in Chapter 16. Of all the confessions, this one is outstanding. He expressed simply yet powerfully the hopes of the people for democracy and freedom of religion. Almost a century later the same ideas would be incorporated in the Declaration of Independence with similar words, "All men are created equal." The authorities by arresting respected men like William Barker, Sr. were either knowingly or unwittingly striking at the very foundations of their society, a society that was under military attack from the French and Indians. These men were needed to serve their country, yet they were being struck down in a tragic farce.

A few days after his first confession, William Barker, Sr., produced a second confession from prison. "God having called me to confess my sin and apostasy in that fall in giving the Devil to advantage over me, appearing to me like a black man in the evening to set my hand to his book, as I have owned to my shame. He told me that I should not want, so doing. At Salem Village, there being a little off the meetinghouse, about a hundred five blades, some with rapiers by their side, which was called, and

358 Suffolk County, *Court Records*, case 2761, page 102.

359 Ibid.

THE ACCUSED: OTHER FAMILIES

COTTON MATHER WROTE, "We have seen a horrible thing done in our land! O 'tis a most humbling thing, to think, that ever there should be such an abomination among us, as for a crew of human race, to renounce their Maker, and to unite with the Devil, for the troubling of mankind, and for the people to be, as is seen by some confessed, baptized by a fiend, using this form upon them, *Thou art mine, and I have full power over thee!* afterwards communicating in an hellish bread and wine, by that fiend administrated unto them. O 'tis a defiled land wherein we live."⁴¹⁷

Yet how were the confessions obtained? Sarah Loring Bailey wrote, "The examiners proceeded on the assumption that the accused were guilty; they invited evidences against them, in their zeal almost put words into the mouths of reluctant confessors and faltering witnesses, and they placed implicit faith in every statement corroborative of their preconceived opinions."⁴¹⁸ The magistrates gravely maintained that the accused witches could fly on broomsticks in virtue of their compact with the Devil; their authority was that, in the Lord's temptation, Satan transported Christ through the air to the summit of a high mountain. Cotton Mather argued that the remarkable instances of the Devil's operations disclosed by the witchcraft trials represented a marvelous revelation of scripture. In his introduction to *The Wonders of the Invisible World*, Cotton Mather wrote, "For the dogmatical part of my discourse, I want no defense; for the historical part of it, I have a very great one;

417 Cotton Mather, *Wonders*, 87.

418 Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 195.

the Lieutenant Governor of New England, having perused it, has done me the honor of giving me a shield." William Stoughton wrote to Cotton Mather, "Having now perused so fruitful and happy a composure, and considering the place I hold in the Court of Oyer and Terminer, still laboring and proceeding in the trial of persons accused and convicted of witchcraft, I express my obligation and thankfulness to you for so great pains. Such is your design, such your zeal for God, your enmity to Satan and his kingdom, your faithfulness and compassion to this poor people, your care of truth, your wisdom and dexterity, such your clear discerning of Divine providences, now running on apace towards their glorious issues in the world, and finally, such your good news of the shortness of the Devil's time, that all good men must needs desire the making of your discourse public to the world."⁴¹⁹

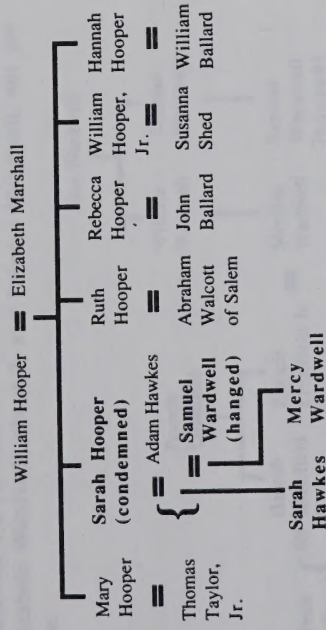
Cotton Mather's book was hastily put together and published in the two weeks following the execution of Mary Parker and Samuel Wardwell of Andover and six other condemned women on September 22, 1692. Despite the praise lavished on the book by Lieutenant Governor Stoughton, Cotton Mather's arguments were soon to be dispelled by a rising tide of reasonable people determined to put a stop to the witchcraft proceedings. Not least among them were the Rev. Francis Dane and his resistance group of Andover citizens.

WARDWELL FAMILY

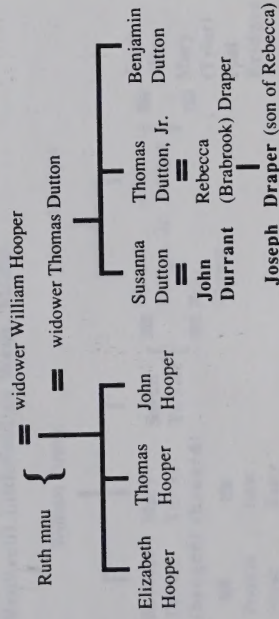
Samuel Wardwell <i>Married man, 49</i>	Andover <i>Charged on August 15, 1692</i>
Sarah (Hooper) Hawkes Wardwell <i>Married woman, 41</i>	Andover <i>Charged on September 1, 1692</i>
Sarah Hawkes <i>Single woman, 21</i>	Andover <i>Charged on September 1, 1692</i>
Mercy Wardwell <i>Girl, 18</i>	Andover <i>Charged on September 1, 1692</i>

419 Cotton Mather, *Wonders*, 5-7.

Samuel Wardwell was born in 1643 in Exeter, New Hampshire, son of Elizabeth (Woodruff) and Thomas Wardwell. Samuel became a carpenter. He married about 1668 and had a son, Thomas, born about 1670. After his wife's death, Samuel Wardwell and his son moved to Andover.

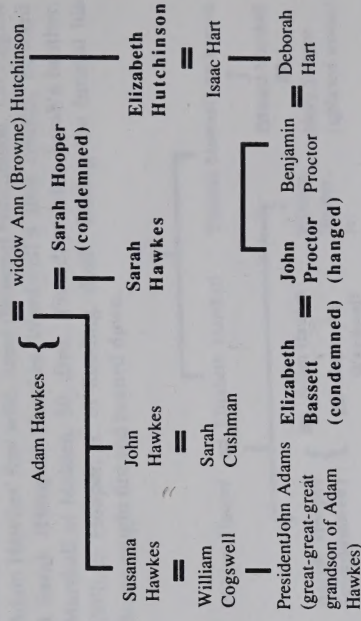


Sarah Hooper was born December 7, 1650, in Reading, daughter of Elizabeth (Marshall) and William Hooper. Their other children included daughters Rebecca, born in 1656, and Hannah, born in 1662.



After his wife Elizabeth's death, William Hooper, married, about 1664, Ruth (mnu) and they had three children, Elizabeth Hooper, born in 1665, Thomas Hooper, born in 1668, and John

Hooper, born in 1670. After William's death, Ruth married, in 1685, widower Thomas Dutton, Sr. of Billerica who had several children by his first wife.

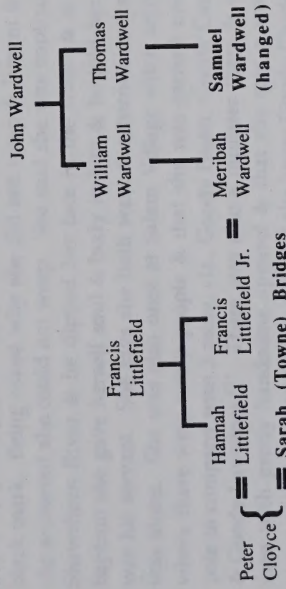


Adam Hawkes was born about 1605 and in 1630 became the first settler of the Saugus section of the original township of Lynn, Massachusetts. His first wife was Ann (Browne) Hutchinson, a widow with five children. Ann had two more children, twins John Hawkes and Susanna Hawkes, by Adam Hawkes. Ann died in 1669, at which time all her children were married.

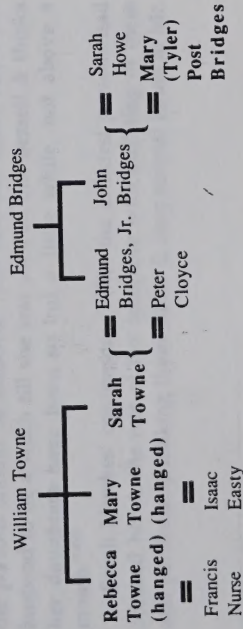
In 1670 Sarah Hooper, aged 19, married widower Adam Hawkes, 65. With Sarah, Adam had only one child, Sarah Hawkes, born in 1671 in Lynn. Sarah Hawkes was eight months old when Adam Hawkes died in 1672. Adam Hawkes' death made his widow, Sarah (Hooper) Hawkes, wealthy at the age of 22. In 1673 Sarah (Hooper) Hawkes married Samuel Wardwell in Andover. Their marriage was performed by Major William Hathorne of Salem. Their eldest child, Mercy Wardwell, was born in 1673. They had six more children, but one daughter died in infancy. Sarah Wardwell's sister Rebecca Hooper married John Ballard in 1681; and her sister Hannah Hooper married his brother William Ballard in 1682. The

Ballards lived in Andover. Sarah's half-brothers, Thomas Hooper and John Hooper, also settled in Andover by 1690.

In 1692 Samuel Wardwell, 49, and his wife, Sarah, 41, were living in the south part of Andover with Sarah's daughter Sarah Hawkes, 21, and their children Mercy Wardwell, 18, Samuel Wardwell, Jr., 15, William Wardwell, 12, Eliakim Wardwell, 4, Elizabeth Wardwell, about 3, and Rebecca Wardwell, not yet one.



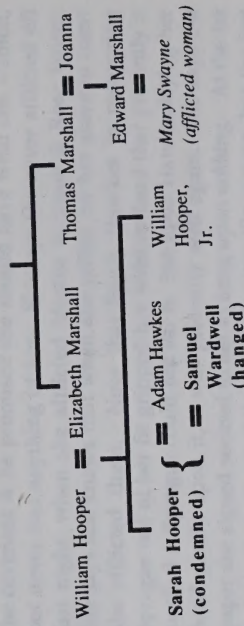
On April 4, 1692, Sarah (Towne) Bridges Cloyce of Salem Village was accused and subsequently imprisoned. She was the wife of widower Peter Cloyce. By his first marriage Peter was a brother-in-law of Samuel Wardwell's first cousin, Meribah (Wardwell) Littlefield of Wells, Maine.



By her first marriage to Edmond Bridges, Jr., who died in 1680, Sarah Cloyce was the sister-in-law of Mary (Tyler) Post

Bridges, who is treated in Chapter 23. Sarah Cloyce's sisters, Rebecca Nurse and Mary Easty, were hanged in 1692.

On May 14, 1692, Elizabeth (Hutchinson) Hart of Lynn was accused and subsequently imprisoned. She was the daughter of Adam Hawkes' first wife, Anne (Browne) Hutchinson. On August 3 Sarah (Hooper) Hawkes Wardwell's first cousin, Edward Marshall of Malden, 50, died. Five days later, Sarah's brother, William Hooper, Jr. of Reading, died. During the funeral his house caught fire and burned down.



On August 15, 1692, Samuel Wardwell was arrested and imprisoned. About August 31 Sarah Wardwell, Sarah Hawkes, and Mercy Wardwell were arrested. They were accused of afflicting Rose Foster, Abigail Martin, and Martha Sprague. Sarah Wardwell carried her baby, Rebecca Wardwell, with her to prison.⁴²⁰

On September 1, the four family members, Samuel, his wife Sarah, his stepdaughter Sarah Hawkes, and his daughter Mercy made confessions. Samuel's confession is discussed in Chapters 5 and 13. Samuel's confession was taken before John Higginson, Jr., justice of the peace, whereas the confessions of the three women were before Major Gedney, Mr. Hathorne, Mr. Corwin, and John Higginson, Jr. It is not known why the names of the three Salem magistrates did not appear on Samuel's confession.

Sarah Wardwell confessed, "After many denials of what she was accused for & particularly of tormenting the afflicted persons by looking on them with her eyes before the justices

420 C. H. Abbott, *The Andover Townsman*, March 26, 1897.

which not withstanding was evident to the beholders, she was required to declare the truth in the fear of God, & then she confesses as follows. That she thinks she has been in the snare of the Devil 6 years at which time a man appeared to her & required her to worship him & do him service. He said he was God & should be worshiped & promised me such things as I wanted as clothing & the like. She says she signed a piece of paper by putting her finger to it which, as she think, made a black mark. Being asked why she did not weep & lament for it, she answered she could not weep. She said she was baptized in Shawsheen River & he dipped her face in the water & at her baptism she gave herself soul & body to him & he told her she was his servant. She says she both went & returned on foot & was alone. She was also once at Salem Village witch meeting where there were many people & that she was carried upon a pole in company with 3 more, viz., Goody Foster, Goody Carrier, & Goody Lawrence.⁴²¹ There was also a minister there & some men with pretty handsome apparel & that she saw a woman carry wine & amongst them she said she knew Goody Carrier to be a witch. She said she afflicted none but Martha Sprague last night—being asked how she did it, said that Martha Sprague was a means of taking up her husband⁴²² & because he was gone from home & she much vexed at it & thereupon suddenly caught up her child in her arms & wished Sprague might be afflicted a little after. Said she squeezed her child with an intention that the persons should be afflicted. She said she never knew her husband to be a witch till she was such an one herself & thinks her daughters have been so but a little while, not above a month.⁴²³

Sarah Hawkes' confession: "After the afflicted persons had accused her & the rest of her company with afflicting of them and particularly making them dance & sing several hours at Mr.

421 The scribe most likely wrote, by mistake, the name Goody Lawrence instead of Goody Lacey, the wife of Lawrence Lacey.

422 Two weeks previously the accusations of Martha Sprague led to the arrest of Sarah's husband, Samuel Wardwell.

423 Essex Institute, *Witchcraft Collection*, "Examinations."

Tyler's house,⁴²⁴ and after her striking them down with the glance of her eyes in the court & recovering them again, she confesses as follows, viz. That this last spring, after she had turned the sieve & scissors, the Devil came to her and got a promise of her, but she never had anything of him. She says she went to Salem Village meeting of witches with Goody Carrier. She promised to serve the Devil 3 or 4 years & to give him her soul & body & that she signed a paper he offered to her by making a black scrawl or mark with a stick as a confirmation of the covenant & he promised she should have what she wanted, but never had anything of him. She says she never afflicted till last night, when she afflicted Martha Sprague & Rose Foster. She says she knows that when she pulled off her glove in court she afflicted them. Note that Sarah Hawkes in recovering Sprague out of her fit gripped her wrist so hard that presently it swelled & Sprague could not stir it. But upon Hawkes laying her hand gently upon it, it was presently well again. She says the paper she signed seemed to her to hang upon nothing. At the 1st & 2nd appearance of the Devil, he was like a man, but the 3rd appearance was like a shadow. She says the Devil does carry things out of her mind strangely, for when she came upstairs⁴²⁵ she had a mind to confess but now cannot. She says further that William Barker was one of her company when they danced at Mr. Tyler's house & that they caused Ephraim Foster's wife to dance at home & Martha Sprague sung at Mr. Tyler's almost all day till she was almost killed. She confesses that Stephen Johnson, her father [Samuel Wardwell] & mother & her sister Mercy were of her company. She was baptized a little above a

424 Nathaniel Hawthorne, in Chapter 13 of *The House of the Seven Gables*, wrote, "Seated by his humble fireside, Maule had but to wave his hand; and, wherever the proud lady chanced to be, her spirit passed from beneath her own control, and bowed itself to Maule. 'Alice laugh!' the carpenter would say. And even if it were prayer time, Alice must break into wild laughter. 'Alice dance!' and dance she would, not in such courtlike measures as she has learned abroad, but some high-paced jig befitting the brisk lasses at a rustic merrymaking."

425 The examination was carried out in the large upstairs chamber of magistrate Jonathan Corwin's house in Salem, today known as the Witch House and open for visitors.

month ago in Five Mile Pond & renounced her former baptism. The Devil dipped her face in the water & he was then in the shape of a black man & has seen him several times since. As to the witch meeting at the Village, she saw there a dozen of strangers riding upon poles but knew them not. There was a man or 2, the rest were women. One of the men was tall; the other, short & fat. Note here that when she had confessed all as above, except the renouncing of her former baptism, she could not come near any of the afflicted persons without tormenting them with her eyes. But when she did remember & confessed that she had renounced her former baptism, then they were reconciled & could all take one another by the hand freely.⁴²⁶ The last sentence, a typical product of the clerical minds fashioning the content of the confessions, describes a reconciliation made possible by Sarah's complete acquiescence to their demands.

Mercy Wardwell's confession: "She confesses she hath been in the snare of the Devil a quarter of a year. The cause of her being enticed was her discontent & the occasion of her discontent was because that people told her that she should never have such a young man who loved her & he finding no encouragement threatened to drown himself, at which she was much troubled. Sometime after, to her apprehension, he that made love to her came & entreated her to be his & she did not then consent & so dismissed him with that answer. The next time he appeared in the shape of a dog & told her she must be his, for he was God & Christ & she should serve him and she did then believe him & promised to serve him. He told her she must always wish the Devil had this or that & that she must curse & lie. She confesses she covenanted to serve the Devil twenty years & he promised that she should be happy & she made a red mark upon a piece of paper, where she saw no other names. And thinks he keeps the paper, because he carried it away with him. She owned she afflicted Martha Sprague & Rose Foster but never any before. Her companions were her father, mother, sister Sarah Hawkes & William Barker. She said further, which is remarkable, that when she looked down upon the table she could confess nothing. She confesses she was baptized at home in a pail of water in

which he dipped her face, telling her she must serve him & that it is about a quarter of a year ago since she was baptized. She says also that she afflicted Timothy Swan by squeezing her hands & thinking upon him & the Devil made her do it, whom she has not seen but 4 times. Note here a thing remarkable that notwithstanding all this confession, yet the afflicted persons could not come near to her, but upon the Major [Cedney] asking of her if the Devil had not made her renounce her former baptism, and she answering yes, then they could all take one another by the hand without any hurt.⁴²⁷

Samuel renounced his confession on September 13. On September 15 Mercy Wardwell renounced her confession concerning her father and mother. Mercy "said she did not know her father and mother were witches."⁴²⁸

On September 16 in testimony before the grand jury, Mercy also renounced her confession concerning Mary (Ayer) Parker. Mercy said, "I did not certainly know that said Parker was a witch."⁴²⁹ Samuel Wardwell and Mary Parker were condemned on September 17, and hanged on September 22.

The sheriff seized the moveables from Samuel Wardwell's farm: 5 cows, 1 heifer and a yearling, 1 horse, 9 hogs, 8 loads of hay, 1 set of carpenter tools, and 6 acres of corn upon the ground.⁴³⁰ Five days after Samuel was executed, the selectmen of Andover asked the Ipswich court for permission to place the Wardwell minor children left on the farm with other Andover families. The petition began, "That whereas Samuel Wardwell and his wife of Andover were lately apprehended and committed to prison for witchcraft, and have left several small children who are incapable of providing for themselves and are now in a suffering condition, we have thought it necessary and convenient that they should be disposed of in some families where they may be due care taken of them." Permission was granted, and the following entry was made in the town records. "We the subscribers, selectmen of Andover, the above said year, having

427 Ibid.

428 Ibid.

429 Woodward, *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, 2:157.430 Massachusetts Archives, *Witchcraft*, 135:140.426 Essex Institute, *Witchcraft Collection*, "Examinations."

informed the Quarter Sessions at Ipswich the 27th of the above said September that there were several children of Samuel Wardwell's that were in a suffering condition, begging their advice, direction and order therein, which they were pleased to consider of & order as follows, that the selectmen for the time being should place out, or if need require bind out, said children in good and honest families. Pursuant to this order of the Court we have placed them as follows; viz., Samuel Wardwell, Jr. we placed with John Ballard, his uncle, for one year; William we placed with Corporal Samuel Frye till he become to be of the age one and twenty years; said Frye to learn him the trade of weaver; Eliakim we placed to Daniel Poor till he was twenty-one years of age; & Elizabeth we placed with John Stevens [3rd] till eighteen years of age; all of the aforesaid were to find them with suits of apparel at the end of said time."⁴³¹

On January 3, 1693, the grand jury at the Superior Court of Judicature at Salem indicted Sarah Wardwell, Sarah Hawkes, and Mercy Wardwell. The three were tried by jury on January 10. Sarah Wardwell was found guilty. Sarah Hawkes and Mercy Wardwell were found not guilty and released, each having been imprisoned about five months. In the middle of January Chief Justice William Stoughton signed death warrants for Sarah Wardwell and seven other condemned women but they were reprieved by Governor Sir William Phipps.

On February 1, 1693, Sarah Hawkes married Francis Johnson of Andover. He was the son of Elizabeth (Dane) Johnson, who had been imprisoned. Francis' two sisters, Abigail and Elizabeth, Jr., and his brother, Stephen, had been imprisoned. In 1697, Mercy Wardwell married John Wright, son of Walter Wright of Andover and his first wife Susannah (Johnson) Wright. In 1706, William Wardwell married Dorothy Wright, daughter of Walter Wright and his second wife, Elizabeth (Peters) Sadie Wright. Sometime between 1703 and 1711, widow Sarah Wardwell died at Andover, the date unknown. In 1716 Sarah (Hawkes) Johnson died at Andover, aged 45. In 1754 Mercy (Wardwell) Wright died at Andover in her 81st year.

Joseph Draper *Single man, 21*

Andover
Charged on September 7, 1692

Joseph Draper was born in 1671, son of Rebecca (Brabrook) and Adam Draper of Concord. Adam Draper died by 1678, and his widow married Thomas Dutton, Jr. of Billerica. Joseph Draper's maternal aunt, Rachel (Brabrook) Fuller of Hampton, had been tried for witchcraft in 1680 and was acquitted.

In 1692 Joseph Draper, 21, was living in the south part of Andover. His stepgrandmother was Ruth (mnu) Hooper Dutton. She was the stepmother of the three Hooper sisters living in Andover. The sisters were Rebecca (Hooper) Ballard, wife of John Ballard; Hannah (Hooper) Ballard, wife of William Ballard; and Sarah (Hooper) Hawkes Wardwell, wife of Samuel Wardwell. Also living in Andover were Ruth's sons, Thomas Hooper and John Hooper, who were half-brothers of the three Hooper sisters. Joseph Draper worked for the Hooper family members living in Andover.

Joseph Draper was arrested at the Andover touch test on September 7. On September 16 Joseph Draper acknowledged that he was led into the sin of witchcraft by Abigail (Dane) Faulkner. On Oct. 27, Joseph Draper's stepuncle, John Durrant of Billerica, died at Cambridge prison.

John Durrant *Married man, 47*

Billerica
Charged (date unknown)

John Durrant was born about 1645 in the part of Lynn which later became Reading. He married, in 1670 in Billerica, Susannah Dutton, daughter of Thomas Dutton, Sr. of Billerica by his first wife. After his first wife's death Thomas Dutton, Sr. married in 1685, Ruth (mnu) Hooper, the widow of William Hooper of Reading. In 1692 John Durrant was about 47. It is not known when John Durrant was imprisoned, but on October 27, 1692 he died in Cambridge prison.

431 Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 220-221.

Another daughter, Mary Langton, had married Thomas Day of Gloucester.

In 1692 Mary (Prince) Rowe, 34, her husband, and their five children were living in Gloucester. On September 5, Mary's widowed mother, Margaret (mnu) Prince was imprisoned. In early October Mary (Prince) Rowe was imprisoned at Ipswich. Phoebe (Wildes) Day and widow Rachel (Varney) Cooke Langton Vinson, both of Gloucester, were also imprisoned in early October. On November 5, Mary's daughter Abigail Rowe, 15, was imprisoned on a complaint by Lieut. James Stevens, William Stevens, and Nathaniel Coyt, all of Gloucester, for afflicting Mrs. Mary Fitch, the wife of Mr. John Fitch of Gloucester. Mary (Prince) Rowe was one of the signers of the December petition from Ipswich prison. In 1723 Mary (Prince) Rowe, a widow, died in Gloucester.

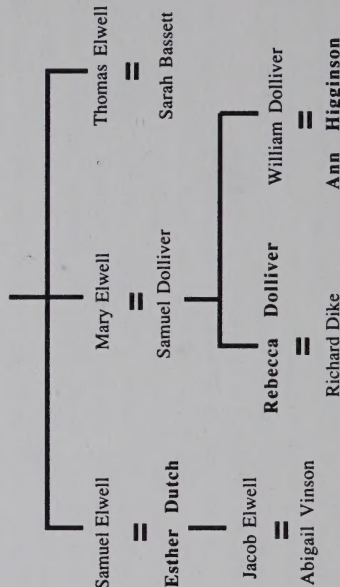
Rebecca (Dolliver) Dike
Married woman, 40

Gloucester
Charged on November 5, 1692

James Dike
Infant boy

Gloucester
Imprisoned on November 5, 1692

Robert Elwell = Jane mnu



Rebecca Dolliver was born about 1652, daughter of Samuel Dolliver of Gloucester. Rebecca married, in 1667, Richard Dike of Gloucester. In 1692 Rebecca, about 40 years old, her husband,

Mary (Prince) Rowe
Married woman, 34

Gloucester
Charged in early October, 1692

Abigail Rowe
Single woman, 15

Gloucester
Charged on November 5, 1692

Mary Prince was born in 1658 in Gloucester, daughter of Margaret (mnu) and Thomas Prince. In 1674, Mary Prince married widower Hugh Rowe of Gloucester. Their eldest child Abigail Rowe was born in 1677. Hugh Rowe's first wife, Rachel Langton, was the daughter of Rachel (Varney) Cooke Langton Vinson.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE ACCUSED, 1692

Charged	Name of accused, Age, Town	Fate after Arrest
November 1691	Martha (Barrett) Sparks, Chelmsford. Committed by Lieut. Gov. Thomas Danforth as a prelude to the Salem witchcraft affair.	Imprisoned more than a year; released on bail December 6, 1692
ARREST PHASE OF SALEM VILLAGE WITCH HUNT		
Feb. 29, 1692	Sarah (Solart) Poole Good, 38, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 29
Feb. 29	Suckling child of Sarah Good, Salem Village	Died in prison in April 1692 from cold and hunger
Feb. 29	Sarah (Warren) Prince Osborne, 50, Salem Village	Imprisoned 9 weeks; died in prison May 10
Feb. 29	Triuba, Salem Village	Imprisoned 13 months; sold to slavery in 1693
Mar. 19	Martha (mnu) Rich Corey, 65, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; executed Sept. 22
Mar. 23	Rebecca (Towne) Nurse, 70, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 19
Mar. 23	Dorcas Good, 4, Salem Village	Imprisoned almost 9 months; released on bail Dec. 10
Mar. 29	Rachel (Hatfield) Clinton, 63, Salem Village	Imprisoned in Ipswich
Apr. 4	Sarah (Towne) Bridges Cloyce, 51, Salem Village	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 3, 1693
Apr. 4	Elizabeth (Bassett) Proctor, 41, Salem Farms	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; reprieved for pregnancy; released in 1693

Apr. 11	John Proctor, 60, Salem Farms	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
Apr. 18	Giles Corey, 80, Salem Village	Pressed to death, Sept. 19
Apr. 18	Bridget (Playfer) Wasselbe Oliver Bishop, 60, Salem Town	Imprisoned; condemned June 2; executed June 10
Apr. 18	Abigail Hobbs, 22, Topsfield	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; released Apr. 1693 after 12 months imprisonment
Apr. 18	Mary Warren, 20, Salem Village	Briefly imprisoned; released as an afflicted person
Apr. 21	William Hobbs, 50, Topsfield	Released 1693
Apr. 21	Deliverance (mnu) Hobbs	Imprisoned 12 months; Released Apr. 1693
Apr. 21	Nehemiah Abbot, Jr., 29, Topsfield	Released at preliminary examination, the only such case
Apr. 21	Mary (Towne) Easty, 51, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; executed Sept. 22
Apr. 21	Sarah (Averill) Wildes, 65, Topsfield	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 19
Apr. 21	Edward Bishop, Jr., 44, Salem Village	Imprisoned, escaped
Apr. 21	Sarah (Wildes) Bishop, 41, Salem Village	Imprisoned, escaped
Apr. 21	Mary Black, slave, Salem Village	Imprisoned 8 months; cleared by proclamation Jan. 11
Apr. 21	Mary (Hollingsworth) English, 40, Salem Town	Imprisoned at least 6 weeks; escaped
Apr. 27	Thomas Dyer, Ipswich	Imprisoned
Apr. 28	Samuel Passanauton (an Indian)	Imprisoned
unknown	Female slave of Mrs. Thatcher, Boston	Imprisoned
unknown	Mary Cox	Imprisoned; record of irons ordered for her
Apr. 30	Philip English, 41, Salem Town	Imprisoned but escaped

Apr. 30	Lydia (mnu) Dustin, 65, Reading	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 31, 1693; held in prison for fees; died in prison Mar. 10, 1693
Apr. 30	Susannah (North) Martin, 66, Amesbury	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 19
Apr. 30	Dorcas (Galley) Hoar, 60, Beverly	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; reprieved; released 1693
Apr. 30	Sarah Morrell, 14, Beverly	Imprisoned 35 weeks; "tried and cleared" Jan. 1693
Apr. 30	Rev. George Burroughs, 41, Wells, Maine	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
May 7	Sarah Dustin, 39, Reading	Imprisoned; found not guilty Feb. 1, 1693; held in prison for fees; released March 23, 1693
May 8	Bethia (Pearson) Carter, 47, Woburn	Imprisoned; released on bail Dec. 8
May 8	Bethia Carter, Jr., 21, Woburn	Fled before arrest
May 8	Ann (mnu) Farrar Sears, 71, Woburn	Imprisoned; released on bail Dec. 3
May 10	George Jacobs, Sr., 76, Salem Town	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
May 10	Margaret Jacobs, 16, Salem Town	Imprisoned; released on bail in December; found not guilty Jan. 3, 1693
May 10	John Willard, 33, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
May 12	Alice (mnu) Parker, Salem Town	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; executed Sept. 22
May 12	Ann (mnu) Greenslade Pudeator, 65, Salem Town	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; executed Sept. 22
May 13	Abigail Somes, 37, Salem Town	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 6, 1693

May 13	Thomas Hardy, Great Island, NH	Fled before arrest
May 14	Daniel Andrew, 48, Salem Village	Fled before arrest
May 14	George Jacobs, Jr., 50, Salem Village	Imprisoned 6 months; found not guilty on Jan. 3, 1693
May 14	Rebecca (Andrew) Frost Jacobs, 46, Salem Village	Imprisoned over 8 months; found not guilty on Jan. 4, 1693
May 14	Sarah (Smith) Buckley, 70, Salem Village	Imprisoned over 8 months; found not guilty on Jan. 4, 1693
May 14	Mary (Buckley) Whitredge, 27, Salem Village	Imprisoned 7 months; cleared January 1693
May 14	Elizabeth (Hutchinson) Hart, 65, Lynn	Imprisoned 7 months; cleared by proclamation Jan. 12, 1693
May 14	Thomas Farrar, Sr., 75, Lynn	Fled; captured Sept. 14 and imprisoned
May 15	Mehitabel (Brabrook) Downing, 40, Ipswich	Imprisoned at Ipswich prison
May 18	Dr. Roger Toothaker, 58, Billerica	Imprisoned; died in prison June 16
May 21	Sarah Proctor, 15, Salem Farms	Imprisoned
May 21	Sarah (Hood) Bassett, 35, Lynn	Imprisoned; cleared on Jan. 3, 1693
May 21	Susannah (mnu) Roots, 70, Beverly	Imprisoned
May 23	Benjamin Proctor, 33, Salem Farms	Imprisoned "several months."
May 23	Mary (Bassett) De Rich, 35, Salem Village	Imprisoned about 6 months
May 23	Sarah (mnu) Pease, Salem Town	Imprisoned
May 28	Elizabeth (Walker) Cary, 42, Charlestown	Imprisoned; escaped
May 28	Capt. John Alden Jr., 69, Boston	Imprisoned; house arrest 15 weeks; escaped; cleared by proclamation Apr. 25, 1693
May 28	Capt. John Floyd, 55, Malden	Imprisoned
May 28	Elizabeth (mnu) Betts Fosdick, 32, Malden	Imprisoned

May 28	Wilmot (mnu) Redd, 55, Marblehead	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; executed Sept. 22
May 28	Sarah (mnu) Davis Rice, 61, Reading	Imprisoned
May 28	William Proctor, 17, Salem Farms	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 1693
May 28	Elizabeth (Jackson) Howe, 54, Topsfield	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 19
May 28	Arthur Abbot, 53, Topsfield	Imprisoned
May 28	Martha (Allen) Carrier, 38, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
May 28	Mary (Allen) Toothaker, 47, Billerica	Imprisoned; found not guilty Feb. 1, 1693
May 28	Margaret Toothaker, 9, Billerica	Imprisoned
June 2	Elizabeth (Carrington) Paine, 53, Charlestown	Imprisoned
June 1	Sarah Churchill, 20, Salem Village	Briefly imprisoned; then released as an afflicted person
June 4	Mary (Leach) Ireson, 32, Lynn	Imprisoned
June 4	Job Tookey, 27, Beverly	Imprisoned; found not guilty on Jan. 5, 1693
June 6	Ann (Higginson) Dolliver, 29, Gloucester	Imprisoned
June 28	Mary (Perkins) Bradbury, 75, Salisbury	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; escaped
July 1	Margaret (mnu) Hawkes, Salem Town	Imprisoned
July 1	Candy, female slave, Salem Town	Imprisoned; found not guilty on Jan. 6, 1693
c. July 15	Elizabeth Scargen	Imprisoned
c. July 15	child of Elizabeth Scargen	Imprisoned; died in prison
ARREST PHASE OF ANDOVER WITCH HUNT		
July 15, 1692	Ann (mnu) Foster, 72, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; died in prison Dec. 1692
July 19	Mary (Foster) Lacey, 40, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; pardoned in 1693

July 19	Mary Lacey, Jr., 18, Andover	Imprisoned 10 weeks; released on bail Oct. 6; found not guilty Jan. 13, 1693
July 21	Richard Carrier, 18, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail mid October
July 21	Andrew Carrier, 15, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail mid October
July 22	Martha (Toothaker) Emerson, 24, Haverhill	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 12, 1693
July 28	Mary (Tyler) Post Bridges, 48, Andover	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 12, 1693
July 30	Hannah (mnu) Tyler Brumidge, 60, Haverhill	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison; cleared Jan. 1693
July 30	Mary (Green) Green, 34, Haverhill	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison; released on bail, Dec. 16
c. Aug. 1	Rebecca (Blake) Eames, 51, Boxford	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; released Mar. 1693 after 7 months in prison
Aug. 2	Mary Post, 28, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Jan. 12, 1693; reprieved; released April 1693 after more than 8 months in prison
Aug. 3	Mary (Johnson) Davis Clarke, 53, Haverhill	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison
Aug. 5	Margaret (Stevenson) Scott, 72, Beverly	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; executed Sept. 22
c. Aug. 9	Daniel Eames, 29, Boxford	Imprisoned
c. Aug. 10	Thomas Carrier, Jr., 10, Andover	Imprisoned; Released on bail Oct. 6
c. Aug. 10	Sarah Carrier, 7, Andover	Imprisoned; Released on bail Oct. 6
Aug. 10	Elizabeth Johnson Jr., 22, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Jan. 12, 1693; reprieved; imprisoned 6 months; released Feb. 1693

LIST OF THE ACCUSED

Aug. 11	Abigail (Dane) Faulkner, 40, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved for pregnancy; released about Dec. 8
c. Aug. 15	Samuel Wardwell, 49, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; executed Sept. 22
c. Aug. 15	Edward Farrington, 30, Andover	Imprisoned
c. Aug. 15	Sarah Parker, 22, Andover	Imprisoned 17 weeks; released on bail about Dec. 12
Aug. 18	Frances (mnu) Hutchins, 75, Haverhill	Imprisoned; released on bail Dec. 21
Aug. 18	Ruth Wilford, 17, Haverhill	Imprisoned
Aug. 25	Susannah Post, 31, Andover	Imprisoned; found not guilty May 10, 1693
Aug. 25	Hannah Post, 26, Boxford	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 12, 1693
Aug. 25	Sarah Bridges, 17, Andover	Imprisoned 6 weeks; released on bail about October 6; found not guilty Jan. 12, 1693
Aug. 25	Mary Bridges, Jr., 13, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail October 15; found not guilty May 12, 1693
Aug. 25	Mary Barker, 13, Andover	Imprisoned 6 weeks; released on bail about Oct. 10; found not guilty May 10, 1693
Aug. 25	William Barker, Sr., 46, Andover	Imprisoned; escaped
Aug. 25	Mary (Osgood) Marston, 27, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail Dec. 20; found not guilty Jan. 12, 1693
Aug. 25	John Jackson, Sr., 50, Rowley	Imprisoned
Aug. 25	John Jackson, Jr., 22, Rowley	Imprisoned
Aug. 25	John Howard, 48, Rowley	Imprisoned
Aug. 29	Elizabeth (Dane) Johnson, 51, Andover	Imprisoned 5 months; found not guilty Jan. 7, 1693
Aug. 29	Abigail Johnson, 10, Andover	Imprisoned 5 weeks; released on bail Oct. 6
Aug. 30	Stephen Johnson, 13, Andover	Imprisoned 5 weeks, released on bail Oct. 6

LIST OF THE ACCUSED

Sept. 1	William Barker, Jr., 14, Andover	Imprisoned 6 weeks; released on bail about Oct. 10; found not guilty May 10, 1693
Sept. 1	Sarah (Hooper) Hawkes Wardwell, 42, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Jan. 10, 1693; reprieved; released spring 1693
Sept. 1	Rebecca Wardwell, nearly a year old, Andover	Imprisoned with mother
Sept. 1	Sarah Hawkes, 21, Andover	Imprisoned 5 months; found not guilty Jan. 10, 1693
Sept. 1	Mercy Wardwell, 18, Andover	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 10, 1693
Sept. 1	Mary (Ayer) Parker, 55, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; executed Sept. 22
Sept. 3	Elizabeth (Austin) Dicer, Gloucester	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison
Sept. 3	Margaret (mnu) Prince, 62, Gloucester	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison
Sept. 5	Mary (Dustin) Colson, 41, Reading	Imprisoned; released Mar. 2, 1693
Sept. 5	Jane (mnu) Lilly, 48, Reading	Imprisoned; released on bail Dec. 8; cleared Feb. 3, 1693
Sept. 5	Mary (Harrington) Taylor, 40, Reading	Imprisoned; found not guilty Feb. 1, 1693
Sept. 5	Joseph Emons, Manchester	Imprisoned
Sept. 5	Nicholas Frost, Portland, N.H.	
Sept. 7	Deliverance (Haseline) Dane, 37, Andover	Imprisoned 13 weeks; released about Dec. 8
Sept. 7	Rebecca (Aslet) Johnson, 40, Andover	Imprisoned 13 weeks; released on bail about Dec. 8; case dismissed Jan. 7, 1693
Sept. 7	Rebecca Johnson, Jr., 17, Andover	Imprisoned 13 weeks; released on bail about Dec. 8
Sept. 7	Mary (Clement) Osgood, 55, Andover	Imprisoned 15 weeks; released on bail Dec. 20; found not guilty Jan. 12, 1693

Sept. 7	Eunice (Potter) Frye, 51, Andover	Imprisoned 15 weeks; released on bail Dec. 20; found not guilty May 10, 1693
Sept. 7	Sarah (Lord) Wilson, 44, Andover	Imprisoned 15 weeks; released on bail about Dec. 20; cleared May 1693
Sept. 7	Sarah Wilson, Jr., 14, Andover	Imprisoned 6 weeks; released on bail about Oct. 15; cleared May 1693
Sept. 7	Abigail (Wheeler) Barker, 36, Andover	Imprisoned 18 weeks; found not guilty Jan. 6, 1693
Sept. 7	Mary (Lovett) Tyler, 40, Andover	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 7, 1693
Sept. 7	Hannah Tyler, 14, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail about Oct. 15; found not guilty Jan. 5, 1693
Sept. 7	Joanna Tyler, 11, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail about Oct. 6; cleared May 1693
Sept. 7	Martha Tyler, 11, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail about Oct. 6; cleared May 1693
Sept. 7	Abigail Faulkner, Jr., 9, Andover	Imprisoned 1 month; released on bail Oct. 6; cleared by proclamation May 1693
Sept. 7	Dorothy Faulkner, 12, Andover	Imprisoned 1 month; released on bail Oct. 6; cleared by proclamation May 1693
Sept. 7	John Sadie, Jr., 13, Andover	Imprisoned
Sept. 7	Joseph Draper, 21, Andover	Imprisoned
Sept. 7	Henry Salter, 65, Andover	No record of further legal action
Sept. 7	Male slave of Nathaniel Dane, Andover	Imprisoned 8 weeks

ARREST PHASE OF RESIDUAL ACCUSATIONS		
Sept. 10, 1692	Hannah (mnu) Carroll, Salem Town	Imprisoned
Sept. 10	Sarah (Davis) Cole, 42, Salem Town	Imprisoned; released on bail Jan. 14, 1693; cleared May 1693
Sept. 13	Joanna (mnu) Brabrook Penny, 72, Gloucester	Imprisoned in Ipswich
Oct. 1	Sarah (Aslet) Cole, 30, Lynn	Imprisoned; found not guilty Feb. 1, 1693; returned to prison for fees; released Mar. 23, 1693
Early Oct. 1692	Phoebe (Wildes) Day, 39, Gloucester	Imprisoned at Ipswich
Early Oct. 1692	Mary (Prince) Rowe, 34, Gloucester	Imprisoned at Ipswich
Early Oct. 1692	Rachel (Varney) Cooke Langton Vinson, 62, Gloucester	Imprisoned at Ipswich
Nov. 5	Rebecca (Dolliver) Dike, 41, Gloucester	Imprisoned
Nov. 5	James Dike, infant, few weeks old, Gloucester	Imprisoned with mother
Nov. 5	Esther (Dutch) Elwell, 53, Gloucester	Imprisoned
Nov. 5	Abigail Rowe, 15, Gloucester	Imprisoned
Unknown	John Durrant, 44, Billerica	Died in Cambridge prison Oct. 27, 1693
Unknown	Henry Somers	Imprisoned at Cambridge
Unknown	Edward Wooland	Imprisoned at Salem
Unknown	Three or four men	Imprisoned at Ipswich
Unknown	Mary Watkins, a young white woman unable to pay her prison fees	Imprisoned, sold as a slave after August 11, 1693

THIRD TRIAL, AUGUST 5, 1692

AT THE THIRD MEETING of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, six more were tried, four men and two women: the Rev. George Burroughs, the minister at Wells, Maine; John Proctor and Elizabeth Proctor, his wife, of Salem Farms; John Willard of Salem Village; George Jacobs, Sr. of Salem; and Martha Carrier of Andover. Not one would confess; all were condemned on August 5, 1692. They were hanged on August 19 with the exception of Proctor's wife who escaped death by pleading for the life of her unborn child.

Burroughs, the minister at Salem Village from 1681 to 1683, had created several enemies there, in particular, the Putnam family. After leaving Salem Village, Burroughs preached at Casco and then at Wells, both towns being in Maine. In his trial he pleaded not guilty. The afflicted girls and some of the confessing witches accused him of being a king in Satan's empire. They claimed that, although he was a small man, he had performed feats beyond the strength of a giant. Burroughs had lost two wives, each by an early death. His second wife had been Sarah (Ruck) Hathorne, widow of the deceased Captain William Hathorne, Jr. The witnesses swore that Sarah had privately complained to the neighbors that their house was haunted by spirits. Cotton Mather claimed that during his trial Burroughs dodged questions and contradicted himself in making his defense. Cotton Mather wrote that Burroughs "was accused by eight of the confessing witches, as being a head actor at some of their hellish rendezvous, and one who had the promise of being a king in Satan's kingdom, now going to be erected." The "eight of the confessing witches" were Abigail Hobbs, Deliverance Hobbs, Margaret Jacobs, Ann Foster, Mary (Foster)

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Lacey, Mary Lacey, Jr., Richard Carrier, and Andrew Carrier. Because of her confession on July 30, Mary Toothaker could also be included in this group.¹⁷⁸

Tried next was John Proctor, a wealthy innkeeper and landowner. While he and his wife were in prison, sheriff George Corwin¹⁷⁹ came to their house and seized all their possessions. The sheriff sold some of their cattle at half price and killed the rest, sending the cured meat to the West Indies for sale. He even drained the beer from a barrel, and carried away the barrel. He emptied a pot of broth and carried away the pot. Nothing was left in the house, not even food, to support the Proctor children. No part of the property was ever returned to the family. In prison Proctor earnestly requested the Rev. Nicholas Noyes to pray with and for him but Noyes refused, ostensibly because Proctor would not admit to being a witch. Proctor asked for a short respite, saying that he was not fit to die, but that too was denied.

John Willard had refused to act as a deputy to arrest some of the accused. Soon afterward he was accused of causing the demise of Daniel Wilkins, a young man who was bewitched to death. The authorities sent men to hunt down and apprehend Willard, who had escaped to Nashaway, about 40 miles from Salem.

The seizure of the property of a condemned witch for the enrichment of the authorities was standard procedure. When George Jacobs, Sr. was condemned, sheriff George Corwin and officers came and seized all he had. Jacobs' second wife, Mary, had even her wedding ring snatched from her; only after great effort did she eventually recover it. She was forced to buy provisions from the sheriff, things that he had taken, for her own sustenance. Still unable to cope, she was helped by the charity of her neighbors.

Margaret Jacobs, the sixteen-year-old granddaughter of George Jacobs, Sr., had been arrested with him on May 10, 1692.

178 Cotton Mather, *Wonders*, 120.

179 Sheriff George Corwin was the nephew of magistrate John Corwin and the son-in-law of magistrate Bartholomew Gedney.

The next day the two were examined separately at Beadles' tavern in Salem Town. An onlooker, Joseph Flint, went into the room where the grandfather was held and told him that his granddaughter had confessed that she was a witch. George Jacobs, Sr. said, "She was charged not to confess." When Flint asked him who charged her, Jacobs reflected and then answered, "If she were innocent, and yet confessed, she would be an accessory to her own death."¹⁸⁰

George Jacobs, Sr. was condemned on August 5. On August 18, the day before he was executed, Margaret retracted her confession and received forgiveness from both him and the Rev. George Burroughs. She made the following declaration to the court. There is no mistaking that Margaret, 16, was a person of exceptional courage and integrity.

"The humble declaration of Margaret Jacobs unto the honored court now sitting at Salem, sheweth: That whereas your poor and humble declarant being closely confined here in Salem jail for the crime of witchcraft, which crime, thanks be to the Lord, I am altogether ignorant of, as will appear at the great day of judgment. May it please the honored court, I was cried out upon by some of the possessed persons, as afflicting of them; whereupon I was brought to my examination, which persons at the sight of me fell down, which did very much startle and affright me. The Lord above knows I knew nothing, in the least measure, how or who afflicted them; they told me, without doubt I did, or else they would not fall down at me; they told me if I would not confess, I should be put down into the dungeon and would be hanged, but if I would confess I should have my life; the which did so affright me, with my own vile wicked heart, to save my life made me make the confession I did, which confession, may it please the honored court, is altogether false and untrue. The very first night after I had made my confession, I was in such horror of conscience that I could not sleep, for fear the Devil should carry me away for telling such horrid lies. I was, may it please the honored court, sworn to my confession, as I understand since, but then, at that time, was ignorant of it, not knowing what an oath did mean. The Lord, I hope, in whom I

trust, out of the abundance of his mercy, will forgive me my false forswearing myself. What I said was altogether false and untrue, against my grandfather, and Mr. Burroughs, which I did to save my life and to have my liberty; but the Lord, charging it to my conscience, made me in so much horror, that I could not contain myself before I had denied my confession, which I did, though I saw nothing but death before me, choosing rather death with a quiet conscience, than to live in such horror, which I could not suffer. Whereupon my denying my confession, I was committed to close prison, where I have enjoyed more felicity in spirit a thousand times than I did before in my enlargement.

"And now, may it please your honors, your poor and humble declarant having, in part, given your honors a description of my condition, do leave it to your honors' pious and judicious discretions to take pity and compassion on my young and tender years; to act and do with me as the Lord above and your honors shall see good, having no friend but the Lord to plead my cause for me; not being guilty in the least measure of the crime of witchcraft, nor any other sin that deserves death from man; and your poor and humble declarant shall forever pray, as she is bound in duty, for your honors' happiness in this life, and eternal felicity in the world to come. So prays your honors' declarant. Margaret Jacobs."¹⁸¹

Pity and compassion were unknown to the court; the justices understood only the hysterical and inflammatory outcries of Cotton Mather and his fellow clergy. Livid with rage, the court scheduled Margaret Jacobs for trial at the next meeting in September. But Margaret was not brought to trial because she was so ill with an "impostume" on her head that it was expected that she would die in jail. She survived, however, and when tried in January 1693 by the newly formed Superior Court of Judicature, she was found not guilty.

The court, determined to convict Martha Carrier, would stop at nothing. On July 22, 1692, two weeks before her condemnation on August 5, her sons, Andrew Carrier, 15, and Richard Carrier, 18, were arrested, imprisoned in Salem, and examined. The Rev.

180 Essex County Archives, *Witchcraft*, 1:90.

181 Thomas Hutchinson, "The Witchcraft Delusion of 1692," 402-403.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE ACCUSED, 1692

Charged	Name of accused, Age, Town	Fate after Arrest
November 1691	Martha (Barrett) Sparks, Chelmsford. Committed by Lieut. Gov. Thomas Danforth as a prelude to the Salem witchcraft affair.	Imprisoned more than a year; released on bail December 6, 1692
ARREST PHASE OF SALEM VILLAGE WITCH HUNT		
Feb. 29, 1692	Sarah (Solart) Poole Good, 38, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 29
Feb. 29	Suckling child of Sarah Good, Salem Village	Died in prison in April 1692 from cold and hunger
Feb. 29	Sarah (Warren) Prince Osborne, 50, Salem Village	Imprisoned 9 weeks; died in prison May 10
Feb. 29	Tituba, Salem Village	Imprisoned 13 months; sold to slavery in 1693
Mar. 19	Martha (mnu) Rich Corey, 65, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; executed Sept. 22
Mar. 23	Rebecca (Towne) Nurse, 70, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 19
Mar. 23	Dorcas Good, 4, Salem Village	Imprisoned almost 9 months; released on bail Dec. 10
Mar. 29	Rachel (Haffield) Clinton, 63, Salem Village	Imprisoned in Ipswich
Apr. 4	Sarah (Towne) Bridges Cloyce, 51, Salem Village	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 3, 1693
Apr. 4	Elizabeth (Bassett) Proctor, 41, Salem Farms	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; reprieved for pregnancy; released in 1693

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LIST OF THE ACCUSED

Apr. 30	Lydia (mnu) Dustin, 65, Reading	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 31, 1693; held in prison for fees; died in prison Mar. 10, 1693
Apr. 30	Susannah (North) Martin, 66, Amesbury	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 19
Apr. 30	Dorcas (Galley) Hoar, 60, Beverly	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; reprieved; released 1693
Apr. 30	Sarah Morrell, 14, Beverly	Imprisoned 35 weeks; "tried and cleared" Jan. 1693
Apr. 30	Rev. George Burroughs, 41, Wells, Maine	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
May 7	Sarah Dustin, 39, Reading	Imprisoned; found not guilty Feb. 1, 1693; held in prison for fees; released March 23, 1693
May 8	Bethia (Pearson) Carter, 47, Woburn	Imprisoned; released on bail Dec. 8
May 8	Bethia Carter, Jr., 21, Woburn	Fled before arrest
May 8	Ann (mnu) Farrar Sears, 71, Woburn	Imprisoned; released on bail Dec. 3
May 10	George Jacobs, Sr., 76, Salem Town	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
May 10	Margaret Jacobs, 16, Salem Town	Imprisoned; released on bail in December; found not guilty Jan. 3, 1693
May 10	John Willard, 33, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
May 12	Alice (mnu) Parker, Salem Town	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; executed Sept. 22
May 12	Ann (mnu) Greenslade Pudeator, 65, Salem Town	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; executed Sept. 22
May 13	Abigail Somes, 37, Salem Town	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 6, 1693

LIST OF THE ACCUSED

Apr. 11	John Proctor, 60, Salem Farms	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
Apr. 18	Giles Corey, 80, Salem Village	Pressed to death. Sept. 19
Apr. 18	Bridget (Playfer) Wassebe Oliver Bishop, 60, Salem Town	Imprisoned; condemned June 2; executed June 10
Apr. 18	Abigail Hobbs, 22, Topsfield	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; released Apr. 1693 after 12 months imprisonment
Apr. 18	Mary Warren, 20, Salem Village	Briefly imprisoned; released as an afflicted person
Apr. 21	William Hobbs, 50, Topsfield	Released 1693
Apr. 21	Deliverance (mnu) Hobbs	Imprisoned 12 months; Released Apr. 1693
Apr. 21	Nehemiah Abbot, Jr., 29, Topsfield	Released at preliminary examination, the only such case
Apr. 21	Mary (Towne) Easty, 51, Salem Village	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; executed Sept. 22
Apr. 21	Sarah (Averill) Wildes, 65, Topsfield	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 19
Apr. 21	Edward Bishop, Jr., 44, Salem Village	Imprisoned, escaped
Apr. 21	Sarah (Wildes) Bishop, 41, Salem Village	Imprisoned, escaped
Apr. 21	Mary Black, slave, Salem Village	Imprisoned 8 months; cleared by proclamation Jan. 11
Apr. 21	Mary (Hollingsworth) English, 40, Salem Town	Imprisoned at least 6 weeks; escaped
Apr. 27	Thomas Dyer, Ipswich	Imprisoned
Apr. 28	Samuel Passanauton (an Indian)	Imprisoned
unknown	Female slave of Mrs. Thatcher, Boston	Imprisoned
unknown	Mary Cox	Imprisoned; record of irons ordered for her
Apr. 30	Philip English, 41, Salem Town	Imprisoned but escaped

LIST OF THE ACCUSED

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May 13	Thomas Hardy, Great Island, NH	Fled before arrest
May 14	Daniel Andrew, 48, Salem Village	Fled before arrest
May 14	George Jacobs, Jr., 50, Salem Village	Fled before arrest
May 14	Rebecca (Andrew) Frost Jacobs, 46, Salem Village	Imprisoned 6 months; found not guilty on Jan. 3, 1693
May 14	Sarah (Smith) Buckley, 70, Salem Village	Imprisoned over 8 months; found not guilty on Jan. 4, 1693
May 14	Mary (Buckley) Whittredge, 27, Salem Village	Imprisoned over 8 months; found not guilty on Jan. 4, 1693
May 14	Elizabeth (Hutchinson) Hart, 65, Lynn	Imprisoned 7 months; cleared January 1693
May 14	Thomas Farrar, Sr., 75, Lynn	Imprisoned 7 months; cleared by proclamation Jan. 12, 1693
May 14	Elizabeth Colson, 15, Reading	Fled; captured Sept. 14 and imprisoned
May 15	Mehitabel (Brabrook) Downing, 40, Ipswich	Imprisoned at Ipswich prison
May 18	Dr. Roger Toothaker, 58, Billerica	Imprisoned; died in prison June 16
May 21	Sarah Proctor, 15, Salem Farms	Imprisoned
May 21	Sarah (Hood) Bassett, 35, Lynn	Imprisoned; cleared on Jan. 3, 1693
May 21	Susannah (mnu) Roots, 70, Beverly	Imprisoned
May 23	Benjamin Proctor, 33, Salem Farms	Imprisoned "several months."
May 23	Mary (Bassett) De Rich, 35, Salem Village	Imprisoned about 6 months
May 23	Sarah (mnu) Pease, Salem Town	Imprisoned
May 28	Elizabeth (Walker) Cary, 42, Charlestown	Imprisoned; escaped
May 28	Capt. John Alden Jr., 69, Boston	Imprisoned; house arrest 15 weeks; escaped; cleared by proclamation Apr. 25, 1693
May 28	Capt. John Floyd, 55, Malden	Imprisoned
May 28	Elizabeth (mnu) Betts Fosdick, 32, Malden	Imprisoned

Salem: Celebrating its past



THE WITCH HOUSE in Salem, Mass., was the home of witchcraft trial judge Jonathan Corwin.

300th anniversary of witch hunts to be commemorated

For text - see/reverse

By JOHN LAIDLER

SALEM, Mass. — On a grassy hill that today overlooks a ball field and tennis court in one of the city's parks, 19 people were hung in 1692, falsely accused by their peers of practicing witchcraft.

But no monument and no plaque at "Gallows Hill" recalls the suffering of the victims of Salem's witchcraft hysteria, or the misdeeds of those who caused it. For three centuries, Salem, despite its claim to the nickname, "Witch City," has done little to memorialize the events of the shameful episode in its history.

That will be changing soon. City officials are now planning for a major commemoration in 1992 of the 300-year anniversary of the witch trials, which took 23 lives. In addition to those hung, a 20th victim was pressed to death with heavy stones beside the city jail and three others died in jail.

The yearlong witchcraft tercentenary is expected to attract hordes of visitors to this blue-collar city of 38,091, 15 miles north of Boston, whose diverse ethnic groups today live in relative harmony.

City officials do not disguise their hope that tercentenary events — including a nationally televised re-enactment of the trials — will be a boon to Salem, which like many older New England cities has been struggling with years of economic decline.

"This gives the opportunity for the city to put on its best face for what we hope will be upwards of a million tourists," said Mayor Neil J. Harrington, who points to the

For general information about Salem, Mass., contact the Chamber of Commerce at (508) 744-0004. For further information about the tercentenary, call (508) 745-9595.

city's other attractions, including several major museums, stately Federal-era mansions and a historic waterfront.

But whatever benefits accrue to the city, tercentenary planners said their primary mission was to educate the public about the events of 1692.

"It's not a celebration," said Linda C. McConchie, executive director of the committee planning the tercentenary. "It's really a commemoration to memorialize this period" and to promote tolerance and understanding.

At the least, committee members said, they hope to erase some of the misconceptions that have pervaded popular lore about the hysteria. Among them are that the victims were burned at the stake and that all were women (four were men).

Robert Sheets, who belongs to the society of descendants of the Rev. George Burroughs, one of the victims of the hysteria, said there was also a popular misconception that those executed practiced witchcraft.

"They were victims of innuendoes, suspicion, hypocrisy and false accusations," said Sheets, a Denver resident, who is writing a book about Burroughs.

The hysteria began in what is now the town of Danvers — then part of Salem — on Feb. 29, 1692,

when the first arrests of suspected witches were made, and continued until about Oct. 29, when the court hearing the cases was terminated. Some of the accused remained jailed until May 1693, when they were pardoned by then Gov. William Phips.

In all, says John W. McHale, co-chairman of the tercentenary committee, 141 people were accused of witchcraft, 58 indicted and 29 convicted. All 23 who died refused to confess to the false charges.

Organizers said the tercentenary, while recalling the tragedy of the hysteria, will also point to some positive aspects, including the courage displayed by victims.

"If there's anything to celebrate, that's it," McConchie said of the willingness of 20 accused people to face execution rather than sully their reputations.

Not everyone is happy about the tercentenary plans. A community of modern-day witches in the city has complained that the committee's work is disparaging them.

Laurie Cabot, a spokeswoman for the witches' community, which she claims numbers about 2,000 people, contends that the committee errs when it persists in using witchcraft as a term for evil or harm rather than a positively oriented earth religion.

The anniversary will likely rekindle debate over what caused the hysteria — theories have ranged from religious conflict to the presence of mold in local grain.

Los Angeles Times service

Massachusetts town knows which witch is which

Past is present in Salem, Mass.

By CHARLES HILLINGER
Los Angeles Times

SALEM, Mass. — Here at the scene of the Salem Witch Trials, Halloween is the biggest holiday of the year.

Haunted Happenings, an 11-day annual event, culminates with a candlelight procession to Gallows Hill where, in 1692, 19 men and women were hanged for being witches.

The grim event is marked each year with costume balls, a psychic festival, the retelling of mysterious legends in historic homes, and spell-casting workshops.

All year long, the drama of those frightful real-life witch trials is re-enacted daily as plays recount the court proceedings and hangings. It all happens at the 1845 stone church converted into Salem's Witch Museum.

"Welcome to the Witch Museum. Do you

believe in witches? Millions of our ancestors did," begins the Witch Museum narrator.

Business is also brisk this time of year at nearby Crow Haven Corner, a witchcraft shop named for the crow-filled pine tree nearby. Crystal balls, books of Tarot, magic wands, and love potions are selling like hotcakes.

"People have come here this Halloween season, as always, from throughout New England," said Alison Damario, Witch Museum education director. "But Salem is now preparing for a much greater, worldwide event — a yearlong solemn and dignified commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the Witch Trials."

Tricentennial plans call for exhibitions, plays and lectures about

Salem's year of madness, hysteria and terror. Harvard University will hold a 1992 seminar about Increase and Cotton Mather, the father and son Puritan ministers, and the roles they played in the trials.

There will be 300th anniversary conferences on 17th century theology, witchcraft literature, intolerance, and civil and human rights. An application has been made to the Post Office for a Salem Witchcraft Trials commemorative stamp. A statue commemorating the trials has been commissioned. There also will be a choral production of "The Crucible," Arthur Miller's play about the trials.

Salem will be the site in 1992 of family reunions for descendants of the 19 persons hanged and of Giles Cory, 80, a convicted witch who was pressed to death beneath several tons of rock here.

Essex Institute, founded in 1821 as the official repository for Witchcraft Court transcripts, is research-

ing an exhibit on what life was like here at the time of the trial.

Salem is a derivative of the Hebrew word shalom, meaning peace. But there was little peace in Salem in 1692.

The madness began in the parsonage of Samuel Parris. There, Tituba, the family slave who was a native of Barbados, used stories of witchcraft to entertain the preacher's 9-year-old daughter, Elizabeth, and his 11-year-old niece, Abigail Williams.

Shortly, both girls began acting strangely, uttering weird sounds, crawling on all fours and barking like dogs, staring blankly into space, and writhing with convulsive fits. Physician William Griggs was called to the parsonage and delivered his diagnosis: "They are under the spell of witchcraft."

"Who is bewitching you?" demanded Parris. The girls said it was Tituba and two women already held in low esteem.

Thus began the infamous inquisition. Before it was over, more than 400 persons were accused of being witches, 150 were jailed, 14 women and 5 men hanged, and Cory crushed to death.

At least three women and a baby died in prison. Several pregnant women were jailed as witches. Among those hanged was the Rev. George Burroughs, a Harvard University graduate accused of being a witch.

It was eight girls, ages 9 to 18, and five women who made all the accusations. The entire volume of court testimony was based solely upon "spectral evidence" detailed by the accusers. The young girls and women made outrageous claims of witches tormenting and torturing them. They alone were witnesses to the witches' work.

Danvers, five miles from Salem, is the site of the Parris church and parsonage, where the witchcraft hysteria began.

Richard Trask, 43, Danvers town archivist, is a direct descendant of five accused of being witches, including John Proctor and Mary Easteley, who were hanged.

Trask, who also is chairman of the Danvers Tricentennial Committee, showed a visitor an original church record book and opened it to 1692. There, written in the hand of preacher Parris, was the first known report of witchcraft that year.

"I think the devil has been raised against us and his rage is vehement and terrible and when he shall be silenced the Lord only knows."

The Danvers Archival Center and Essex Institute are the two best repositories of records and information on the Salem witchcraft madness. Historical novels and scholarly books have been published about the event continuously since it happened.

NEHGR 36:253 (July 1872)

INJURY TO WILLIAM GOOD BY THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION.

Communicated by PETER THACHER, A.M., of Boston.

ALL of the following petition, except the last line is in the hand writing of William Good. For Upham's opinion of Good, see his "Salem Witchcraft," volume ii. page 481.

To the Honourable Committee

The humble representation of Will^m Good of the Damage sustained by him in the year 1692, by reason of the sufferings of his family upon the account of supposed Witchcraft.

1. My wife Sarah Good was In prison about four months & then Executed.

2. a sucking child dyed in prison before the Mothers Execution.

3. a child of 4 or 5 years old was in prison 7 or 8 months and being chain'd in the dungeon was so hardly used and terrified that she hath ever since been very chargeable having little or no reason to govern herself—And I leave it unto the Honourable Court to Judge what damage I have sustained by such a destruction of my poor family—And so rest

Your Honours humble servant

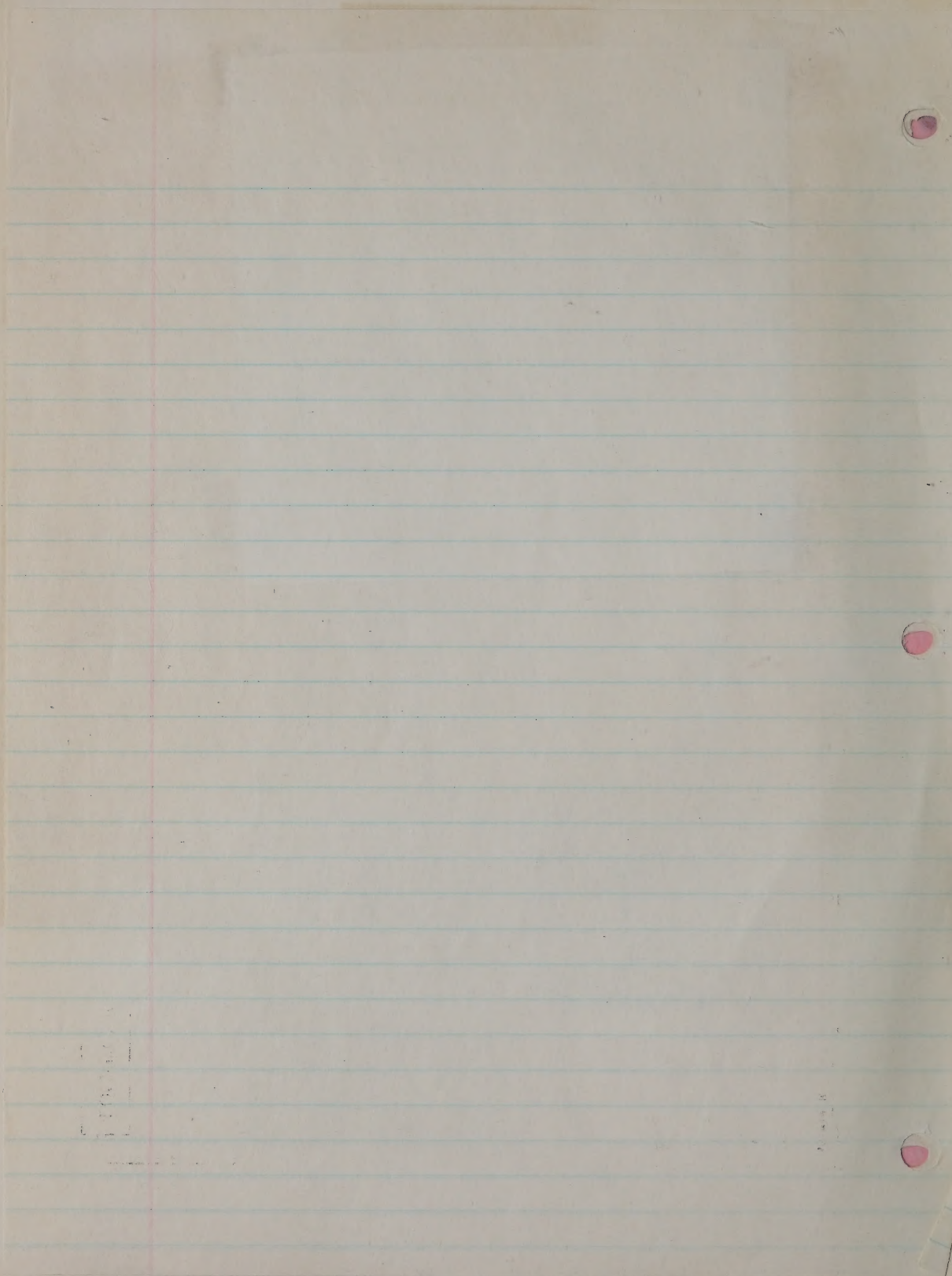
WILLIAM GOOD.

Salem Sept. 13: 1710

30th proposed for to be allowed

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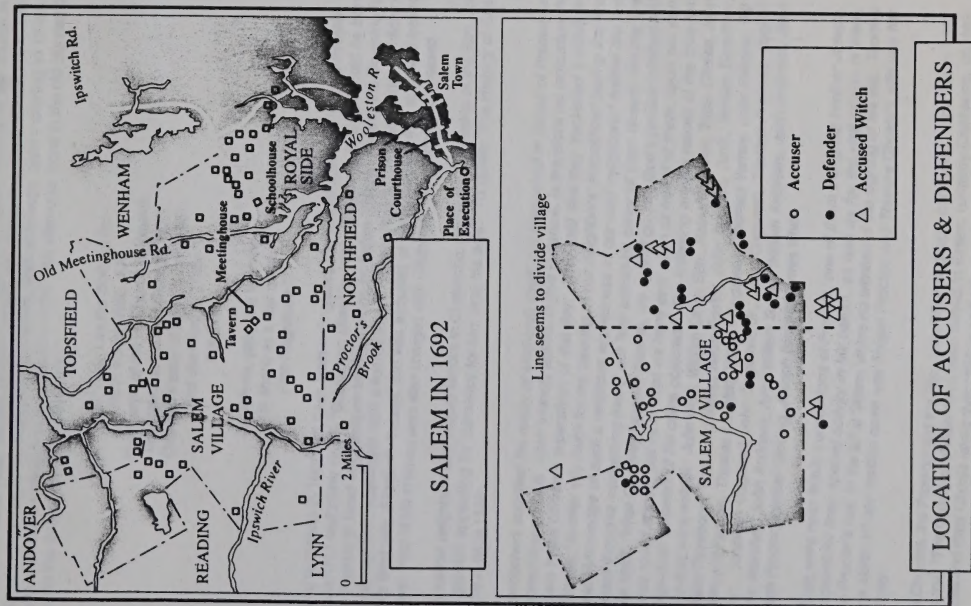


Salem when one side of the village or the other had refused to pay anything toward the ministers' salaries.

The quarrels over taxes and ministers created great anger and many enemies in the village. Boyer and Nissenbaum believe that the girls' accusations were accepted by so many villagers because they were directed against longtime enemies. Many friends of the accused were afraid to defend the suspects, fearing they would be attacked or accused if they said anything.

There is proof that the fight over the ministers affected the witch hunts. One of the families involved in a quarrel over a minister was the Putnam family. Goody Putnam's sister had married the village's first minister. Putnam's sister was in poor health, and her husband's struggle to collect his wages and keep his job didn't help matters any. When her sister died, Goody Putnam blamed the villagers, who had caused her sister so much grief, for her death. And when the accusations started, Ann named the people her mother thought had been responsible for her sister's death.

For whatever reason or reasons, the girls made accusations and the villagers listened and supported them. The only way the trials could be stopped was through outside interference. But Governor Phips was the only one with enough power to do that, and he was in Canada. And so the hunt lasted for eleven months.



Essex Genealogist Vol 2

Wife married Mary Thompson, daughter of the Rev. William Thompson, minister of the church in Braintree, Massachusetts. John Wise, the fifth child of Joseph and Mary, graduated from Harvard College in 1673, preached in Brantford, Connecticut and in Hatfield, Massachusetts, before coming to Chebacco in 1680. He was to remain as minister until his death in 1725. His memorial stone in the old burying ground in Essex reveals the esteem in which he was held:

"Underneath Lies the Body of the
REV. JOHN WISE, A.M.
First Pastor of the 2d Church in Ipswich
Graduated at Harvard College, 1673.
Ordained Pastor of said Church, 1681.
And died April 8, 1725.
Aged 73.

For talents, piety and learning.
He shone as a star of the
First Magnitude."

The man he was to defend in 1692 had been born in England, the son of John and Martha Proctor. He came with his parents and sister on the "Susan and Ellen" in 1635. Six more siblings would be born in Ipswich. John Proctor Jr. lived in Chebacco before moving to Salem Village, leasing the Downing farm (now part of Peabody) and receiving in 1686 a license to sell "strong waters." He had fourteen children by three wives. His third wife, Elizabeth Bassett, too was accused of witchcraft but was relieved because she was pregnant. Four of his children were also charged with witchcraft, imprisoned and released.

Thirty-two of his former neighbors and acquaintances in Chebacco, under the leadership of the Rev. John Wise, signed a petition appealing for clemency for him and his wife. To quote The History of Essex County in volume 2, page 1186:

The Chebacco petitioners admitted the reality of witchcraft itself, but interposed in behalf of Proctor and his wife as persons innocent of it. Their friendly action, in this instance, is therefore no indication that they did not believe in the common superstition of that day. They said that they "reckoned it within their duties of their 'charity,' to offer this much for the clearing of our neighbors' 'innocency,' saying that they 'never had the least knowledge of such a nefarious wickedness in our said neighbors,' neither did they 'remember any such thoughts concerning them,' nor 'any action by either of them directly tending that way.' They further said: 'What God may have left them to, we cannot go into God's pavilion clothed with clouds of darkness round about. But as to what we have ever seen or heard of them, upon our consciences, we judge them innocent of the crime objected.' The following are the names of the thirty-two signers, spelled as they were written: John Wise, William Story, Sen., Reinhold Foster, Thos. Choate, John Burnum, Sr., William Thompson, Tho. Low, Sen'r, Isaac Foster, John Burnum, Jun'r, William Goodhue, Isaac Perkins, Nathaniel Perkins, Thomas Lovett, William Cogswell, Thomas Varney, John Fellows, William Cogswell, Jr., Jonathan Cogswell, John Cogswell, Jr., John Cogswell, Thomas Andrews, Joseph Andrews, Benjamin Marshall, John Andrews, Jun'r, William Butler, William Andrews, John Andrews, John Chote, Sr., Joseph Proctor, Samuel Gidding, Joseph Eveleth, James White.

Of the signers, three were near family connections of Proctor, one of them being his brother Joseph, which fact will account for their special activity in his behalf, as well as for the visit of one of them, Thomas Choate, to Proctor's cell, in the jail at Salem, where he witnessed the signing of his will. Thomas Varney's wife was a sister, whose maiden name was Abigail Proctor; and Thomas Choate's wife was her daughter, Mary Varney.

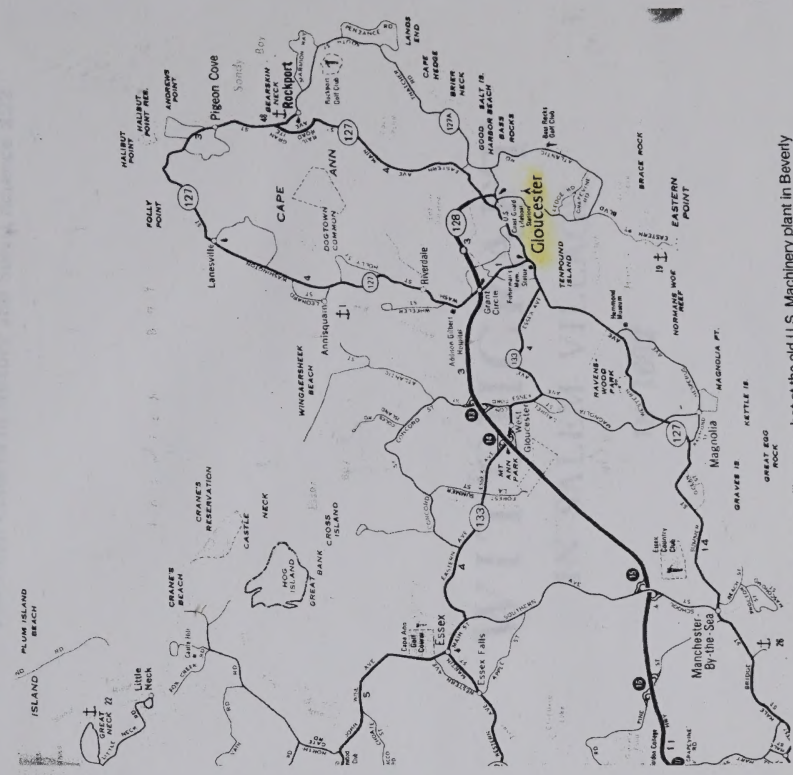
And so we find the Choates, the Proctors and the Rev. John Wise all deeply connected. How ironic - and appropriate - it is that "The Crucible" should have been filmed in Essex, formerly Chebacco, on Hog Island, where Thomas and Mary Choate raised their children and where their son's house still stands.

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Proctor petitioners included Benjamin Foster, Abigail Cogswell Gidding

MAP OF CAPE ANN in Essex County

Showing HOG ISLAND
where most of "The Crucible" was filmed



Interior scenes from the film were shot at the old U.S. Machinery plant in Beverly and the now defunct Danvers State Hospital in Danvers, both places about 12 miles west south-west of Hog Island in Essex.

Last summer and again this coming summer Tourists may visit Hog Island and see the old Choate home as well as the Proctor house which was constructed for the film.

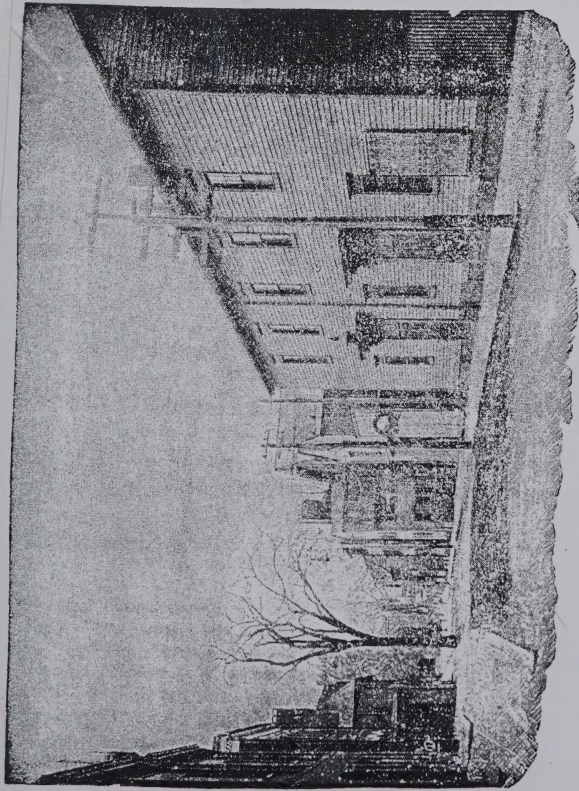
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Our Rev. John Emerson was pastor of Gloucester.

BURT FRANKLIN: RESEARCH & SOURCE WORKS SERIES 88¢
American Classics in History and Social Science 222

WITCHCRAFT IN SALEM VILLAGE

IN 1692



LYCEUM HALL, SITE OF BRIDGET BISHOP'S SALEM HOME.

(Other pages in Town file)

mon prayer and ceremonies in our native land; in this place of liberty we cannot, we will not, use them." On the other hand, the people who settled at Plymouth were separatists.¹

John Lyford and a few followers left the Plymouth colony a few years after the settlement there, owing "to dissatisfaction with the extreme separation from the English Church." They settled at or near Nantasket, but in 1625 removed to Cape Ann. There they sought to establish a fishing and farming community. Roger Conant joined the colony in the fall of 1625 and was made "governor." The affairs were in an unsatisfactory state. Fishing and farming had been unprofitable. During the succeeding spring Conant explored the coast to the mouth of Naumkeag river and concluded to make a settlement at Naumkeag. As a result of this movement a company was formed in England known as "the Governor and Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England."

The company chose John Endicott governor, and he, with his wife and a few others, sailed for the new world on June 20, 1628. They arrived in Salem harbor early in September. On the 16th of April, following, about two hundred persons, including sixty females and twenty-six children, left England to join the colony.

"They took with them one hundred and

¹ Old Naumkeag, 2.

forty head of cattle, besides food, arms, clothing, and tools. There were four ministers in the company. Two of them — Francis Higginson and Samuel Skelton — were men of more than ordinary ability, and they were destined to play no unimportant part in the history of the new world."²

In the letters from the home company to Mr. Higginson, during the following year or two, we find much paternal advice. "Noe idle drone (is to) be permitted to live among us." Justice is urged in this spirit: "Wee hartely pray you to admit of all complaints that shall be made to you, or any of you that are of the counsell, be the complaints never so meane, and pass it not slightly over but seriously examine the truth of the business."

In another letter: "Wee pray you to make some good lawes for the punishment of swearers, whereof it is to be feared too many are adicted."

The suppression of intemperance is urged, by endeavoring "though there bee much strong water sent for sale, so to order it as that saluages may not for our lucre sake bee induced to excessive use, or rather abuse of it," and by punishing those "who shall become drunck." The company urges that, "noe tobacco bee planted unless it bee some small quantitie for more necessitie and for phisick for preservacon

² Old Naumkeag, 9.

advice, lay particular stress on the last clause, often ignoring the others. Many have quoted that alone as indicating the views of the ministers. Could anything be more unjust? The whole history of the witchcraft era, and especially the part the ministers took in it, has been warped by such perversion of this letter. Read without prejudice, is it not more like the charge of a judge to a jury than a savage demand for the shedding of innocent blood, as many historians would have us believe? Five of the six paragraphs in the letter devoted to advice are cautionary, while only one urges that those who have violated the laws of God and man, as understood by every one then, be vigorously prosecuted. Unfortunately, the judges did not heed the cautions. They were more blinded than the ministers. As Barrett Wendell says, it was "an honest warning of a danger in spite of which the court had no moral right to hesitate in the performance of its official duty."³

The court reconvened the last of June, and tried Sarah Good, Sarah Wildes, Elizabeth Howe and Susanna Martin, and finished the trial of Rebecca Nurse, begun on June 2d and continued on the 3rd. All were convicted, and sentenced to be hanged on Tuesday, July 19. The third sitting was about August 2, Tuesday, when Rev. George Burroughs, John Procter, Elizabeth

Procter, George Jacobs, sen., John Willard and Martha Carrier were tried and convicted. With the exception of Elizabeth Procter, they were executed on Friday, August 19. Another session was held early in September, beginning on Tuesday, the 6th, and terminating on Saturday, the 17th. Martha Corey, Mary Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Dorcas Hoar and Mary Bradbury were tried, found guilty and sentenced the first week. All save the two last named were hanged on the 22d.

During the following week nine more accused persons were convicted and sentenced, namely: Margaret Scott, Wilmot Reed, Samuel Wardwell, Mary Parker, Abigail Faulkner, Rebecca Eames, Mary Lacey, Ann Foster and Abigail Hobbs. Scott, Reed, Wardwell and Parker were executed on Thursday, the 22d. These, with the four convicted the preceding week, were the last persons hanged for witchcraft in 1692 or, for that matter, ever in Massachusetts. It was on this occasion that Rev. Mr. Noyes, minister of the First Church in Salem, turned toward the bodies of the victims and said: "What a sad thing it is to see eight firebrands of hell hanging there." Hutchinson says, "Those who were condemned and were not executed, I suppose all confessed their guilt. I have seen the confessions of several of them."¹¹

¹⁰ Calef. Fowler's Ed., 265.

¹¹ Hist. Mass., II., 59.

to exist when the emergency was passed.¹⁴ It was now passed, because regular courts had been established competent to do the work previously done by the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer. Stoughton was made chief justice of the new court, with Richards, Winthrop, Sewall and Danforth, associates. At its session held in Salem in January, the grand jury found about fifty indictments for witchcraft, and twenty-one persons were tried. Three of them were convicted and sentenced to be hanged, viz., Mary Post of Rowley, Elizabeth Johnson, junior, and Sarah Wardwell, widow of Samuel Wardwell, of Andover. They were never executed. Four were tried in Charlestown, one in Boston, and five in Ipswich in May (the last trials), but no more convictions could be secured. Finally, in May, Gov. Phips issued a proclamation releasing all persons held in custody on charge of witchcraft—about one hundred and fifty in number.¹⁵ No other prosecutions for witchcraft were ever made in Essex county.

Only one case of witchcraft ever after occurred in Massachusetts. That was in 1693. Cotton Mather says: "It was upon the Lord's day, the 10th of September, in the year 1693, that Margaret Rule, after some hours of previous disturbance in the public assembly, fell into odd

¹⁴ Hale, P. C., II., 4.

¹⁵ Phips to Nottingham, Essex Inst. Hist. Coll. IX., pt. 2, 81.

After these convictions, the court adjourned the witchcraft trials until Nov. 2. But it never sat again to try witchcraft cases. It did sit in Boston on Oct. 10, to "trie a French malatto for shooting dead an English youth."¹² On the 28th of the preceding June the General Court passed an act establishing courts of general sessions of the peace on and after the last Tuesday in July, which was the 26th; also establishing inferior courts of common pleas to hold sessions at the same time and in places where they were formerly held. This act was disallowed by the home government on Aug. 22, 1695. These courts were established only until others should be provided. At the session of the General Court in the fall an act was passed, on Nov. 25, creating various courts, among them courts of quarter sessions and common pleas and a superior court of judicature. On the 16th of December, a further act was passed which provided that, "considering the many persons in Essex county charged as capital offenders, and that the time had passed for the sitting of the court," a special court of assize and jail delivery was ordered in the county.¹³ The first term of this court was to be held in Salem in January. These acts establishing regular courts certainly terminated the special court of Oyer and Terminer. Tribunals created in emergencies always ceased

¹² Sewall Papers, I., 366.

¹³ Province Laws, I., 100.

Pages 111-130 Re Rebecca Nurse - placed in Town file

CHAPTER VII.

REV. GEORGE BURROUGHS.

IN speaking of Rev. George Burroughs, it seems proper to allude briefly to the early history of the Salem Village church. The witchcraft prosecutions have some times been attributed to the feelings engendered by the disagreements over the settlement of a pastor of the parish. Up to 1671 the people of Salem Village worshiped with the mother church in Salem. On March 22 of that year (1672 O. S.) the town of Salem voted that the farmers at the Village should "have liberty to have a minister by themselves, and when they should provide and pay him in a maintenance they should be discharged from their part of the Salem minister's maintenance."¹ Rev. James Bayley became "supply" minister of the parish in Nov. 1672, and a meeting house was erected in 1673. Some dissatisfaction was manifested with the manner of his call. The feeling increasing in intensity,

¹ Salem Town Records; Hanson's Hist. Danvers, 223.

an appeal was made to the parent church in Salem. Among Bayley's opponents were Nathaniel Putnam and Bray Wilkins, men of wealth and influence in the community. The dispute finally reached the General Court. That body decided in favor of the minister, and ordered that he be continued and settled, and be allowed £60 per annum, one-third in money and two-thirds in provisions and fuel for his family.² The people of the parish paid no attention to this order, and in 1679 Mr. Bayley resigned. Bayley came to the Village from Newbury, where he had married Mary Carr. His wife's sister, Ann Carr, accompanied them to Salem Village where, in 1678, she married Sergt. Thomas Putnam,³ of whom we shall hear much before we have finished this story. This united the minister's family with the wealthiest and most powerful family in the place.

George Burroughs was engaged as preacher in place of Mr. Bayley in November, 1680. Graduating from Harvard in 1670, he early went into the district of Maine to preach, and dwelt for some time at Casco, now Portland, where he received a grant of 150 acres of land in a section now the very heart of the city. This land he generously gave to the town in later years. Mr. Burroughs early encountered hostility in his new

² Rice's Hist. First Parish in Danvers, 15.
³ Savage's Genealogical Dictionary.

parish in Danvers, as was quite natural, from the partisans of his predecessor. His salary was not promptly paid, and when, in 1681, his wife died, he had no money to pay the funeral expenses. A violent dispute raged in the parish between the Bayley and anti-Bayley factions, and Burroughs gave up the pastorate in 1682. Even this did not end his troubles. He came back from Maine, whither he had moved, to "get a reckoning" or settlement, and was arrested for a debt due to John Putnam. Yet on the very day of his arrest he had signed an order for the payment to Thomas Putnam of the amount due to himself from the parish. It appears by a bill on file on the records that when Burroughs' wife died, John Putnam allowed him to buy two gallons of Canary rum, some cloth and other articles on his account. The debt was for less than £14, and the parish owed Burroughs £33 6s. 8d., so that Putnam was amply secured.⁴

Rev. Deodat Lawson succeeded Mr. Burroughs, coming to the Village in 1684. He found much discord prevailing, not only over the settlements of Bayley and Burroughs but also over the parish records, which it was alleged had not been correctly kept during their ministries. Both disputes were referred to members of the church in Salem for advice. The advice

⁴ Salem Witchcraft, II., 262.

A great portion of the testimony against Burroughs, as I have said, consisted of statements regarding his phenomenal strength. Samuel Webber, for instance, told how Mr. Burroughs put his finger into the bung of a barrel of molasses, lifted it up and carried it around him and set it down. This is the only direct testimony of great feats of strength which does not discredit itself. No doubt this is an exaggeration of the facts or a misapprehension of the circumstances. Thomas Greenslit's testimony which is given below is the only other direct evidence of phenomenal strength. Everything else is hearsay evidence. As for Greenslit, he appears to have been a man utterly devoid of character, and not to be believed. His deposition bears date September 15, which would be nearly a month after the execution of Burroughs. May it not have been procured after the execution, to offset the indignation of some of Burroughs' friends?

We may as well dispose of Greenslit at this point, by giving the substance of his deposition, although not in chronological order. He deposed that he saw Mr. Burroughs, who was lately executed,

"lift a gun of six foot barrel or thereabouts putting the forefinger of his right hand into the muzzle of said gun and that he held it out at arms end only with that finger, and further this deponent testifieth that at the same time he saw the said Burroughs take a full barrel of molasses

with but two of fingers of one of his hands and carry it from the stage head to the end of the stage."

Simon Willard testified to being in Falmouth, Me., in September, 1689, when some one was

"commending Mr. Burroughs, his strength, saying that he could hold out his gun with one hand. Mr. Burroughs being there said, I held my hand here behind the lock and took it up and held it out. I, said deponent, saw Mr. Burroughs put his hand on the gun, to show us how he held it and where he held his hand, and saying there he held his hand when he held his gun out; but I saw him not hold it out then. Said gun was about seven foot barrel and very heavy. I then tried to hold out said gun with both hands but could not do it long enough to take sight."

Willard also deposed that when he was in garrison at Saco some one in speaking of Burroughs' great strength said he could take a barrel out of a canoe and carry it and set it on the shore, and Burroughs said he had "carried a barrel of molasses or cider and that it had like to have done him a displeasure, so he intimated that he did not want strength to do it but the disadvantage of the shore was such that his foot slipping in the sand he had liked to have strained his leg." Benjamin Hutchinson testified that he met Abigail Williams one day about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, in Salem Village. Burroughs was then in Maine, a hundred miles away. She told him she then saw Burroughs. Hutchinson asked where. She answered, "there," and pointed to a rut in the road. Hutchinson threw an iron fork towards

they found nothing but what was natural. He was convicted, however, and on the 19th of August hanged on Gallows hill, Salem.

Calef says he was "carried in a cart with the others through the streets of Salem to execution. When he was upon the ladder he made a speech for the clearing of his innocence with such solemn and serious expressions as were to the admiration of all present: his prayer which he concluded by repeating the Lord's prayer so well worded and uttered with such composure and such (at least seeming) fervency of spirit, as was very affecting, and drew tears from many, so that it seemed to some that the spectators would hinder the execution. The accusers said the black man stood and dictated to him.¹⁴ As soon as he was turned off, Mr. Cotton Mather, being mounted upon a horse, addressed himself to the people, partly to declare that he (Burroughs) was no ordained minister, and partly to possess the people of his guilt saying that the devil has often been transformed into an angel of light; and this somewhat appeased the people and the execution went on. When he was cut down, he was dragged by the halter to a hole, or grave, between the rocks, about two feet deep, his shirt and breeches being pulled off, and an old pair of trowsers of one executed put on his lower parts. He was so put in together with Willard and Carrier that one of his hands and his chin, and a foot of one of them, were left uncovered."¹⁵

Judge Sewall wrote under date of August 19:

"This day George Burroughs, John Willard, John Proctor, Martha Carrier and George Jacobs were executed at

14 A person guilty of witchcraft was supposed to be incapable of repeating the Lord's prayer correctly, although this was only incidental and corroborative testimony and was never considered as in any sense conclusive. It is not certain that the repetition was always demanded by the magistrates or judges. It does appear however that the accused often voluntarily repeated the prayer as Burroughs did on this occasion.

15 Fowler's Ed., 254.

CHAPTER VIII

BRIDGET BISHOP AND THE JACOBS FAMILY.

BRIDGET Bishop was arrested April 19, 1692, on a warrant issued the day before. Her examination took place on the day of arrest, and she was committed to jail. Bridget was the second wife of Edward Bishop, "sawyer." Bishop was her third husband. Her first was one Wasslebee, and her second, Thomas Oliver. Bishop himself married again nine months after Bridget was hanged. The Bishops at the time of Bridget's arrest were living near the line between Salem Village and Beverly, on the road which now leads from North Beverly to Danversport, and nearly opposite the Cherry hill farm. Goodwife Bishop kept some sort of a public house for the entertainment of travelers. From the documents on file it appears that she sold cider, if nothing stronger, and that her guests sat up late at night playing at shovel-board, drinking and making so much noise that the neighbors complained of the place. Bishop and his first wife Hannah, were before the court

Salem, a very great number of spectators being present, Mr. Cotton Mather was there, Mr. Sims, Hale, Noyes, Cheever &c. All of them said they were innocent, Carrier and all. Mr. Mather says they all died by a Righteous Sentence. Mr. Burrough by his Speech, Prayer, presentation of his Innocence did much move unthinking persons, which occasions their speaking hardly concerning his being executed."¹⁶

Thus ended the life of the most important personage executed during this period and one of the most noted of witchcraft victims in the history of the world. Whatever opinions we may entertain with regard to the general subject of witchcraft, or of the mistakes of the courts in these cases, only one opinion seems possible concerning the treatment of the accused before and after trial. They were treated with the grossest brutality, from the beginning to the end, from the most aged and infirm to the youngest and most innocent.

16 Sewall Papers, 369.

BRIDGET BISHOP AND THE JACOBS FAMILY. 149

in 1653 and fined, he for "pilfering of apples" and lying, and she for stealing Indian corn and lying.¹ Bishop was also fined for contempt of court in not obeying a summons in January, 1692. Bridget Bishop was arrested on a charge of witchcraft in 1680, tried and discharged. It is evident, therefore, that neither of them stood before the community in the best possible light. Any new charge to the discredit of either was quite likely to be believed.

Samuel Gray, who preferred the charge of witchcraft against this woman in 1680, testified long after, on his death bed, his sorrow and repentance for such accusations as being wholly groundless.² The court reporter on the occasion of Bridget Bishop's examination before the magistrates in 1692 left this record:

As soon as she came near all fell into fits.

Mary Walcott said that her brother Jonathan stroke her appearance and she saw that he had tore her coat in striking and she heard it tear. Upon some search in the court a rent that seems to answer what was alleged was found.

They say you bewitched your first husband to death.—If it please your worship, I know nothing of it.

She shake her head and the afflicted were tortured.

The like again upon motion of her head.

The court sought to make her confess by leading questions repeated in various forms, but was unable to shake her firm denial of every charge.

¹ Essex County Court at Ipswich, 1653, Nos. 42-43.

² Calef, Fowler's ed., 247.

The report continues :

Then she turned up her eyes and the eyes of the afflicted were turned up.

It may be you do not know that any have confessed today who have been examined before you that they are witches.—No, I know nothing of it. John Hutchinson and John Lewis in open court affirmed that they had told her.

Why, look you, you are taken now in a flat lie.—I did not hear them.

The remainder of the report is so nearly like that in other cases that its use here would be mere repetition. The prisoner was sent to jail. The new court of Oyer and Terminer, which had been constituted by Gov. Phips on May 27, sat in Salem, June 2, for the trial of Bridget Bishop, Rebecca Nurse and others. She was, therefore, one of the first persons tried by the new court, and one of the first of the alleged witches of Salem and Salem Village to be tried in 1692. The evidence against her at this trial has come down to us with a considerable degree of fulness. There were five indictments. They charged the prisoner in the usual form with witchcraft in, upon and against Mercy Lewis, Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott, Elizabeth Hubbard and Ann Putnam, respectively. In addition to the customary testimony of the afflicted that the shape of the accused did often pinch, bite, choke and otherwise hurt them, and had urged them to write their names in a book, which the apparition called "our book," they

manifested the usual evidences of torture in the court room. Among the interesting testimony in the case was that of William Stacey, who deposed that he had the small pox some thirteen years before, and Bridget Bishop professed great love for him in his affliction. Some time after he did some work for her, for which she paid him three pence. He put the money in his pocket; but had not gone above three or four rods when he looked in his pocket but could not find any money. One day he met Bishop going to mill; she asked him whether his father would grind her grist. He wished to know why she asked. She answered, because folks counted her a witch.

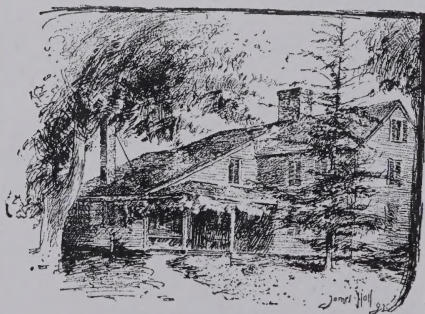
"Deponent made answer he did not doubt his father would grind it, but being gone about six rods from her with a small load in his cart, suddenly the off wheel plumped or sunk down into a hole upon plain ground, that this deponent was forced to get one to help him get the wheel out. Afterwards he went back to look for said hole where his wheel sunk in, but could not find any hole."

One winter about midnight he felt something cold pressing on his teeth between his lips. He saw "Bishop sitting on the foot of the bed." She "hopt upon the bed and about the room." Some time after, Stacey,

"In a dark night, was going to the barn, who was suddenly taken or hoisted from the ground, threw against a stone wall, after that taken up again and thrown down a bank at the end of the house. Some time after this deponent met the said Bridget Bishop by Isaac Stone's brick

kill; after he had passed by this deponent's horse stood still with a small load going up hill, so that the horse trying to draw, all his gears flew in pieces and the cart fell down."

Rev. John Hale of Beverly, testified that the wife of John Trask desired of him that Bishop be not permitted to receive the Lord's Supper till she had given satisfaction for some offences



TRASK HOUSE, NORTH BEVERLY.

that were against her because she "did entertain certain people in her house at unreasonable hours in the night to keep drinking and playing at shovel-board whereby discord did arise in the other families and young people were in danger to be corrupted." He greatly feared that "if a stop had not been put to those disorders Edward

Bishop's house would have been a house of great prophainness and iniquity." The next news he heard of Christian Trask was that she was "distracted," and her husband said she was so taken the night after she complained of Goody Bishop. He continued his testimony at length, stating that the "distractions returned from time to time until Mrs. Trask died. As to the wounds that she died of I did observe three deadly ones, a piece of her windpipe cut out, another wound above it through the wind pipe and gullets the veins they call juglar, so that I then judged and still do apprehend it impossible for her with so short a pair of scissors to mangle herself so without some extraordinary work of the devil or witchcraft." Is there any reason to doubt, after reading this testimony, that Christian Trask was insane, and so committed suicide?

Two witnesses testified that on taking down the cellar wall in the old Bishop house where Bridget lived in 1685, they found in holes in the wall several poppits made up of rags and hog's brussels with headless pins in them with the points out. Poppits were believed to represent the person whom the witch desired to afflict, and by sticking pins into those images the mischief was supposed to be mysteriously and safely accomplished. Whatever was done to the images

was, so the belief ran, done to the person whom they represented.³

Samuel Shattuck testified that Bridget Bishop came to his house to buy a hog'shead which he asked very little for, and she went away without it. Sundry other times she came in a smooth flattering manner he had thought since to make mischief. At or very near this time his eldest child which had promised much health and understanding was "taken in a drooping condition and as she came often to the house it grew worse and worse. As he would be standing at the door would fall out and bruise his face upon a great step-stone as if he had been thrust out by an invisible hand." Sometimes the child would go out in the garden and get on a board and when they would call it it would walk to the end of the board and hold out its hands as if it could come no further and they had to lift it off. Again, Bishop brought him a pair of sleeves to dye. He dyed them and she paid him two pence. He gave the money to Henry Williams, and Williams told him he put it in a purse among some other money and put the purse in a box and locked the box. He never after found the money or purse in the box. "It had gone out." John Lander testified that Bishop came into his room one night and sat on his stomach. He put

³ Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., II., 143.

again, and we did then apprehend or judge and do still, that said Bishop had bewitched said sow." John Cook told the court that five or six years previously he was assaulted with the shape of the prisoner in his chamber, and so terrified that an apple that he had in his hand flew strangely from him into his mother's lap six or eight feet distant.

The trial occupied most of the week. Bridget was convicted and sentenced to be hanged. She was executed on Friday, June 10, being the only person hanged on that day, and hence the first victim of the great witchcraft delusion of 1692. Calef says, "she made not the least confession of anything relating to witchcraft."⁴ Of her execution we have no details, but the court records contain the original warrant for her execution and the sheriff's return thereon. As this is the only death warrant which has been preserved in these cases it is quoted here in full:

To George Corwin gent^l High Sheriff of the county of Essex greeting:

Whereas Bridget Bishop, als Oliver, the wife of Edward Bishop of Salem in the county of Essex, sawyer, at a speciall court of Oyer and Terminer held at Salem the second day of this instant month of June for the countyes of Essex, Middlesex and Suffolk before William Stoughton Esq. and his associate justices of the said court was indicted and arraigned upon five several indictments for using, practicing and exercising on the nynteenth day of April last past and divers other days and times before and after

⁴ Fowler's Ed., 247.

out his hands and she grabbed him by the throat and choked him. One Sunday while he remained at home:

"The door being shut I did see a black pig in the room coming towards me, so I went towards it to kick it and it vanished away. Immediately after I sat down in a narrow bar and did see a black thing jump into the window and came and stood just before my face upon the bar, and the body of it looked like a munkey and I being greatly affrighted, not being able to speak or help myself by reason of fear I suppose, so the thing spake to me and said, I am a messenger sent to you for I understand you are troubled in mind, and if you will be ruled by me you shall want for nothing in this world, upon which I endeavored to clap my hands upon it, and said you devil I will kill you, but could feel no substance and it jumped out of the window again, and immediately came in by the porch although the doors were shut, and said you had better take my council, whereupon I strooke at it with a stick but struck the ground-sill. Then his arm was disennabled, and opening the door and going out he saw Bishop in her orchard going towards her house, and seeing her had no power to set one foot before the other."

Another piece of testimony against Bridget Bishop was that of John Bly and wife. They had a dispute with the Bishops about a hog. They testified that the hog was taken with "strange fits, jumping up and knocking her head against the fence, and seemed blind and deaf, and would not eat, neither let her pigs suck but foamed at the mouth." They gave it red ochre and milk which made it better but soon "it did set off jumping and running as if she was stark mad, and, after that was well

certain acts of witchcraft on and upon the bodies of Abigail Williams Ann Putnam junr. Mercy Lewis May Walcott and Elizabeth Hubbard of Salem Village single women wherebv their bodies were hurt afflicted pined consumed wasted and tormented contrary to the forme of the statute in that case made and provided. To which indictment the said Bridget Bishop pleaded not guilty and for tryal thereof put herself upon God and her country whereupon she was found guilty of the felonies and witchcraft whereof she,



BRIDGET BISHOP HOUSE, NORTH BEVERLY.

stood indicted and sentence of death accordingly passed agt her as the law directs. Execution whereof yet remains to be done. These are therefore in the name of their maj(est)ies William and Mary now King and Queen over England &c to will and command you that upon Fryday next being the tenth dy of this instant month of June between the hours of eight and twelve in the afternoon of the same day you safely conduct the sd Bridget Bishop als Oliver from their majties goal in Salem aforesd to the place of execu-

scendants, was recovered afterwards and buried on his farm, where it has since reposed.

Elizabeth Procter escaped by pleading pregnancy. Some months after the death of her husband she gave birth to a child.³ Her home had been desolated. Not only had her husband been hanged, three of her children imprisoned, and she herself brought within the very shadow of the gallows, but the officers of the law had stripped that home of all its worldly possessions. Her execution was again ordered early in 1693; but Gov. Phips granted a reprieve. Many of her relatives in Lynn were accused and some brought to trial. All in all, the severe treatment of this family has led to the charge of special persecution. The reason for this, it is believed, was Procter's intense opposition to the witchcraft prosecutions from the very beginning, and particularly when he said he could "whip the devil out of them."⁴ Possibly if he could have applied his remedy to the accusing girls, in the beginning, we should never have had any "Salem Village Witchcraft."

John Willard of Salem Farms was employed

³ Savage's Genealogical Dictionary of New England gives the date Jan. 27, 1692-3; but the correctness of this is questioned.

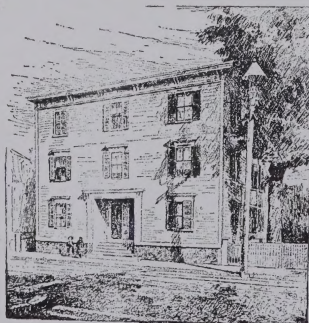
⁴ Lieut. Ingersoll declared yt John Procter tould Joseph Pope yt if he hade John Indian in his custody he would soon beat ye devill out of him, and so said severall others." Court Records, Salem.

during the earlier days of the witchcraft prosecutions to assist in bringing in persons accused. Accusations were finally made against Willard himself. It has been stated that he was charged because he had expressed sympathy with the accused and doubts of the justice of the proceedings. One remark quoted is: "Hang them, they are all witches." Just why this remark should bring upon him the displeasure of the prosecutors is not easy to understand. Is it not more probable that he was cried out against, as so many others were, from no apparent motive, but through the excitement and terror of the times? He was "talked about" for some time before any movement was made to arrest him. He went to his grandfather, Bray Wilkins, and asked the old man to pray with him, but Wilkins was just going from home and could not stop then. He told Willard he would not be unwilling if he got home before night, but Willard did not reappear. On election week Wilkins and his wife, both more than eighty years of age, rode to Boston on their horse. Willard went also with Henry Wilkins, jr. Daniel Wilkins, Henry's son, had heard the stories about Willard and protested against his father going with him. He is quoted as saying of Willard: "It were well if Willard were hanged." On election day, Bray Wilkins and his wife and Rev. Deodat Lawson were at Lieut. Richard Ways' house for

dinner. Willard and Henry Wilkins came in later. The elder Wilkins says he thought Willard did not look on him kindly, for, he says, "to my apprehension, he looked after such a sort upon me as I never before discerned in any." Wilkins was taken very sick that afternoon and remained so some days. He was carried home, and on arriving there, found Daniel Wilkins, the young man who had advised his father not to go to Boston with Willard, also very ill. The old man himself fell ill again. Mercy Lewis and Mary Walcott were sent for to come and solve the mystery of so much sickness in the Wilkins family. They were, as usual, equal to the occasion. They "saw the apparitions of Sarah Buckley and John Willard upon the throat and breast of Henry Wilkins," and saw them press and choke him until he died. Lewis then went to the room where old Bray Wilkins lay. Asked if she saw any thing, she replied: "Yes, they are looking for John Willard." A little later she exclaimed: "There he is upon his grandfather's belly."

A warrant for Willard's arrest was issued on May 10 on complaint of Thos. Fuller and others. Two days later, Constable Putnam returned the document with the endorsement that he had made search for him and could not find him. He was produced in court on the 18th, having been arrested in Groton. Among the more interest-

ing papers on file in the case is the following deposition of Mrs. Ann Putnam. Whether it was presented to the magistrates to induce them to issue a warrant for Willard's arrest, or was given in at the preliminary examination at



SITE OF BEADLE TAVERN, ESSEX STREET, SALEM, MASS.

Beadle's tavern in Salem, we have no means of knowing. The document is as follows:

The shape of Samuel Fuller and Lydia Wilkins this day told me at my own house by the bedside, who appeared in winding sheets, that if I did not go and tell Mr. Hathorne that John Willard had murdered them they would tear me to pieces. . . . At the same time the apparition of John

Willard told me that he had killed Samuel Fuller, Lydia Wilkins, Goody Shaw and Fuller's second wife, and Aaron Way's child, and Ben Fuller's child and this deponent's child, Sarah, six weeks old, and Phillip Knight's child with the help of William Hobbs, and Jonathan Knight's child and two of Ezekiel Cheever's children with the help of William Hobbs; and Elliott and Isaac Nichols



BENJAMIN FULLER HOUSE, MIDDLETON.
(His child bewitched to death by Willard.)

with the help of William Hobbs. . . . Joseph Fuller's apparition also the same day came to me and told me that Goody Corey had killed him.

Must we not accept one of two explanations of this remarkable piece of evidence: that the whole story was literally true, and therefore

witchcraft a reality, or that Mrs. Ann Putnam deliberately falsified? Will the theory of general terror and hallucination in the community sufficiently explain the statement? Were the people "out of their wits", as Martha Carrier said? On the other hand, I am bound to say that I find no evidence of any cause which should prompt Mrs. Putnam to make such serious charges against Willard and others, unless we accept the claim of some writers who profess to believe that it was for the purpose of supporting the general plan of prosecution for witchcraft. Willard was committed to jail, and subsequently tried at the August session of the court. Only one piece of evidence has been preserved from this trial. Susan Sheldon, eighteen years of age, testified that at Nathaniel Ingersoll's house, on May 9, she saw the apparitions of four persons.—

William Shaw's first wife, the widow Cook, Goodman Jones and his child, and among these came the apparition of John Willard to whom these four said, you have murdered us. These four having said thus to Willard they turned as red as blood. And turning about to look at me they turned as pale as death. These four desired me to tell Mr. Hathorne. Willard hearing them, pulled out a knife, saying if I did he would cut my throat." . . . On another occasion there came to her a shining man and told her to go and tell Hathorne. She told him she would if he would hunt Willard away, she would believe what he said. "With that the shining man held up his hands and Willard vanished away. About two hours after, the same appeared to me again and the said Willard with them, and I asked them

where their wounds were and they said there would come an angel from Heaven and would show them, and forthwith the angel came. . . . And the angel lifted up his winding sheet, and out of his left side he pulled a pitchfork-tine and put it in again, and likewise he opened all the winding sheets and showed all the wounds. And the white man told me to tell Mr. Hathorne of it and I told him to hunt Willard away, and I would, and he held up his hand, and he vanished away." She also saw Willard suckle the apparitions of two black pigs on his breasts.



THOMAS FULLER HOUSE, MIDDLETON.
[Fuller was a complainant against Willard.]

John Willard was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged; and on August 19 he was executed. Brattle says of Willard and Procter at their execution, that "their whole management of themselves from the jail to the gallows was very affecting, and melting to the hearts of some considerable spectators."

6 Mass. Hist. Coll., I., V., 68.

Mary Easty, wife of Isaac Easty of Topsfield, and sister of Rebecca Nurse and Sarah Cloyse, was fifty-eight years of age in 1692, and the mother of seven children. The Eastys lived on, and owned one of the largest farms in the town. It was the farm known to the present generation as the Peirce farm, having for many years been owned by Col. Thomas W. Peirce, and occupied by him as a summer residence until his death in 1885. Previous to the ownership of Col. Peirce the proprietor was Mr. B. W. Crowninshield. A warrant for the arrest of Mary Easty was issued by the magistrates on April 21, and she was examined on the following day and committed to prison. During her examination, the magistrates said to her: "Confess if you be guilty;" to which she replied: "I will say it, if it was my last time, I am clear of this sin." Her answers to this and other questions had evidently led the magistrates to have doubts as to her guilt, for they asked the accusing girls if they were certain this was the woman, and they all went into fits. Subsequently they said: "O, Goody Easty, Goody Easty, you are the woman, you are the

woman." On May 18, for reasons which the present age knows not nor ever can know, Mary Easty was released. Two days after her discharge, Mercy Lewis, living at Constable John Putnam's, had a fit and performed in a manner usual to the accusing girls. A messenger was sent for Ann Putnam to come and tell who afflicted Mercy. At Ann's home he found Abigail Williams, and the girls visited Mercy Lewis and declared that they saw Mary Easty and John Willard afflicting her body.¹ John Putnam and Benjamin Hutchinson went to Salem the night of the 20th of May and procured from Hathorne a warrant for the arrest of Mrs. Easty. She was apprehended the next morning and taken to Beadle's in Salem for examination.

"After midnight, she was aroused from sleep by the unfeeling marshal, torn from her husband and children, carried back to prison, loaded with chains, and finally consigned to a dreadful and most cruel death. She was an excellent and pious matron. Her husband, referring to the transaction nearly twenty years afterwards justly expressed what all must feel, that it was 'a hellish molestation.'"²

For the second time Mary Easty was examined and committed to jail. She remained there from May 21 until the September sitting of the court, when she was tried, convicted and sentenced. Previous to the trial, she united with her sister, Sarah Cloyse, in a request to the court that the judges would act as counsel for

¹ Essex Court Papers.

² Salem Witchcraft, II., 205.

them and direct them wherein they stood in need. This request to the judges after several trials had been held would indicate that such service was not being rendered to the accused persons. That this was the fact we have already seen in other cases. Instead of acting as counsel for the prisoners, the judges usually performed more nearly the part of prosecuting attorneys, and cross-examined the accused, often in a brow-beating manner. These sisters also asked that witnesses in their behalf might be examined. They especially named the pastor and others of the church in Topsfield. If those persons previously tried had been allowed their rights in this particular, why did Mary Easty and Sarah Cloyse petition thus to the court? After conviction, and while in jail awaiting execution, Mary Easty petitioned the Governor, judges and ministers,

"Not for my own life, for I know I must die, and my appointed time is set, but the Lord he knows it is that, if it be possible, no more innocent blood may be shed, which undoubtedly cannot be avoided in the way and course you go in. . . . By my own innocency, I know you are in the wrong. . . . I would humbly beg of you that your honors would be pleased to examine these afflicted persons strictly, and keep them apart some time, and likewise to try some of these confessing witches, I being confident there is several of them has belied themselves and others, as will appear, if not in this world, I am sure in the world to come whither I am now ageing."

Sarah Cloyse who was convicted and sentenced

SUSANNA MARTIN, MARY EASTY AND OTHERS. 197

ker, mariner. She was arrested on a warrant dated May 12, examined before the local magistrates and committed to jail. Her trial took place in September. She was convicted, together with Mary Parker, Wilmot Reed, Margaret Scott and Ann Pudeator. All were executed on Thursday, the 22d. One piece of evidence in the case of Alice Parker is somewhat amusing, read at this distance from the tragic event with which it was connected. Jonathan Westgate testified that Parker came to Beadle's tavern one night and scolded her husband for drinking so much there. Westgate took the part of the husband. Mrs. Parker called him a rogue, told him he had better mind his business, and that he had better said nothing. Some time after this, as he was going home one night, a black hog appeared to him running at him with open mouth. He endeavored to get away from it but fell down. He said he fell on his hip, and his knife run into his hip. When he got home his knife was still in the sheath, and when he took it out the sheath fell to pieces. His stockings and shoes were full of blood, and he had to crawl along by holding to the fence. The hog he apprehended was either the devil or some evil thing, not a real hog. He "did then really judge or determine in his mind that it was either Goody Parker or by her means and procuring, fearing that she is a witch." I presume that

at the same time, was never executed. No record or tradition remains to tell us why she was saved from the slaughter. Hutchinson says, speaking generally of the seven persons sentenced at this time, but not executed:—"Those who were condemned and not executed, I suppose all confessed their guilt. I have seen the confessions of several of them." Mary Easty was hung on Thursday, September 22. "When she took her last farewell of her husband, children and friends she was," says Calef, "as is reported by them present, as serious, religious, distinct and affectionate as could well be expressed, drawing tears from the eyes of all present."⁴

Of Alice Parker, Mary Parker, Wilmot Reed, Margaret Scott, Ann Pudeator and Sarah Wildes not much that is new can be said. The documents which have come down to us in their cases are less voluminous than those in many others. What record we have indicates that theirs was the old, old story. Their accusers were the same as in other cases. The testimony was substantially the same. The conduct of the accusers and the treatment of the prisoners by the court and the officers of the law differed only in detail from that in the cases already so fully explained in the preceding pages.

Alice Parker of Salem was wife of John Par-

³Hist. Mass., II., 50.

⁴Fowler's Ed., 261.

all who read this story will conclude that Westgate was drunk that night, that when he fell his knife-point went through the end of the sheath and cut him, and at the same time the sheath was cut open or crushed. When he got up, Westgate was probably so drunk that he could not walk without holding on to the fence.

Mary Parker was of Andover, and a widow. A warrant for her arrest was issued on September 1, being one of the latest issued for any person who was subsequently executed. She was examined on the following day before Hathorne, Corwin, Gedney and Higginson, "justices of the peace." She was charged with practicing witchcraft on Martha Sprague of Boxford. Samuel Shattuck at the trial testified that one time a man took her up to carry her home.

"But in a little way going he let her fall upon a place of stones, which did not awake her, which caused me to think she was really dead, after that we carried her into the house and caused her clothes to be taken off, and while we were taking off her clothes to put her into bed she was up and laughed in our faces."

Jonathan Bullock testified to seeing Parker lying out in the dirt and snow. Mary Wardwell "owned she had seen the shape of Parker when she afflicted Swan and Martha Sprague, but did not know Parker was a witch."

Ann Pudeator, widow of Jacob Pudeator, was about seventy years of age. She was arrested on Thursday, May 12, on charge of witchcraft,

and examined the same day. She appears to have been discharged and rearrested about July 2, for on that day she was again examined. She was committed to jail and remained there until tried at the September sitting of the court and convicted. We have no particulars of her execution save that it occurred on Thursday, September 22. After sentence Mrs. Pudeator addressed a petition to the court in which she declared that the

"Evidence of Jno. Best, sr., and Jno. Best, jr., and Samuel Pickworth, which was given against me in court, were all of them altogether false and untrue, and, besides, the aforesaid Jno. Best hath been formerly whipped and likewise is recorded for a liar."

Ann Pudeator was the mother of the notorious Thomas Greenslitt who testified to the herculean feats performed, or alleged to have been performed, by Mr. Burroughs. She owned some property in Salem.

Wilmot Reed was wife of Samuel Reed, a Marblehead fisherman. "Mammy Red," as the Marbleheaders used to call her, had long been counted a witch, but her performances never troubled her neighbors in the least. They did not think of complaining of her. It remained for the girls of Salem Village to do that. This woman, so runs the tradition, used to wish that "bloody cleavers" might be found on the cradles of certain children, and whenever the wish was

marshalled served that on Sarah Wildes, and young Wildes arrested Hobbs and wife. Subsequently they accused his mother, and he thought it might be because he arrested them.

As we have already seen, Martha Carrier and Mary Parker were of Andover. So, too, was Samuel Wardwell. Andover was particularly unfortunate during the rage of the witchcraft delusion. It suffered more than any place save



WIDOW MARY PUTNAM HOUSE.

[Mother of John Putnam, grandmother of Gen. Israel Putnam. Gen. Putnam born here.]

Salem Village. The outbreak there, although closely connected with that in the Village, was yet somewhat independent of it. The wife of Joseph Ballard of the town had been ill some time, and the local physician could not help her. In the spring of 1692 Ballard, hearing of the "cases of torment" at the Village, sent down there to have Ann Putnam come up and see if

Most of the evidence against this woman related to affairs that transpired five or ten years previous to 1692.

Sarah Wildes, wife of John Wildes of Salem Village and Topsfield, was arrested April 22, on a warrant issued the day before. John Buxton and Thomas Putnam went down to Salem from the Village on the 21st, and complained to the justices of Mrs. Wildes. The justices issued their warrant to Marshal Herrick to arrest her and bring her to Lieut. Nathaniel Ingersoll's "to-morrow about ten of the clock." She was then examined, during which time Bibber and others claimed to see her on the beam of the meeting house. The usual circle of accusing girls was present and they "performed" after their customary manner. Sarah Wildes was committed to jail where she remained until June 29, when she was tried before the higher court, found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. On Tuesday, July 19, she went to that court above where no errors are made in the final judgment. The Wildes family belonged to the faction in Topsfield which was active in the feud with Salem Village. It is not possible to say whether this in any way influenced the prosecutors of Sarah Wildes. Ephriam Wildes, son of Sarah, deposed that the marshal of Salem came to Topsfield with the warrants for the arrest of his mother and William Hobbs and his wife. The

she could discover any witchcraft about his wife's case. She came, accompanied by one of her companions. They were received with much pomp and solemnity, almost with superstition befitting a tribe of barbarians. The people gathered in the meeting-house, where the Rev. Mr. Barnard offered prayer. The girls then proceeded to the home of Mrs. Ballard and at once named certain persons who, they alleged, were tormenting her. These persons were forthwith arrested and sent to jail. Before the excitement ceased, nearly fifty persons had been arrested. Among them were Mary Osgood, wife of a deacon of the church; Abigail Faulkner and Elizabeth Johnson, daughters of Rev. Francis Dane, the senior pastor of the church; two of Mrs. Faulkner's daughters and one of Mrs. Johnson's; Mrs. Deliverance Dane, daughter-in-law of the minister; Samuel Wardwell and Ann Foster, besides Carrier and Mary Parker. Intimations were made that Mr. Dane himself and Justice Dudley Bradstreet, Mrs. Bradstreet, his wife, and his brother John, were not free from suspicion. John was charged with bewitching a dog,⁶ and the animal was executed, as was another in the same town said to be bewitched. The Bradstreets fled the colony. Ann Foster died in prison. Abigail Faulkner was tried, convicted and sentenced, but subsequently re-

⁶ Mass. Hist. Coll., V., 71.

priever.⁷ Samuel Wardwell was found guilty and executed. Sarah, his wife, Elizabeth Johnson and Mary Lacey were tried the following January and convicted. They were sentenced to be hanged; but the proclamation of Gov. Phips set them free. The papers in the case of Samuel Wardwell are quite numerous and are interesting. Wardwell was about forty-six years of age, and appears to have been a good average citizen of the times. He was taken before the local magistrates for examination on September 1. What he said then we know not, but from his subsequent testimony it is evident that he denied the charge of witchcraft in the most positive terms. He was sent to jail to await the action of the grand jury. That body returned two indictments: or at least that is all that are now on file. One charged that Samuel Wardwell practiced witchcraft on Martha Sprague of Boxford on August 15; the other, that he, "about twenty years ago, with the evil spirit, the devil, a covenant did make wherein he promised to honor, worship and believe the devil, contrary to the statute of King James the First, etc." On the 13th of

⁷ Calef says because she was pregnant. (Fowler's Ed., 269.) Upham says she made a partial confession, and that Sir William ordered a reprieve, and after she had been thirteen weeks in prison he directed her to be discharged on the ground of insufficient evidence. He adds that this is the only instance of a special pardon granted during the proceedings. (Salem Witchcraft, II., 332.)

September, Wardwell made a confession substantially as follows :

After returning several negative answers, he said he was conscious he was in the snare of the devil. He had been much discontented that he could get no more work done ; and that he had been foolishly led along with telling of fortunes which some times came to pass. He used also when any creature came into his field to bid the devil take it, and it may be the devil took advantage of him by that.

Constable Foster of Andover said this Wardwell told him once in the woods that when he was a young man he could make all his cattle come round about him when he pleased. The said Wardwell, being urged to tell the truth, he proceeded thus :

" That being once in a discontented frame he saw some cats with the appearance of a man who called himself the prince of the air, and promised him he should live comfortably and be captain, and required said Wardwell to honor him which he promised to do, and it was about twenty years ago. He said the reason of his discontent then was because he was in love with a maid named Barker who slighted his love." He added that he covenanted with the devil until he should be sixty years and he was now about forty.

Wardwell's wife and daughter appeared to testify against him, probably to save their own necks, which they succeeded in doing. He, however, repented of the false confession he had made and retracted. The retraction cost him his life. At some subsequent time the daughter retracted her confession against her father and mother. Probably it was after Wardwell had

been hung. This case of Wardwell's is the only instance, so far as we know, where a husband and wife accused each other. Cases of children accusing parents and parents accusing children were, as we have seen, quite common. Wardwell was hanged with that group of eight which suffered on Thursday, September 22. When he stood on the gallows and was speaking to the people, a puff of tobacco smoke blew in his face and caused him to cough, whereupon the accusers said the devil hindered him with smoke.⁸

⁸ Catel, Fowler's Ed., 262.

and I felt his hand at the same time." This last statement is stronger than the first; it leaves no question as to what was meant by "bodily person." Before concluding her testimony she declared that she had "killed" "both boys and girls." Abigail was examined before the magistrates on June 29. At her trial in September, the following testimony was given:—

Eliza Nichols aged about 7 years testifieth and saith that about a yare and a halfe agoe I asked abigaill hobs how she dars lie out a nights in ye woods alon she told me she was not a fraid of anything for she told me she had sold herself body and soule to ye old boy, and sins this about a fortnight ago ye said abigaill hobs & her mother came to our hous my fa her & mother being not at home she begane to be rude & to behave herself unseemly I told her I wonder she was not ashamed she bid me hold my tong or else she would saye all the folks thereabouts & bid me look there was old craft on sate over the bedstead then her mother told her shes lit le thought to abin the mother of such a dafter. Elizabeth Nichols aged about 12 years testifieth ye same she said at our house about a fortnight agoe

When William Hobbs and his wife came before the magistrates they were confronted with the confession of their daughter, in which she had charged them with being witches. They were astounded. Mrs. Hobbs said she regretted that she ever brought into the world such a child. She indignantly denied being a witch, at first. Finally, after long questioning, a confession was secured from her, in which she charged her husband and young child with witchcraft. The paper containing the record of the examina-

tion of William Hobbs has suffered mutilation by reason of much handling and neglect in years past. Enough remains, however, to show that he stood immovable amid the storm of superstition that beat around him. He protested his innocence to the end.

What say you, asked Hathorne, are you guilty?—I can speak in the presence of God supremely, he answered, as I must look to give account another day that I am as clear as a new born babe.

Clear of what?—Of witchcraft.

Have you never hurt these?—No.

He is going to Mercy Lewis, said Abigail Williams, and Lewis fell in a fit. He is coming to Mary Walcott, was Williams next cry, and Walcott had a fit.

"How can you be clear when your appearance is thus seen producing such effect before our eyes?" queried the court. He was reminded of his wife's confession but that failed to move him. The examination was continued some time, interspersed with halloos, shrieks and wild out-cries from the accusing girls. Then Hathorne asked, "Can you now deny it?"—"I can," was the answer, "deny it to my dying day." After further efforts to make him confess, and continued refusals, Hobbs was sent to jail. He remained there until the middle of December when John Nichols and Joseph Towne bailed him. He failed to appear at the January term and was defaulted, but at the May term he answered to the summons, and the default was

APPENDIX A.

For more convenient reference a list of all persons accused of witchcraft in 1692, so far as known, is appended.

The following were executed: June 10, Bridget Bishop; July 19, Sarah Good, Sarah Wildes, Elizabeth How, Susanna Martin and Rebecca Nurse; August 19, George Burroughs, John Procter, George Jacobs, sen., John Willard, and Martha Carrier; September 22, Martha Corey, Mary Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Margaret Scott, Wilnot Reed, Samuel Wardwell and Mary Parker; September 19, Giles Corey pressed to death.

The following were condemned but not executed: At the third session of the court in August, Elizabeth Procter; fourth session, Doreas Hoar; fifth session, Abigail Faulkner, Rebecca Eames, Mary Lacy, Ann Foster and Abigail Hobbs; at the January session of the new court in 1693, Mary Post, Sarah Wardwell and Elizabeth Johnson.

Below will be found a partial list of persons accused whether convicted or not: Andover, Nehemiah Abbott, Sarah Bridges, Abigail Barker, William Barker, William Barker, jun., Mary Barker, John Bradstreet, Mrs. Ebenezer Baker, William Barry, Martha Carrier, Richard Carrier, Sarah Cave, Deliverance Dane, Mrs. Nathan Dane, Abigail Faulkner, Ann Foster, Eunice Frye, ——— Harrington, Stephen Johnson, John Lantry, Mary Lacy, Mary Marston, Mary Osgood, Mary Parker, Hannah Tyler, Martha Tyler, Joanna Tyler, Hope Tyler, Samuel Wardwell, Sarah Wilson, Sarah Wilson, jun., Mary Wardwell.

Amesbury, Susanna Martin.
Beverly, Doreas Hoar, Rebecca Johnson, Sarah Merrill, Sarah Morey, Susanna Roote, Sarah Riste, Job Tukey and John Wright.

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Boxford, Rebecca Eames and Robert Eames.
Boston, John Alden and John Flood.
Billerica, Goodman Abbott, M. Andrews, Mary Toothaker, Jason Toothaker and Roger Toothaker.
Chelmsford, Martha Sparks.
Charlestown, Elizabeth Carey and Elizabeth Payne.
Gloucester, Mary Coffin, Ann Doliver, Martha Prince and Abigail Somes.
Haverhill, Mary Greene and Mrs. Francis Hutchinson.
Lynn, Sarah Bassett, Sarah Cole, Mary Derick, Mary Derrill, Thomas Farrar, Elizabeth Hart, Mary Ireson and Mary Rich.
Malden, Elizabeth Fosdick.
Marblehead, Wilnot Reed.
Reading, Elizabeth Colson, Sarah Dustin, Lydia Dustin and Sarah Rice.
Rowley, Mary Post and Margaret Scott.
Salem, Candy (an Indian slave), Phillip English, Mary English, Thomas Hardy, Alice Parker, Sarah Pease, Ann Pudeator, Mary de Riels and Mrs. White.
Salem Village and Farms, Daniel Andrews, Edward Bishop, Bridget Bishop, Sarah Bishop, Mary Black, John Buxton, Sarah Bibber, Sarah Buckley, Sarah Cloyse, Martha Corey, Giles Corey, Sarah Good, Dorothy Good, John Indian, George Jacobs, sen., George Jacobs, jun., Margaret Jacobs, Martha Jacobs, Rebecca Jacobs, Rebecca Nurse, John Procter, Elizabeth Procter, Benjamin Procter, William Procter, Tituba, Mary Warren, Mary Whittridge and John Willard.
Salisbury, Mary P. Bradbury.
Topsfield, Nehemiah Abbott, jun., Mary Easty, Abigail Hobbs, Deliverance Hobbs, William Hobbs, Elizabeth How, James How and Sarah Wildes.
Wells, Me., George Burroughs.
Woburn, Bethia Carter.
Residence unknown, Rachel Clinton.
Sarah Osburn and Ann Foster were convicted and sentenced, but died in prison.

APPENDIX B.

The question whether the attainers were ever removed and whether the heirs of all the sufferers ever received compensation at the hands of the General Court has been ably and exhaustively argued by Mr. A. C. Goodell of Salem, editor of the Province Laws, and Dr. George H. Moore of New York, in papers read before the Massachusetts Historical Society and published in the proceedings of that society, and also in pamphlet form. Both of these authorities agreed that an act passed in 1703 reversing the attainders of Abigail Faulkner, Sarah Wardwell and Elizabeth Procter. The records in the office of the clerk of courts in Salem contain a statement of the amounts allowed in the case of each person and also the acknowledgment of the receipt of the money by numerous claimants. The following document shows beyond question that pecuniary compensation was made to many of the sufferers whether the attainr was ever fully removed or not:

By His Excellency the Governor.

Whereas ye General Assembly in their last Session accepted ye report of their comitte appointed to consider of ye Damages Sustained by Sundry persons prosecuted for Witchcraft in ye year 1692 Vizt

To Elizabeth How	12-0-0	John Procter & wife	150-0-0
George Jacobs	79-0-0	Sarah Wild	14-0-0
Mary Easty	20-0-0	Mary Bradbury	20-0-0
Mary Parker	8-0-0	Abigail Faulkner	20-0-0
George Burroughs	50-0-0	Abigail Hobbs	10-0-0
Giles Corey & wife	21-0-0	Anne Foster	6-10-0
Rebecca Nurse	25-0-0	Rebecca Eames	10-0-0
John Willard	20-0-0	Doreas Hoar	21-17-0
Sarah Good	30-0-0	Mary Post	8-14-0
Martha Carrier	7-6-0	Mary Lacey	8-10-0
Samuel Wardwell & wife	30-15-0		

300-01-00

269-11-00

300-01 00

578-12-00

The whole amounting unto Five Hundred Seventy Eight poundes & Twelve Shillings

I do by & with the advice & consent of Her Maj^{ty}s council hereby order you to pay ye above Sum of five hundred Seventy Eight poundes & Twelve shillings to Stephen Sewall Esq^r. who together with ye Gentlemen of ye Committee that Estimated and Reported ye Said Damages are desired & directed to distribute ye Same in proportion as above to such of ye Said persons as are Living & to those that legally represent them that are dead according as ye law directs for which this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand at Boston
the 17 day of December 1711.

J: Dudley

To Mr. Treasurer Taylor

By order of ye Governor & Council

Isa ADDINGTON Secy

Other papers on the same files contain the receipts of the heirs of the above named parties for the amounts allowed to them. It will be seen that the names of six persons who were executed do not appear in this list, neither does that of Elizabeth Johnson jr. who was condemned but not executed, nor that of Sarah Osburn who died in prison. I do not find that their heirs ever received any compensation for the damages sustained by their persons and estates. Apparently none of the heirs of the six who were condemned ever petitioned for reimbursement or for the removal of the attainr. For this reason doubtless their names do not appear in the list reported upon by the committee. Elizabeth Johnson did sign the petition, but her name was omitted, either accidentally, or purposely because of her bad character.

APPENDIX C.

The letter of Gov. Phips to the home government under date of Feb. 21, 1692-3 is as follows:

May it please yo^r Lords^{ps}.

By the Capn. of ye Samuell & Henry I gave an account

BP 1573

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The Witches of Early America

by Sally Smith Booth

HASTINGS HOUSE • PUBLISHERS
New York 10016

APPENDIX B.

The question whether the attainders were ever removed and whether the heirs of all the sufferers ever received compensation at the hands of the General Court has been ably and exhaustively argued by Mr. A. C. Goodell of Salem, editor of the Province Laws, and Dr. George H. Moore of New York, in papers read before the Massachusetts Historical Society and published in the proceedings of that society, and also in pamphlet form. Both of these authorities agreed that an act passed in 1783 reversing the attainders of Abigail Faulkner, Sarah Wardwell and Elizabeth Procter. The records in the office of the clerk of courts in Salem contain a statement of the amounts allowed in the case of each person and also the acknowledgment of the receipt of the money by numerous claimants. The following document shows beyond question that pecuniary compensation was made to many of the sufferers whether the attainder was ever fully removed or not:

By His Excellency the Governor,

Whereas ye Generall Assembly in their last Session accepted ye report of their committee appointed to consider of ye Damages Sustained by Sundry persons prosecuted for Witchcraft in ye year 1692 Vizt

To Elizabeth How	12-0-0	John Procter & wife	150-0-0
George Jacobs	70-0-0	Sarah Wild	14-0-0
Mary Easty	20-0-0	Mary Bradbury	20-0-0
Mary Parker	8-0-0	Abigail Faulkner	20-0-0
George Burroughs	50-0-0	Abigail Hobbs	10-0-0
Grace Cony & wife	21-0-0	Anne Foster	5-10-0
Georgeanna Myles	25-0-0	Rebecca Eames	10-0-0
Jean Wilkeson	20-0-0	Dorcas Hoar	21-17-0
Sarah Good	30-0-0	Mary Post	8-14-0
Martha Carrier	7-6-0	Mary Lacey	8-10-0
Samuel Wardwell & wife	50-10-0		
			363-11-00
			309-01-00
			573-12-00

The whole amounting unto Five Hundred Seventy Eight pounds & Twelve Shillings

I do by & with the advice & consent of Her Majesty's Council hereby order you to pay ye above Sum of five hundred Seventy Eight pounds & Twelve shillings to Stephen Sewall Esqr. who together with ye Clerk of ye Court is to that Estimated and Reported ye Said Damages are directed & directed to distribute ye Same in proportion as above to such of ye Said persons as are Living & to those that legally represent them that are dead according as ye Law directs for which this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand at Boston
the 17 day of December 1711.

J. Dudley

To Mr. Treasurer Taylor
By order of ye Governor & Council
ISA. ADDINGTON Secretary

Other papers on the same files contain the receipts of the heirs of the above named parties for the amounts allowed to them. It will be seen that the names of six persons who were executed do not appear in this list, neither does that of Elizabeth Johnson jr. who was condemned but not executed, nor that of Sarah Osburn who died in prison. I do not find that their heirs ever received any compensation for the damages sustained by their persons and estates. Apparently none of the heirs of the six who were condemned ever petitioned for reimbursement or for the removal of the attainder. For this reason doubtless their names do not appear in the list reported upon by the committee. Elizabeth Johnson did sign the petition, but her name was omitted, either accidentally, or purposely because of her bad character.

APPENDIX C.

The Letter of Gov. Phibbs to the home government under Date of Feb. 21, 1685-6 is as follows:

May it please yo^r Lordship,

By the Capt. of ye Samuel & Henry I gave an account

BF 1573

B66



The Witches of Early America

by Sally Smith Booth

HASTINGS HOUSE • PUBLISHERS
New York 10016

enough. In order to pass their idle hours, a group of young women and adolescent girls decided to meet periodically at the house of Reverend Parris. Although social gatherings were frowned upon in Puritan Salem, the "circle," as the group became known, appeared harmless. Conducted in the shadow of the meeting house, the group included Parris' nine-year-old daughter Betty and his eleven-year-old niece Abigail Williams.

Joining the minister's kin was a mixed assortment of young females who represented all levels of the village's social and economic ladders. Sarah Churchill, Mary Warren, and Mercy Lewis, each about twenty years of age, were servants in local households. Teenagers Mary Walcott, Elizabeth Booth, Susannah Sheldon, and Elizabeth Hubbard came from relatively secure families. Twelve-year-old Ann Putnam was perhaps the most distinctive member. Long a sickly child, Ann boasted a quick mind, but one obsessed with the gloomy aspects of Puritan theology. Her mother, Ann, was a neurotic woman who also became interested in the circle's activities.

Reverend Parris was initially unconnected with the group, but later the clergyman would become intrinsically involved as a catalyst, transforming adolescent fantasies into seemingly legitimate accusations.

Samuel Parris did not enjoy the respect and power granted to most Puritan ministers in New England villages. Unlike his fellow clergymen, who were viewed as pillars of wisdom and reservoirs of sound advice, Parris was publicly opposed by a large segment of the Salem meeting. Lack of theological training may have contributed to the situation, for Parris, a Harvard College dropout, had spent most of his adult life as an unsuccessful merchant in the West Indies trade. The Salem post was his first office, and one that held little appeal for more qualified men of God.

Residents of the village meeting were well known for their chronic infighting. Two earlier ministers had left the town in disgust. Parris' demands for an increased salary and a land grant served to set off new arguments among the congregation. The minister's requests were reluctantly granted only after long squabbling and over the objections of Rebecca Nurse, a powerful force in the settlement. Against this background of dissension and discord, the young girls instigated their social circle.

The meetings probably began innocently enough, but soon a more ominous note appeared. Attention shifted to the study of mysticism and the occult. The change may have been suggested by Parris' West Indian slave, a woman named Tibula. Under her able instruction, the girls quickly became immersed in the study of spiritualism, witchcraft, and magic, topics not unknown in Salem. Books on the supernatural had been circulating for some time, and Dorcas Hoar of nearby Beverly had been famous for divining fortunes for at least twenty years. Although investigation of the supernatural was seemingly inconsistent in a community where religion was so firmly based upon the pursuit of godliness, Puritanism was undoubtedly an important impetus to the activity. A fear and dread of the unknown world was instilled in every true believer, and for those touched by adolescent curiosity, the desire to learn the secrets of such an important dominion was perhaps irresistible.

Study of the supernatural proved insufficient for the appetites of the Salem girls. At some point during the winter of 1691-1692, the circle moved into the active practice of rites and incantations. Their spells were simple in form and derived from Caribbean voodoo rituals, which were familiar to Tibula. For example, one experiment at divining was conducted with the use of eggs and glass to simulate a crystal ball. The charm was not sinister in purpose, but was aimed at predicting the occupation of one member's future husband.

Ann Putnam emerged as the leader of the clan, and all signs of the unholy investigations were carefully hidden from outsiders. Even the youngest members no doubt realized that strong disapproval and punishment would result if word of the practices leaked to adults in the community.

(Despite the precautions, an event occurred in February that resulted in total exposure. Without warning, Betty Parris and Abigail Williams were taken seriously ill with violent seizures similar to the symptoms of demonic possession. The afflictions instantly became a major source of conversation among villagers, who lavished sympathy and attention on the patients.) As news of their condition spread, several other circle members became afflicted. Excitement rose even higher.

In an attempt to discover the origin of the mysterious ailment, local physician William Griggs was summoned to conduct a medical

Some voices did attempt to halt the spreading mania, but those who did protest the rabble-rousing of Reverend Parris and his young comrades found themselves under suspicion. West Peabody's Martha Corey openly questioned the motives of the girls and doubted the legitimacy of their accusations. On March 11, Ann Putnam claimed to have seen a vision of Martha and alleged that the woman was one of her tormentors. A warrant was promptly issued and Martha became the fourth suspected witch to be jailed.

Rebecca Nurse, the seventy-one-year-old matron who had strongly opposed Parris' appointment, voiced her opposition to the proceedings by boycotting the meeting. In late March, this most respected woman in the community was arrested and charged not only with afflicting the girls, but with the murder of several children who had died previously. Rebecca's sister Sarah Cloyse attempted to quell the disturbances by walking out of the church services in protest. Her gesture was unsuccessful and she was promptly charged as a witch. The arrest of Mary Esty, sister of Rebecca and Sarah, soon followed. Eventually, anyone absent from Sunday services was suspected, for word was spread that the non-attendees were not at home, but were meeting with the devil.

The afflicted girls continued to respond enthusiastically to the call for a thorough witch-hunt, and began to see sorcerers at every turn. Elderly and poor inhabitants were increasingly eyed as suspicious characters, and the issuance of arrest warrants took on an assembly-line appearance. Giles Corey joined his wife Martha in jail. Tavernier owner Bridget Bishop was charged along with her son and daughter-in-law. Deliverance and William Hobbs were imprisoned together with their daughter Abigail, who cheerfully admitted her guilt. The local jails were soon filled to overflowing and facilities in nearby settlements began receiving the newly accused.

As the allegations became more volatile, two of the original offenders were forgotten. Sarah Osburn died in jail before she could be brought to trial. Tibula, after proclaiming that Rebecca Nurse and Martha Corey were two of her unknown confederates, was quietly sold to a Virginia settler in payment for jail fees. Sarah Good, who probably had borne a child in prison, silently awaited her hearing.

While the circle members continued to be the main accusers, others like sixteen-year-old John Doritch joined the group of sup-

posedly "behagged" persons. Eventually fifty other settlers would claim to be afflicted by various sorcery spells. The sudden rush to be numbered among the bewitched may have been a calculated move by residents who concluded that the most effective way in which to avoid being cried out upon was to join those crying out.

Some accusers were undoubtedly influenced by the oppressive atmosphere of hysteria. Tales of horror related by afflicted persons became increasingly more ghastly and mystical. Abigail Williams announced that she had been "grievously pinched" and her bowels "almost pulled out." Deliverance Hobbs claimed that she had been whipped with iron rods by Bridget Bishop. Another victim maintained that "several gallons of corruption" poured forth when his bewitched and infected foot was lanced.

Allegations also flowed forth from jailed suspects who sought temporary reprieve by accusing others. Elaborate explanations were not considered necessary to support either a confession or an accusation. The examination of Richard Carrier indicates that a simple affirmative answer to an incriminating question was sufficient to condemn a defender and others who might be implicated. Carrier's July 22nd interrogation was brief, but damaging. Under intense questioning, the accused witch not only admitted his own guilt, but lodged accusations against his brother and nine other settlers:

Q. Have you been in ye devil's snare?

A. Yes.

Q. Is your brother Andrew ensnared by ye devil's snare?

A. Yes.

Q. How long has your brother been a witch?

A. Near a month.

Q. How long have you been a witch?

A. Not long.

Q. Have you joined in afflicting ye afflicted persons?

A. Yes.

Q. You helped to hurt Timo [thy] Swan, did you?

A. Yes.

Q. How long have you been a witch?

A. About five weeks.

Q. Who was in company when you counanted with ye devil?

A. Mrs. Bradbury.

- Q. Did she help you afflict?
 A. Yes.
 Q. What was ye occasion Mrs. Bradbury would have to afflict Timo. Swan?
 A. Because her husband and Timo. Swan fell out about a seyth, I think.
 Q. Did they not fall out about thatching of a barn, too?
 A. No, not as I know of.
 Q. Who was at the village meeting when you was there?
 A. Goodwife How. Goodwife Nurse. G. Wildes, Procter and his wife, Mrs. Bradbury and Corey's wife.
 Q. Was any of Boston there?
 A. No.
 Q. How many was there in all?
 A. A dozen I think.
 Q. Was Jno. Willard there? ✓
 A. I think he was.
 Q. What kind of man is Jno. Willard? A young man or an old man?
 A. He is not an old man. He had black hair. ✓
 Q. What meeting was this meeting? Was this that, that was near Ingersals?
 A. Yes. I think.
 Q. What did they do then?
 A. They eat and drank wine.
 Q. Was there a minister there?
 A. No. Not as I know of.
 Q. From whence had you your wine?
 A. From Salem I think was.
 Q. Goodwife Olliver there?
 A. Yes, I knew her.

Entire families were imprisoned on the weakest of charges. Martha and Thomas Carrier were incarcerated along with their children Andrew, Richard, and Sarah. John Procter, his wife Elizabeth, and their three offspring were also apprehended for practicing witchcraft.

Procter had drawn suspicion upon himself because of his firm defense of his accused wife and his lack of respect for the circle members' accusations. His arrest proved a great shock to accuse

Only one of those accused and brought in for questioning was spared by the chargers. When Nehemiah Abbott, a settler supposedly nearly a hundred years old, was brought forth, the circle unanimously agreed that he was blameless. The case of Boston's Samuel Willard was somewhat more complex. Willard, minister of the city's prestigious Old South Church, had spoken out strongly against the rising hysteria. Reportedly, he too was denounced by the young girls, but presiding magistrates, unable to accept the pronouncement, concluded that the clergyman had been confused with one John Willard, who was already in custody.

Circumstantial evidence also helped to condemn John Willard. Willard was a former deputy constable who supported the witch trials in the beginning. However, the excesses in the courtroom made him increasingly less enthusiastic. As Willard began to voice his doubts, a cousin fell ill without apparent cause. Two circle members examining the sick relative announced that the ailment was created by spells that Willard had cast. Evidence mounted as Mrs. Ann Putnam volunteered that the ghosts of twelve deceased settlers had revealed to her that they were murdered by the constable. Willard fled Salem, but was arrested while seeking refuge in Lancaster. Like John Procter, Willard was confronted with both spectral and circumstantial evidence. Witness Samuel Wilkins testified that once, as he was riding to Marblehead, he was attacked by a strange, unseen force:

Just as I came to Forest River Bridge, I was immediately seized with a violent weight on my back and I saw a black hat and was immediately pulled off my horse or mare and almost pulled into the river, but holding fast, and last I got up again. . . .

One hour later, Wilkins saw Willard approaching on the road. Because Willard was clothed in a dark coat and hat similar to those present in the attack, Willard was assumed to have been the instigator of the attempted drowning. He, too, was condemned to be executed.

Bridget Bishop was the first Salem witch to suffer hanging. On June 10, the controversial woman was taken to Gallows Hill and executed by Sheriff George Corwin. More than a month passed before the site was the scene of another turning off. On July 19, Rebecca Nurse, Sarah Good, Elizabeth Howe, Sarah Wildes, and Susannah Martin were hanged en masse.

The trials continued throughout the summer, and justice in the crowded courtroom grew increasingly more swift. On August 19, John Procter, John Willard, George Burroughs, Martha Carrier, and George Jacobs mounted the scaffold for another large scale spectacle. By September 17, an additional sixteen witches had been sentenced to be executed. Eight of the felons were hung simultaneously on September 22. Included in the group was Martha Corey, whose husband Giles had been pressed to death in an open field less than a week earlier, and Mary Esty, sister of Rebecca Nurse. Completing the company were Ann Pudeater, Wilmot Redd, Samuel Wardwell, Alice Parker, Mary Parker, and Margaret Scott.

As September drew to a close twenty residents of the Salem area, seven men and thirteen women, had lost their lives because of the circle's accusations. While several of the executed were young or middle-aged, at least half of the victims could be classified as elderly. George Jacobs and Giles Corey were over eighty. Martha Corey, Rebecca Nurse, and Ann Pudeater were in their seventies. Margaret Scott, Mary Esty, Wilmot Redd, Susannah Martin, and Bridget Bishop were also considered aged by colonial standards.

gance still remained, for she discounted all personal responsibility for the earlier allegations and insisted that she had been an innocent instrument of the devil:

"I can truly and uprightly say, before God and man, I did it not out of any anger, malice or ill-will to any person, for I had no such thing against one of them; but what I did was ignorantly, being deluded by Satan. And particularly, as I was a chief instrument of accusing of Goodwife Nurse and her two sisters, I desire to lie in the dust and to be humbled for it, in that I was a cause, with others, of so sad a calamity to them and their families. . . ."

Ann, like her sisters of the circle, faded into obscurity. Mary Walcott and Elizabeth Booth married and presumably lived lives not far different from the normal routine of other colonial women of their class. But not all the accusers remained unscathed by the prosecutions. A reversal of attainer issued nearly two decades after the trials reported that some of the "principal accusers" had proven themselves "persons of profligate and vicious conversation." Thus were the afflicted girls of Salem finally transformed in the public eye to scandal-mongering gossips.

The dark days of Salem had not been forgotten by the survivors of those executed or imprisoned for witchcraft. In 1709, a group of relatives of persecuted citizens filed claims for compensation from the government. Along with requests for damages came pleas that the names and reputations of those tried might be formally cleared, so that shame would not be visited on future generations. This action was necessary, for although the Salem church had begun to revoke orders of excommunication, bills of civil attainer against the supposed witches were still in effect.

In accordance with an act of May, 1710, an official committee of claims of sufferers was appointed to deal with the complicated problems of recompense. The body was empowered to receive and evaluate all requests from persons connected with settlers who had been imprisoned, condemned, or executed during 1692.

The families of the twenty persons turned off at Salem found setting a financial value upon the loss of a relative a difficult proposition. For the children of Giles and Martha Corey, the damage was much greater than could be compensated for in pounds sterling. On

September 13, 1710, the Corey children submitted a statement that announced:

That which breaks our hearts and for which we go mourning still is that our father was put to so cruel a death as being prest to death. Our mother was put to death also, though in another way. And we cannot sufficiently express our grief for the loss of our father and mother in such a way.

So we cannot compute our expenses and costs but shall commit to your wisdom to judge of, but after our father's death, the sheriff threatened to seize our father's estate and for fear thereof, we complied with him and paid him eleven pounds six shillings in money by which we have been greatly damified & impoverished by being exposed to sell creatures and other things for little more than half the worth of them to get the money to pay aforesaid and to maintain our father & mother in prison. But that which is grievous to us is that we are not only impoverished, but also reproached and so may be for all generations, and that wrongfully. . . .

Although nearly two decades had passed, the children of George Burroughs also felt the sting of Salem. Burroughs' daughter Rebecca requested that the commissioners complete their deliberations quickly so that the matter could be forgotten. She explained to the officials: "Every discourse on this melancholy subject doth but give a fresh wound to my bleeding heart. . . ."

The sorrow was no doubt partially prompted by the trying circumstances that had followed Burroughs' execution. The enchanter's seven children, the eldest aged sixteen, were turned out of their house following the hanging by an unscrupulous stepmother who confiscated the estate for her own use. Son Jeremiah Burroughs recalled the circumstances:

Nothing thereof nor the household goods, &c., ever came into our hands; we were turn'd out into a wide world to shift for ourselves, having nothing to trust unto but Divine Providence and the generosity of friends. . . . and some of us so young that we can give no account of particular circumstances of the family, nor capable, any of us, to give a particular account of the wrong done us any further than we are informed by others. But [I] can assure you we never had the value of a sixpence to remember our father with when dead and gone.

On December 17, 1711, the governor and council authorized payment of £578 12s to the claimants representing twenty-three persons condemned at Salem. The official payment coincided almost exactly with the claims filed by descendants and included:

	£	s.	d.
To Elizabeth Howe	12	0	0
George Jacobs	79	0	0
✓ Mary Estey	20	0	0
Mary Parker	08	0	0
George Burroughs	50	0	0
Giles Corey & wife	21	0	0
✓ Rebecca Nurse	25	0	0
✓ John Willard	20	0	0
Sarah Good	30	0	0
Martha Carrier	7	6	0
✓ Samuel Wardwell & wife	36	15	0
John Procter & wife	150	0	0
✓ Sarah Wildes	14	0	0
Mary Bradbury	20	0	0
Abigail Faulkner	20	0	0
Abigail Hobbs	10	0	0
Ann Foster	6	10	0
Rebecca Eames	10	0	0
Dorcas Hoar	21	17	0
Mary Post	8	14	0
Mary Lacy	8	10	0

A petition to reverse the attainder of twenty-two of the thirty-one citizens convicted and condemned as a result of the trials was passed by the Massachusetts General Court in 1711. In 1957, The Commonwealth of Massachusetts reversed the stigma placed on all those not covered by earlier orders.

The order of Massachusetts witch-hunters was significantly cooled by the citizen opposition created by the Salem trials. After 1693, no further court actions were taken in the colony against supposed enchanters. A similar situation resulted in neighboring Connecticut. Although rumors relating to supposed incidents of witchcraft continued to circulate in Pennsylvania, the middle colonies, like the northeast, saw no formal court action. Grace Sherwood's 1706 trial ended the issue of enchantment in Virginia, and when Mary-

land's Virtue Violl was found not guilty of sorcery in 1712, the devil was effectively removed as a perpetrator of crimes in that colony.

Repugnance toward the manner in which justice temporarily waived at Salem was not the only factor contributing to the decline of witchcraft as a factor in Early American life. A similar trend was taking place throughout the western world, where scientific reason rather than superstition was being used to explain events previously deemed "preternatural."

By the mid-1700s, those who entirely rejected the idea of witchcraft were well in control of English-speaking domains on both sides of the Atlantic. The last legal execution of a British Isle witch came in 1722, when a Scottish woman at Dornoch was burned for having cast damaging spells over her neighbors' pigs and sheep. Nearly three decades later, however, two "superannuated wretches" were seized by an unruly mob near Selborne. While being subjected to a water trial, both suspected sorcerers were accidentally drowned in a horse pond. The final execution of a witch in an English-speaking territory came in 1730, when a black slave, Sarah Basset, was turned off in Bermuda. However, Sarah may have been executed under a petit treason decision, for her crime was murder of her master by witchcraft.

In 1736 the King James law was officially repealed and prosecution of any English citizen for "witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, or conjuration" was forbidden. Formal repeal of colonial laws, however, was not automatic in all cases. Rhode Island, for example, did not officially eliminate hanging as the penalty for convicted witches until 1768.

Although England and the American colonies avoided the sorcery trials that continued in sections of the continent until well into the eighteenth century, all remnants of superstition did not immediately disappear. But, as time passed and as those who had lived during the witch-hunting era faded from the scene, fears of the supernatural world were replaced by simple curiosity. By the time the new American nation was established, the colonies' witchcraft prosecutions were viewed as almost-forgotten relics of a much more simple time.

① 3

Excerpts from "History of Salem" by Sidney Perley

These few pages tell a lot about ancient Salem of particular interest to our family. At first there were no roads - only paths for walking, 2-wheeled carts, and horseback riding, and sleds in winter. They were never repaired and finally became gacmires or rats. In 1638 the towns ordered the citizens to fix them, especially those with shutting property. By the late 1650's sarveys were done and roads widened to 8 feet and bridges built. Road overseers were appointed. Lists of them are shown, including many from our ancestral families. One busy road went through Daniel Rea's farm, which appears to have been very inconvenient for him. Page 12 describes a serious earthquake in 1638, very unsettling to these superstitious people.

As we already know, even toddlers drank beer with every meal in those days, but appearing in public after having imbibed too much was risky - one might wind up in the stocks - page 8.

Punishment was cruel. pp 266-7 tell of whipping - who was assigned to do it, and show a whipping post. Our ancestor, Daniel Rea, had a servant whipped for inselence. A man's ear was cut off for burglary and he was fined besides. Adultery was punished by whipping (p 13) and for flagrant cases one might be banished from the colony, never to return upon pain of death.

Commencing in 1638, court seems to have convened quarterly with sitting juries of 12 men (no supernumeraries in case of illness) and evidently sat for the duration (not individual cases) and heard mixed civil and criminal cases. There are lists of both regular and grand juries, also including many of our people. Be aware that spelling was very inconsistent - viz, Batchelar = Bachilder, etc. Rea (pronounced Ray) also spelled Rages. And so on.

Families of our Dodge ancestors - or those they intermarried with - include Tourne, Browning, Flint, Batchelor, Rea, Leach, Waters, Peabody, Nurse/Nourse, Clayce, Willard, Andrews, Barnham, Easty, Herrick. (Not told on these pages, one of Richard Dodge's daughters married a Herrick. Much later, after Mary (Tourne) Easty was executed for witchcraft, her specter appeared to haunt a 17-year old girl named Mary Herrick).

Henry Skeery's name appears. Remember that Edmond Tourne (age 11) came over later than his parents, apprenticed to serve this man. Thomas Lothrop. (We know one of Daniel Rea's daughters married the brave Captain Thomas Lothrop (Jr.?) who lost his life at Bloody Brook, on what was then the western frontier, in King Phillip's War in 1676. The young couple had no children, but her sister did, and the Indians killed her husband. Both girls and the sister's children moved back in with their parents. Daniel complained bitterly of the expense the War had caused him.)

These pages introduce the now infamous Rev. Samuel Parris, whose negro slave (or West Indian) and his pubescent daughter, along with his own closed mind, sparked the witchcraft hysteria.

Other familiar names on these pages are connected with our White/Averill families. If our Barney White got his first name from a Barney family, there is a possibility we could be descended from the Jacob Barney mentioned here. Another resident is a Resolved White who may not be ours, but the establishment of satellite town "Enon" is mentioned (later called Wenham). (A certain John White, not mentioned here, went from a brief arrival in Salem to "Enon" and thence to the frontier in far away Lancaster, and might be ours.)

Averill ancestors mentioned here include the "warshipful" Hon. Deputy Governor Simeon Symonds (pronounced Simmons) and his second wife, our ancestor Martha (Reade) (Epes) Symonds. Martha's son, Daniel Epes^{sr} (also Epps) is here referred to as a school teacher. In between ministers he also preached the sermons. A copy of a "spot of the moment" map he drew, showing the location of the salt house, for making salt from sea water, is displayed. It is unknown if they were related but there were other Symonds, Cook, and Read families there.

Page 14 refers to Gov. John Winthrop's second marriage, to Martha's sister, Elizabeth Reade. And especially interesting is the reference to the marriage of Martha's mother, Elizabeth (Cooke) (Reade) Peters. (Elizabeth Cooke, of a prominent London family, was widow of Colonel Edmond Reade. She married the famous Rev. Hugh Peters, who came to Salem as a replacement for the Rev. Roger Williams, now banished, ~~had~~ to Rhode Island - which he founded! - as a heretic. The writer will gladly accept Rev. Peters as a "step ancestor". He was a devoted man and popular, trying hard to do good and to save souls, but as storm clouds approached in England he wanted to be there. Elizabeth died in 1637, and he did remarry the next year.)

Of course these pages do not follow either Elizabeth or Hugh. When he returned to England in 1641 it was with the mission to ~~attempt~~ intervene with the government on behalf of the colony regarding trade and taxes. Soon ~~then~~ was swept up in the rebellion and became a chaplain in Cromwell's army. Twenty years later, when the King was restored to power, he was beheaded as a regicide (Oct 1660). English books tell of the life (and especially the death) of Rev. Hugh Peters, who became a popular martyr folk-hero.

Those marked were our relatives

APPENDIX.

LAND GRANTS. A.

N the book of grants of land in Salem there is a list of names of persons to whom grants had been made, together with the number of acres granted, bearing date of 1636. The letter "f" following some of the names probably means that they are freemen. The list follows:—



Mr. Roger Conant f 200
John Woodbury 200
Peter Palfrey f 200
John Balch f 200
Jn Sweet 200
Capt. Endicott f 200
Mr. Reade f 300
Mr. S Sharp f 300
Robt. Leech 200
Lieutenant Johnson f

"Following Mr. Conant's name was written and then cancelled: "Pasca ffoote f. Jn Woodbury f. Humphrey Woodbury."
"Following Mr. Balch's name was written and then cancelled: "Cp Wm Trask f. Ric Norman & son Jn Norman."
"Following Mr. Sweet's name was written and then cancelled: "Jn Hardy f. 50 Wm Allen f. 40 Jn Gally."
"Following Captain Endicott's name was written and then cancelled: "Wm Walcott f. 40."
"Following Mr. Reade's name was written and then cancelled: "Mr Gotti f. 75. Geo Wm f. 40. Peter Woolf f. 50. Ric Raym f. 180. Sam Archer f. 40. Ric Brakenbury f. 75."
"Following the name of Mr. Sharp was written and then cancelled: "Jn Horne f. 75. Law: Leech f. 100."
"Following the name of Mr. Leech was written and then cancelled: "Samuell More f. 50. Robt Molton f. 100 James Standish Hugh Laskin f. 60. Suckley Wescott Geo: Harris Mr Eli: Stilman f. 100 Elias Sullivan Ric Waterman f. 80 Lieut Davenport f. 80 Tho: Laythrop f. 30."
"Following the name of Lieutenant Johnson was written and then cancelled: "Wm Ager f. 40. John Blak f. 40. Jn More f. 40. Sarg: Dixie f.

APPENDIX

Mr Robt Coles 300
Mr Blackleech f 300
Mr Towhsend Bishop f 300
Mr Thomas Scruggs f 200
Mr Philip Verrin f 200
Mr E. Batter f 160
Mr Moses Maverik f 200
Nath: Porter f
widow Turner
about m Cole m Jn Alderman 50 acres
Thos: Antram 30 acres
Mr Alford 200 acres
Jn Abbie
Robt Allen
Edw: Beaucham
Jn Bourne
Wm Bennet
Richard Bishop
John Barber
John Bushnell
Jn Bratley
John Burton
Hugh Browne
Tho: Browning
m Wm Browne
Henry Bartholomew
Thomas Chubb
Wm Comins
Nicholas Cary
20 acres
30
20
40
20
20 acres
x acres.
xx acres.

60. Jeff: Massie f. 75. Daniel Ray f. 160. Tho. Eaborne f. 20. Raph flogg f. 80. francis weston f. 120. Roger Morie f. 40. Jn Sanders f. 40. Tho: Gardener f. 100. Ric Inkersoll Mrs Al: Daniell f. Wm Bound f. 40. Henry Herik f. 40. Geo. Norton f. 40. Edw Gile f. 60. Ric Roots 20. Jacob Barney f. 60. Mr Jn Holgrae f. 80.
"Following Mr. Scruggs name was written and then cancelled: "Antho: Dike. f. 20. Mr Thorndik."
"Following Mr. Batter's name was written and then cancelled: "Mr Daniell. Tho: Olney f. 40. Jn Sibley f. 50. Mr Gerv. Garford Wm King f. 40. Robt. Cotta f. 30."
"Following the name of Mr. Maverick was written and then cancelled: "Ric Hutchenson Tho: Gouldthait Jn Talbie f. 30. w. m. Jeggies. w. m. Lord."
"Following the name of Mr. Porter was written and then cancelled: "Mr w Comins Mr S. Sharp Jn Bourne Jo: Grafton f. 40. Tho: Browning widd fletton widd Skariet 30. Wm Higenson if shee come 150 acres m fletton 20 acrs. Ed Marshall m 20 acrs Tho: Moses widdow 10 acrs."
"After Mr. Alford's name it says: "where it is allotted to him pyided that In case he dep't to Leau it desiring noe aduantiag by it."
"Following Mr. Allen's name was written and then cancelled: "Wm Allen."
"Following the name of Mr. Browning was written and then cancelled: "m Wm Browne 20 m Bartholomew 20 Robt Cotta."

John Cook ¹	20 acres
Nicholas Draper	
Isaac Davis	20 acres
Samuel Eaborne	25 acres
John Elford	40 acres
George Emery	xx acres ²
Jeffry Estie	40 acres
Pasco Foote	20 acres
Benjamin Felton ³	30 acres
Mr. Gervas Garford	20 acres
Edward Gaskell	20 acres
Edm: Grover	20 acres ⁴
Robert Goodell	20 acres
John Galley	20 acres
William Goose	50 acres
Tho: Goldthwait if an inhabitant	10 acres
George Harris	20 acres
Roger Haskell	20 acres
John Hart	10 acres
Richard Hutchinson	60 acres
Richard Hollinworth	20 acres
Joshua Holgrave	
Richard Ingersoll	80 acres
William James	25 acres
Mr. Jackson	50 acres
William Jeggles	50 acres
Robert Isbell	
Robert Leach	20 acres
John Luff	
Richard Lambert	
John Leech	10 acres
Robert Lemon	10 acres
William Lord	20 acres
Edm: Mar [John Leach Jun	30 acres]
William Marston	30 acres
Thomas Marston	
John Marsh	20 acres ⁵
Widow Mason	20 acres
Robert Morgan	20 acres
Thomas More	20 acres
John Norman	20 acres
Richard Norman	20 acres
Robert Pease	10 acres

¹Following the name of John Cook was written and then cancelled: "Anth: Dike."

²Jeffrey Eastie had ten acres added to this grant Jan. 21, 1638-9.

³Following the name of Benjamin Felton was written and then cancelled: "m^r felton vidua." This was followed by "hir sonn Nath felton," which was not cancelled.

⁴Robert Goodale had twenty acres added to this grant Jan. 21, 1638-9.

⁵John Marsh had ten acres added to this grant Jan. 21, 1638-9.

John Pease	20 acres
Francis Perry	20 acres
Joseph Pope	
Mr. William Pester.	
Jonathan Porter,	20 acres
John Pickworth,	20 acres.
John Pride.	[20] acres.
George Ropes.	
Thomas Reade,	10 acres.
Thomas Roots,	20 acres.
Joshua Roots,	20 acres
Thomas Ringe,	
James Standish,	20 acres
James Smith,	20 acres
John Stone,	10 acres ¹
John Shepley	20 acres.
Michael Shafin,	20 acres.
Elias Stilman	30 acres.
Widow Smith.	
John Symonds,	20 acres.
Francis Skerry	20 acres
Michael Sallowes	20
Mr. Smith,	150 acres
Mr. John Thorndike	100 acres ²
Abraham Temple	100 acres ³
Philip Virrin	
William Vincent	
Richard Waters	10 acres
Mr. Richard Walker	40 acres
Stukley Wescott	
Abram Warren	20 acres
Thomas Watson	10 acres ⁴
Humphrey Woodbury	40 acres
Mr. Webb's house	200 acres
Mr. John Wood	50 acres
Mr. Freeman	200 acres
Mr. Hadborne	200 acres ⁵
Thomas Turk	10 acres
John Devorixe	10 acres
William Woodbury	40 acres
Mr. Peeters	
Thomas Mores widow	10 acres ⁶
Thomas Eaborne	30 acres ⁷

¹John Stone had thirty acres added to this grant Jan. 21, 1638-9.

²This was "next m^r Johnsons."—*Salem Town Records*.

³Thomas Watson had ten acres added to this grant Feb. 4, 1638-9.

⁴Memorandum: "where hee hath built, wth condition that hee be dismiss from their Church to ours of Salem." This was interlined by Governor Endecott.

⁵At Jeffrys creek."

⁶"next to Ensing Davenport to acre lott." "30" interlined.

Richard Roots	20 ¹
Anthony Dik	40 ²
Mrs. Felton	20 ³
Edmund Marshall	20 ⁴
Samuel Archer	60 ⁵
William Allen	50 ⁶
John Sibley	50 ⁷
George Williams	40 ⁸
John Moor	40 ⁹
John Black	30 ¹⁰
Sergeant Wolfe	50 ¹¹
Sergeant Dixy	50 ¹²
Thomas Laythrop	30 ¹³
Robert Cotta	30 ¹⁴
John Talbie	30 ¹⁵
Widow Skarlet	30 ¹⁶
William Allen	30 ¹⁷
William Walcott	30 ¹⁸
George Williams	40 ¹⁹
Samuel Archer	60 ²⁰
William Ager	30 ²¹
John Blak	30 ²²
John More	40 ²³
Roger Morie	50 ²⁴
John Sanders	40 ²⁵
William Bownd	40 ²⁶
Henry Herik	40 ²⁷
George Norton	40 ²⁸
Thomas Olney	40 ²⁹
William King	30 ³⁰
Joseph Grafton	30 ³¹
John Hardy	60 ³²
Sergeant Woolf	50 ³³
Samuel More	40 ³⁴
John Sibley	50 ³⁵
Hugh Laskin	70 ³⁶
Sergeant Dixie	50 ³⁷
Edward Giles	60 ³⁸
Jacob Barney	50 ³⁹

¹"about mr Cole."

²"next mr Humire."

³"at Jeffries Creeke."

⁴"40" interlined.

⁵"next to m^r Cole."

⁶"50" interlined.

⁷"next to John Woodbury."

⁸"Darby fort side after mr Peters lott is layd out." This was in what

is now Marblehead.

⁹"60" interlined.

¹⁰"next to Goodman Leech."

William Dodge	60 ¹
Mr. Gott	75 ²
Richard Brakenbury	75 ³
John Horne	75 ⁴
Jeffrey Massie	75 ⁵
Richard Waterman	80 ⁶
Lieut. Davenport	80 ⁷
Raph Fogg	80 ⁸
John Holgrave	60 ⁹
Richard Rayment	60 ¹⁰
Lawrence Leach ¹¹	60 ¹¹
Robert Molton	100 ¹²
Mr. Stilman	100 ¹³
Mr. Gardener	100 ¹⁴
Captain Trask	100 ¹⁵
Francis Weston	120 ¹⁶
Mrs. Higinson	150 ¹⁷
Daniel Ray	160 ¹⁸
Mr. Peters	300 ¹⁹

¹"next to John Woodbury."

²"next to Goodman Rayes farme."

³"at Mackrell Cove."

⁴"laid out by mr. Blackteech."

⁵"next to Daniell Ray."

⁶"The following words are added in short-hand: "John Woodbery did

view it and it beth along in divers marshes and coves."

⁷"at y^e [forest river head with 3 acres of meadow] 3 birch trees

neere [Goodman Rays his farme as well] adjoining to Rich: Watermans

his farme."

⁸"at Derbys fort side after mr. Pet."

⁹"80" interlined.

¹⁰"at [Marble] Darbies fort side after mr. Peters farme is sett out."

¹¹"100" interlined.

¹²"ouer against mrs Daniels farme with ye marsh neere adjoining vpon

survey."

¹³"30" interlined.

¹⁴"next to mr Skeltons adjoining to mr Sharpes." "besides y^e on

Castle Hill."

¹⁵"next to the Long Pond."

¹⁶"betwixt mr. Bishops farme & mr. Sharpes voted The 2d of first mo:

1636"

¹⁷"next to Rich Watermans."

¹⁸"next to m^r Humfries."

¹⁹"next mr. Coles."

1. The first of these is the
 fact that the system is
 not a simple one, but a
 complex one, involving
 many different factors.
 2. The second is the fact
 that the system is not
 static, but dynamic, and
 is constantly changing.
 3. The third is the fact
 that the system is not
 uniform, but varies from
 place to place.

The first of these is the
 fact that the system is
 not a simple one, but a
 complex one, involving
 many different factors.
 The second is the fact
 that the system is not
 static, but dynamic, and
 is constantly changing.
 The third is the fact
 that the system is not
 uniform, but varies from
 place to place.

THEORY OF THE SYSTEM

The first of these is the
 fact that the system is
 not a simple one, but a
 complex one, involving
 many different factors.
 The second is the fact
 that the system is not
 static, but dynamic, and
 is constantly changing.
 The third is the fact
 that the system is not
 uniform, but varies from
 place to place.

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 many different factors.
 The second is the fact
 that the system is not
 static, but dynamic, and
 is constantly changing.
 The third is the fact
 that the system is not
 uniform, but varies from
 place to place.

4	Rich: Blackenbury	3
4	James Smith	3
-7	Michell Salloes	1
2	Sam: Eburne	2
3	Will: Bennet [3]	2
1	Jo: Luffe	2
1	Jo: Burton	2
7	Jo: Stone	1
2	Raph Elwood	2
1	Roger Haskell	2
123		
1	Thio: Tracy	2
2	Math: Waller	2
3	Jo: Hart [3]	2
8	mr Yong	1
-3	mr Gaffort [3]	2
2	Wm Vincent	2
1	Vincents mother	2
1	Vincets Com	2
1	Antho: Buestone	2
1	Thio: Lothrope	2
7	Robt. Goodell	1
4	Pet: wolfe	3
3	Ben: Parmister [3]	2
-2	Jo: Cooke	2
5	Geo: Norton	3
[4]	Rich: Lambt [3]	2
-4	Jeffery Esty	3
6	Nicho: Cary	1
-6	Jacob Barna	1
5	mr Thorndicke	3
2	Will: James	2
3	Jo: Gally [3]	2
5	Jo: Pickworth	3
-2	Ja: Standish	2
8	Richard Hutchinson	1
-7	mr Goose	1
-7	Rich: Holingsworth	1
2	Widd: mason	2
1	Thio: Rootes	2
1	Jos: Rootes	2
5	Robt. Morgan	3
[2]	Jo: Pride	3
[2]	Jo: Lech	2
1	Hugh Browne	3
116		
5		
4	Robt: Lemon	3
4	Jo: Jackson	3
-5	Will: Dixie	3
4	Jo: Blacke	3
5	Wid: more	3

LAND GRANTS. B.

The following list, in the handwriting of Roger Conant, occupies two leaves of the town records. It is apparently a record of the division of the marsh and meadow ordered to be assigned and laid out to the families at a town meeting, Dec. 25, 1637. The figure before each name gives the number of persons in the family. The figure after each name gives the amount of land to which each one was entitled, as one acre, three-quarters, one-half. Families consisting of three persons or less apparently had at first three quarters and afterward only two quarters; of four or five persons three quarters of an acre; and of six or more persons an acre. The figure "1" means one acre, "1-2" or "2" one-half and "1-3" or "3" three-fourths. Where three-quarters of an acre was first granted and was afterward reduced to one-half the "3" in brackets was crossed out and "2" written after it.

1	Jo: Sibly	1-2
-6	George W ^m	1 acre
5	mr Batter	1-3
5	Hen: Herricke	1-3
3	widd: Scarler [3]	2
2	Tho: Watson	1-2
1	fr: Skery	2
-4	Edw: Gaskill	3
5	Jo: Porter	3
2	Tho: Chub	2
7	Dan: Rey	1 acre
-7	Ric: Waterman	1
2	mr Comins	2
1	Jo: Bourne	2
1	Nic: Draper	2
3	Jo: March [3]	2
5	Jo: Elford	3
3	Tho: Read [3]	2
-1	Robt Allen	2
3	Jo: Norman [3]	2
1	Jo: Britell	2
5	mr Emry	3
2	Ed: Groner	2
-10	Will Woodbery	1
3	Hom Woodbery [3]	2
3	Jeff: Nassy [3]	2

1. The first of these is the fact that the
 2. second is the fact that the
 3. third is the fact that the
 4. fourth is the fact that the
 5. fifth is the fact that the
 6. sixth is the fact that the
 7. seventh is the fact that the
 8. eighth is the fact that the
 9. ninth is the fact that the
 10. tenth is the fact that the

1. The first of these is the fact that the
 2. second is the fact that the
 3. third is the fact that the
 4. fourth is the fact that the
 5. fifth is the fact that the
 6. sixth is the fact that the
 7. seventh is the fact that the
 8. eighth is the fact that the
 9. ninth is the fact that the
 10. tenth is the fact that the

1. The first of these is the fact that the
 2. second is the fact that the
 3. third is the fact that the
 4. fourth is the fact that the
 5. fifth is the fact that the
 6. sixth is the fact that the
 7. seventh is the fact that the
 8. eighth is the fact that the
 9. ninth is the fact that the
 10. tenth is the fact that the

Feb. 24, 1637-8, Lieutenant Davenport delivered up his farm to the town, and was promised one in another place. Michael Lambert¹ was granted half an acre in Winter Harbor, if he shall inhabit there, which he did not do. Richard Adams had his five acres of land changed to some land at the mill. He was also granted some land to set a house on near Lieutenant Davenport's; and Mr. Fiske one hundred and fifty acres of land for a farm. There was granted to Mr. Stileman twenty acres of land near the meadow which Mr. Weston and he had; to Mr. Stileman's son thirty acres near his father; to Mr. Bachelier sixty acres for a farm; and to Robert Moulton, jr., forty acres for a farm.

At the general court at Newton, March 12, 1637-8, John Endecott and John Winthrop, jr., and deputies Richard Adams, John Woodbury and Edmond Batter were present. May 2, 1638, it was ordered that the several towns should bear the charges of their magistrates' and deputies' diet and lodging. The deputies who subsequently represented Salem in the general court during the colonial period were as follows: Jacob Barney, 1638, 1647-1653; Henry Bartholomew, 1645, 1646, 1649-1652, 1654, 1658, 1660, 1662, 1663, 1667, 1669, 1671-1674, 1676, 1684; Edmond Batter, 1642, 1643, 1655, 1661, 1663-1665, 1668, 1670, 1671, 1675, 1677, 1678, 1682, 1685; Townsend Bishop, 1640; William Browne, 1654, 1659, 1666, 1675, 1677, 1680; George Corwin, 1666, 1667, 1669, 1670, 1672, 1674, 1676; John Corwin, 1679; Emanuel Downing, 1639-1641, 1644, 1648; Samuel Gardner,

SAMUEL ROBINSON², tailor: (wife Jane in 1660?); married Martha Hanks Aug. 15, 1664; died in the autumn of 1723; children: 1. Samuel, born Dec. 19, 1665; 2. Thomas, born July 6, 1667; 3. Mary, born Oct. —, Nov. —, 1672; died Jan. 29, 1671; 5. Job, born 1673-4; married James Simonds; 6. Martha, born Jan. 20, 1673-4; married first William Beards, second Samuel Pope; 7. Mary; probably married James Simonds; 8. Elizabeth, probably married Joseph Prince; 9. Susanna; probably married John Chubb July 14, 1701; 10. Abel³, born Jan. 14, 1680; John Robinson⁴, tailor; married Sarah Mason Oct. 16, 1665; she was living in 1708, and he in 1727; children: 1. Elias, born Jan. 25, 1666-7; 2. John, born Nov. 25, 1668; 3. Joseph, born Sept. 27, 1670; 4. Sara, born Feb. 18, 1672-3. TIMOTHY ROBINSON⁵, married Mary Kifelen Feb. 20, 1665; died in the spring of 1668; she married, secondly, Thomas Hanson June 3, 1669; child: 1. Timothy, born March 15, 1667-8. SAMUEL ROBINSON⁶, carter or carman; married Mary — in or before 1680; died in the autumn of 1699; she married, secondly, John Blevin July 29, 1701, and removed to Swansey before 1716; children: 1. Nathaniel, born 1701; 2. Whittemore, born Jan. 18, 1689-90; 3. Samuel⁷, living in 1699; 4. William, born Nov. 26, 1698; lived in Swansey in 1716. ABEL ROBINSON⁸, married Elizabeth Callum (published Jan. 12, 1710-1); children: 1. Abel⁹, born Oct. 22, 1712; 2. Samuel, born Jan. 25, 1714-5. ABEL ROBINSON¹⁰, lived in Salem, cordwainer, in 1738; married Amie Standley (published Dec. 3, 1735); children: 1. Amie, baptized June 19, 1737; 2. Elizabeth, baptized June 18, 1738.

¹Michael Lambert probably removed to Lynn before 1648.

1681, 1682; Bartholomew Gedney, 1678; John Hathorne, 1683; William Hathorne, 1639-1646, 1648-1652, 1654, 1656-1661; Thomas Lthrop, 1647, 1653, 1664; Jeffrey Massey, 1639; John Porter, 1668; John Price, 1679; Walter Price, 1665; John Putnam, 1677, 1680, 1686; John Ruck, 1685; William Trask, 1639; and John Woodbury, 1639.

March 12, 1637-8, the general court ordered that thereafter "every town shall present a man to be allowed to sell wine and strong water made in the country and no other strong water is to be sold." Mr. Gott was the one appointed to sell wine and strong water in Salem. John Blackleach, John Holgrave and William Pester had previously sold wine here.

At the same court, it was ordered "that all great cattle shall be herded, and they that plant are to secure their corn in the daytime; but if the cattle do hurt corn in the night, the owners of the cattle shall make good the damages."

At this court, Hugh Peter and William Hawthorne were appointed members of a commission to revise and compile the laws which applied to, and were in force in the colony. The literary part of the work was performed by Rev. Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich. It was called the "Body of Liberties," and was adopted by the general court Dec. 10, 1641. Mr. Ward graduated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1603; and at first practised law for several years, and then adopted theology. He preached in a parish in Hertfordshire for about ten years, and was unceremoniously silenced. He then emigrated to Massachusetts.

The first roads were only foot paths or paths for horseback riding. When the earth was bare, carts with two wheels soon began to be used, and when snow was upon the ground sleds took their place. Roads were not constructed for some years. Neither were they repaired. The first record of the town of this nature was the order, Feb. 15, 1635-6, "that whosoever hath or shall cut any trees and leave [them] in the paths about the town to the disturbance of carts, cattle or passengers" should remove them within fifteen days. March 3, 1637-8, the town voted that highways should be mended by the citizens, under order of Thomas Gardner, Richard Brackenbury and John Balch, as overseers. Aug. 19, 1639, the town first chose surveyors for the mending of highways, Thomas Gardner and Jarvis Garford being elected. Feb. 26, 1643-4, Roger Conant and Jarvis Garford being chosen by the town to mend the highway between Wenham and "the head of the river." June 13, 1644, the town ordered that Mr. Downing and Mr. Batter shall be surveyors of the highway towards the mill and the farms "that ways," and Goodman Scruggs and Mr. Conant of the highways "towards Wenham and that

from The History of Salem by Sidney Pooley
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ways." Surveyors of highways are not again mentioned until 1658.¹ They were usually appointed by the selectmen, and frequently called overseers.

Jan. 13, 1644-5, the "seven men" ordered that owners of land and houses next the water side should maintain a good way for horse and man of at least eight feet in width, and be liable for such ways as are defective.

¹April 26, 1658, for Cape Ann Side, were chosen William Dixe and James Patch; for the town, John Neale and William Flint; to Strongwater brook and at Thomas' farms, Mr. Gardner's and for the bridges about the Governor's farm, Jacob Barney and Thomas Putnam. Nov. 21, 1658, John Patch was chosen for Cape Ann Side, in the place of his brother, Philip Cromwell; for Cape Ann Side and to Farmer Porter's, Henry Herrick, sr., and John Lovett, sr.; and for the county highways between the bridge and Crane River, etc., John Porter and Thomas Putnam.

Jan. 8, 1660-1, between Frost-fish River and Horse bridge, "as you go to Ipswich," John Porter and Jacob Barney. April 22, 1661, on Cape Ann Side, Thomas Lawthrop and Roger Haskell.

Dec. 23, 1662, for the town to the foot of the hill beyond the bridge, William Flint and John Neale; for Cape Ann Side and Bass River, William Dodge, sr., John Dodge (Richard's son); from Cape Ann Side to the bridge at the town, John Porter and Jacob Barney, sr.; and from Nicholas Phelps' to Thomas Goldthwaite's and thence by the pond by the way to Lynn, Thomas Flint and John Southwick.

Nov. 18, 1664, from the bridge at the end of the town to the lines of the towns of Lynn, Ipswich, Andover and Topsfield, Nathaniel Felton and Samuel Eborne.

March 6, 1666, for Cape Ann Side, Edward Bishop and William Dodge, jr., beyond Strongwater brook; Richard Leach and Anthony Buckston; and "this side of Strongwater brook," John Neale and John Pickering.

March 12, 1666-7, "from the town to the bridge," Edward Flint and Thomas Robbins; "beyond the bridge," Samuel Aburne and Josiah Southwick; and for Cape Ann Side, Benjamin Balch and Lot Conant.

March 20, 1667-8, from the bridge to the lower part of the town, William Brown, jr., and John Pickering; "beyond the bridge" to Benjamin Scarlett's, William Traske and Samuel Gascone; "for the farms beyond Ben. Scarlett's," Thomas Putnam, Robert Prince and John Porter; and for Cape Ann Side, William Raymont and John Patch.

July 21, 1669, Nathaniel Putnam, Joshua Rea and Joseph Huchenson were appointed as overseers to mend all country and county highways beginning at Rum bridge near Benjamin Scarlett's and so to John Procter's, and any and everywhere about the farms; and from the bridge or causeway at the town's end and so downwards in all parts of the town "till you come to Mordcaie's Creek's," Henry Bartholomew and Eliezer Hauthorne.

March 18, 1669-70, between the causeway and Winter Island, Edward Flint and Anthony Ashby; and from the causeway or bridge to the farms and to John Procter's and other ways, Anthony Buxton and Jacob Barney, jr.

April 4, 1671, between Strongwater brook and Winter Island, William Flint, John Neale, Joseph Phippen, sr., and John Massey; and from Strongwater brook up to the farms and all other ways, John Southwick and Eliezer Giles.

Nov. 13, 1672, William Flint, Joshua Buffum and Josiah Southwick, "Especially the Grt bridge at the Townes end and strong Water brooke."

March 3, 1637-8, Edward Calcott¹ desired to become an inhabitant and to have a ten-acre lot. There was granted to Jeffrey Massey and Richard Brackenbury fifty acres of land adjoining "the land formerly granted, in consideration that they had fifty acres of rocks granted to them formerly, which was useless.

In the Salem quarterly court, March 27, 1638, there were present as magistrates Colonel Endecott, John Humphrey, Cap-

Jan. 20, 1633-4, between Thomas Cromwell's corner and the town bridge, Captain Price, John Ruck and Edward Flint; and between Thomas Cromwell's to the lower end of the town, Mr. Grafton and Mr. Prince.

March 18, 1676-7, Nehemiah Willoughby and Joshua Buffum were chosen surveyors of highways.

March 13, 1678-9, from the bridge to the lower end of the town, Timothy Lindall and Edward Grove; and above the bridge, Caleb Buffum and Daniel Southwick.

Dec. 5, 1679, from the bridge to Lynn or Reading bounds, Eleazer Giles; for Gardner's brook to Mr. Endecott's plain, Nathaniel Felton; and at the Village, Nathaniel Putnam, Thomas Putnam and Sergeant Fuller.

March 15, 1679-80, from the bridge to the lower end of the town, Timothy Lindall, Edward Grove and Thomas Maule; and from the bridge above or without the town, Joseph Boyce, jr., and John Blesch.

March 21, 1680-1, from the bridge to the point, Lt. John Pickering and Edward Grove; for above or without the bridge, John Trask and Isaac Cook.

March 20, 1681-2, from the bridge to the point of rocks, John Cromwell and James Poland; and above or without the bridge, Samuel Gaskin and Joseph Boyce.

March 19, 1682-3, from the bridge to the point of rocks and the cut, Samuel Wakefield, Caleb Buffum, Mr. Phippen, sr., and John Ingerson, sr.; and without the bridge, Isaac Cooke, Samuel Gaskin, William Osborne and Joseph Boyce, jr.

March 11, 1683-4, from the bridge to the point of rocks and the cut, Robert Kitchen, Samuel Shattuck, jr., John Grafton, Gilbert Taply; and without the bridge, Joshua Buffum and Daniel Southwick.

March 17, 1684-5, from the west end of the bridge and so down to Winter Island, Esau Marston, Stephen Sewall, Thomas Ives and Mr. Babedge; and from the bridge to the Butts brook and so to Benjamin Scarlett's; and for the farms, Lt. Israel Porter, Serg. John Leach, Thomas Flint, sr., William Sibby, Jonathan Putnam and Daniel Rea.

March 8, 1685-6, from the west end of the bridge and so to Winter Island, Joseph Phippen, sr., Jonathan Eager, Robert Ketchen and Deliverance Parkman; and from the bridge to the Butts brook and so to Benjamin Scarlett's; and for all the farms, Joshua Ray, jr., John Flint, Nathaniel Ingerson, Edward Putnam, Joseph Pope and Zachariah Goodale.

April 1, 1687, from the bridge to the Butts brook and so to Benjamin Scarlett's, Eleazer Giles and William Osborne; and from the west end of the bridge and so down to Winter Island, Benjamin Marston, Mannasseh Marston, John Rogers and William Curtee, sr.

July 30, 1688, Benjamin Marston, Mannasseh Marston, John Rogers and William Curtee, sr.

March 25, 1689, within the bridge, Lt. John Pickering and Henry Bartholomew, jr.; and from the bridge within Ipswich road, Isaac Cook, William Osborne and Samuel Gardner.

¹Edward Calcott probably removed to Hampton soon afterward.

tain Turner, William Hathorne, Edward Howe and Roger Conant. In this court, from Salem, during the colonial period were John Endecott, who sat constantly until his removal to Boston in 1655; John Humphrey, 1638-1641; William Hathorne, 1638-1647, 1649, 1651, 1652, 1657-1679; Roger Conant, 1638, 1639; John Winthrop, Jr., 1638, 1639; John Winthrop, 1639; Emanuel Downing, 1639-1644, 1649; William Browne, 1678-1683; Bartholomew Gedney, 1680-1683; John Hathorne, 1684, 1685.

At this court, on that date, Abram Whiteire was sentenced to sit in the stocks one hour for misdemeanors. Richard Lambert was fined ten shillings and ordered to sit in the stocks on two public days for drunkenness, and Robert Morgan was fined one pound and Edward Hall, servant to Mr. Friend, was fined ten shillings, each for "being overseen in drink." Other kinds or degrees of drunkenness at this period were tippling, common tippling, drinking, much in drink, excessive drinking, suspicion of drunkenness, distempered with drink, disguised with drink, overtaken with drink, overcome with drink and second drunk. It must have been interesting as well as difficult to determine the grades of the offence.

The Salem jurymen at this session were John Woodbury, foreman, Lawrence Leach, Peter Palfrey, Jeffrey Massy, Richard Davenport, Thomas Venner and George Norton.¹ The trial jury,

¹The Salem jurymen in this court during the remainder of the colonial period were as follows: John Allerman, 1639-1641, 1647, 1649; William Allen, 1638, 1642; Daniel Andrews, 1676, 1681, 1684; Samuel Archer, 1645, 1647; Anthony Ashby, 1663, 1664, 1670; John Balch, 1638, 1647; Jacob Barney, 1638-1640, 1646, 1652, 1654, 1658, 1660, 1662, 1666, 1667; Henry Bartholomew, 1649, 1641, 1644-1646, 1650, 1661-1668; John B. Bechelder, 1683; Joseph Batchelder, 1630; Edmund Batter, 1638-1640, 1640, 1651, 1654, 1666, 1660; Nathaniel Beadle, 1672-1675, 1678, 1684; Samuel Beale, 1673; Henry Birdsall, 1630; Richard Bishop, 1644, 1647, 1648, 1651, 1653, 1659, 1662, 1664; Townsend Bishop, 1643; John Blackford, 1643; William Bowditch, 1679, 1681; Joseph Boyce, 1659; John Richard Brackenbury, 1639, 1640, 1649; Edward Bridges, 1676; James Browne, 1665, 1670, 1672; John Browne, 1653, 1657, 1659, 1667, 1673; Jonathan Browne, 1666; William Browne, 1652, 1662, 1667; John Buttrick, 1643; John Buttrills, 1665; Ezekiel Cheever, 1681; William Clark, 1639; John Clifford, 1671, 1673; Abraham Cole, 1672; Lot Conant, 1666; Roger Conant, 1642, 1644-1646, 1653, 1654, 1657; Isaac Cooke, 1673; Samuel Corning, 1654, 1659, 1661, 1662, 1664; John Corwin, 1660; David Corwithen, 1651, 1654, 1658; Richard Crosde, 1679; Philip Cromwell, 1663, 1672, 1676; William Curtice, 1672; Richard Davenport, 1638-1642; William Dixy, 1647, 1649, 1651, 1653, 1655, 1656, 1664, 1666; John Dodge, 1672; William Dodge, 1647, 1653, 1656, 1652, 1661-1663, 1667; Samuel Eborne, 1663; Thomas Edwards, 1644, 1645; Zerubbabel Endecott, 1665; Philip English, 1682, 1685; Daniel Epps, 1678; Benjamin Felton, 1659, 1660; Nathaniel Felton, 1649, 1655, 1664, 1666, 1668, 1669, 1671, 1675, 1683; Edmond (Edward) Feveryear, 1681, 1683; Edward Flint, 1675, 1677, 1680, 1682; Thomas Flint, 1682; William Flint, 1656, 1659, 1668; John Fuller, 1679, 1684; George Gardner, 1647, 1648, 1654,

both civil and criminal, consisted of twelve men, and no super-
1638, 1662, 1665, 1667, 1671; John Gardner, 1660, 1661, 1663, 1668, 1672; Joseph Gardner, 1661, 1662, 1666, 1667, 1670; Samuel Gardner, 1657, 1660, 1661, 1664, 1666, 1672, 1673, 1678-1680; Thomas Gardner, 1639, 1640, 1642, 1647-1650, 1652-1655, 1657, 1658, 1670, 1673, 1681; Garvas Garford, 1639, 1642, 1643, 1646; Bartholomew Gedney, 1672, 1675; Eleazer Gedney, 1670; John Gedney, 1639-1641, 1665, 1667, 1668; Benjamin Gerrish, 1679, 1684; Eleazer Giles, 1675, 1678; William Gout, 1657; John Grafton, 1673, 1676, 1680, 1683; Joseph Grafton, 1667, 1676, 1682; Edward Grove, 1676, 1678; Thomas Hale, 1657, 1658, 1660; John Hardy, 1644, 1647, 1650; Joseph Hardy, 1653, 1673, 1679; Roger Haskell, 1655, 1662, 1664; Eleazer Hathorne, 1666, 1668, 1673, 1674, 1676, 1678; John Hathorne, 1648, 1674; Henry Herrick, 1648, 1649, 1653, 1659; John Higginson, 1673, 1674; William Hirst, 1678, 1683, 1684; John Holgrave, 1639, 1653; Richard Hollingsworth, 1673; William Hollingsworth, 1667; Obadiah Holme, 1642, 1644, 1645; Joseph Holton, 1670; John Horne (Orne), 1654, 1685; Joseph Hutchenson, 1663, 1679, 1683; John Ingersoll, 1669, 1684; Nathaniel Ingerson, 1680; John Jackson, 1645; Thomas Jeggles, 1670, 1673; Ephraim Kempton, 1683; John King, 1669; John Kitchen, 1644-1646, 1651, 1655, 1661; Robert Kitchen, 1689, 1682; William Lake, 1669; Francis Laver, 1644; John Leach, 1679, 1681; Lawrence Leach, 1638-1640, 1642; Richard Leach, 1653, 1661, 1672; Robert Lemon, 1657; Timothy Lindall, 1678, 1680, 1684; William Lord, 1649, 1642, 1643, 1645; Thomas Lord, 1649, 1651, 1643, 1644, 1646, 1649, 1652, 1655, 1657, 1663, 1665, 1668; Nicholas Manning, 1661, 1674; Benjamin Marston, 1683; John Marston, 1678, 1680; Manasseh Marston, 1671, 1674, 1678, 1681; Elias Mason, 1660, 1669, 1671, 1675; Jeffrey Massey, 1638-1642, 1645, 1647, 1649-1653, 1655, 1659-1661; Roger Maury, 1642; John Millard, 1657; Richard Moore, 1653, 1658, 1662, 1664, 1670; James Moulton, 1642; Robert Moulton, 1639-1641, 1644, 1647; Jeremiah Neale, 1676, 1677, 1684; John Neale, 1654, 1665, 1669; John Norman, 1674, 1677, 1682, 1684; George Norton, 1638-1640, 1659; Francis Nurse, 1674, 1675, 1676-1679, 1683; Thomas Oliver, 1664; William Osborne, 1642; Peter Palfrey, 1638, 1640-1642, 1644-1646, 1648-1650; Deliverance Parkman, 1682, 1685; David Phippen, 1681; Joseph Phippen, 1697, 1698, 1683; Samuel Phippen, 1683; John Pickering, 1661, 1664, 1671, 1678, 1681, 1684; Benjamin Pickman, 1682, 1685; Nathaniel Pickman, 1658, 1661; Samuel Pickman (Putnam), 1663, 1671, 1673; Joseph Pope, 1647, 1648, 1654, 1655; Israel Porter, 1674, 1677; John Porter, 1646, 1652, 1654, 1664, 1669; Nathaniel Porter, 1642; John Price, 1674; Walter Price, 1649, 1653, 1656-1658; Richard Prince, 1644, 1645, 1650, 1653, 1654, 1664, 1668, 1672; Richard Prithard, 1682; John Procter, 1673; John Putnam, 1655, 1657, 1659, 1661, 1665, 1666, 1674, 1676, 1678, 1682-1684; Jonathan Putnam, 1683; Nathaniel Putnam, 1652, 1655, 1658, 1664, 1668, 1670, 1671, 1673, 1677; Thomas Putnam, 1651, 1654, 1660, 1662, 1666, 1668, 1679, 1683; Daniel Ray, 1642, 1649; Joshua Ray, 1666; John Raymont, 1657, 1661, 1662, 1664, 1666; Richard Raymont, 1638, 1642; William Raymont, 1667; Esdras Reade, 1638, 1642, 1649; Michael Reade, 1666; John Robbins, 1660, 1665; John Robinson, 1649, 1651; Thomas Rootes, 1659; George Ropes, 1663; John Ruck, 1654, 1661, 1663, 1672, 1678; John Sanders, 1639, 1679; Thomas Scruggs, 1642; Stephen Sewall, 1684; Michael Shafin, 1642, 1654, 1656; Samuel Shattock, 1654, 1684; John Sibley, 1663; Francis Skerry, 1653, 1654, 1656, 1665, 1680; Henry Skerry, 1658, 1659, 1663, 1673; Thomas Spooner, 1644, 1653; James Sweatland, 1641, 1642; Elias Stulman, 1638, 1640, 1649, 1651-1653; William Sweatland, 1684; John Swinerton, 1652; John Trask, 1677; Habakkuk Turner, 1680; John Turner, 1676; James Underwood, 1652, 1660; Thomas Venner, 1638-1640, 1643; Hilliard Veren, 1650,

numeraries. Each session of the court was for both civil and criminal business. The grand jury⁴ consisted of about thirteen

1653, 1655, 1672, 1675, 1679; Philip Verrin, 1638, 1644; Jonathan Valcutt, 1685; Joshua Ward, 1679; Simon Willard, 1683; George Williams, 1639, 1647, 1650, 1653; Isaac Williams, 1660, 1666; John Williams, 1667, 1670, 1674, 1676, 1680; Samuel Williams, 1671, 1686; Nehemiah Willoughby, 1676, 1684; Peter Wolfe, 1630; Humphrey Woodbury, 1657, 1659, 1665; John Woodbury, 1638-1641; William Woodbury, 1649; Edward Woolian, 1673, 1677.

The grand jurymen from Salem from 1642 until Sir Edmund Andros suspended the operation of the colonial charter, in 1686, were as follows: Samuel Aborn (Eborne), 1656, 1660, 1661, 1667, 1669, 1673, 1674, 1680, 1681, 1683, 1684; John Alderman, 1643, 1644, 1648, 1649; Daniel Andrews, 1672; Thomas Antrum, 1643, 1659; Anthony Ashby, 1665; Christopher Babbidge, 1666, 1676, 1675, 1676, 1678, 1679, 1681-1684; John Balch, 1642-1644; Jacob Barney, 1642-1644, 1649-1652, 1655, 1670; Henry Bartholomew, 1642-1644, 1647, 1665; Edmond Batter, 1642, 1648-1655, 1658, 1659; Richard Bishop, 1649, 1650, 1653, 1654, 1659; John Blackleach, 1642; Joseph Boyce, 1655; Richard Brackenbury, 1656; William Browne, 1649, 1650, 1653, 1654; Anthony Buxton, 1662, 1663, 1666, 1671, 1680, 1681; Roger Conant, 1643, 1644, 1647, 1649-1652, 1655; Samuel Corning, 1657, 1667; John Corwin, 1672; William Dixy, 1645, 1659, 1661, 1668, 1669; John Dodge, 1664, 1665; William Dodge, 1645, 1658, 1659, 1666; William Doughton, 1682, 1683; Thomas Edwards, 1645; Benjamin Felton, 1666; Nathaniel Felton, 1660, 1661, 1676, 1679, 1680, 1683, 1684; Edward Flint, 1673, 1674, 1676; William Flint, 1662, 1663; Robert Fuller, 1680-1685; Thomas Fuller, 1673, 1674, 1676, 1679, 1680, 1682, 1683; George Gardner, 1655; Thomas Gardner, 1642-1644, 1671, 1672; Gervas Garford, 1642, 1644, 1647; Bartholomew Gedney, 1665; Eleazer Gedney, 1675, 1676; John Gedney, 1644, 1647; Thomas Goldthwaite, 1661; Edward Grove, 1672; John Hardy, 1642; Joseph Hardy, 1682, 1683; Henry Herriek, 1650-1655, 1660-1664, 1667; John Holgrave, 1654, 1655; John Holmes, 1680, 1681; Joseph Houlton, 1684, 1685; Edward Humbert, 1665; Joseph Hutchinson, 1661, 1668, 1669, 1674, 1675; John Ingersoll, 1673, 1674; Thomas Jeggles, 1683, 1684; George Keazer, 1668, 1670, 1677, 1679, 1680, 1684, 1685; Allen Keniston, 1644, 1647; William King, 1648, 1649; John Kitchen, 1647, 1653, 1654, 1658; Francis Lawes, 1649, 1650, 1661, 1664; Lawrence Leach, 1642, 1645; John Lonsis, 1681, 1682; William Lord, 1642, 1644, 1647; Thomas Lotthrop, 1642, 1644, 1647, 1651, 1652; Manasseh Marston, 1682; Jeffrey Massey, 1642-1644, 1652-1656, 1667; Moses Maverick, 1642, 1645; Jeremiah Meachum, 1677, 1679, 1683; Richard More, 1673, 1674; George Norton, 1657; Francis Nurse, 1671, 1673; Peter Palfrey, 1642, 1647; John Patch, 1663; Joseph Phippen, 1672, 1683-1685; John Pickering, 1668, 1669; Nathaniel Pickman (Phiman), 1671, 1672; John Porter, 1647, 1649-1652, 1656, 1658, 1659, 1666; Walter Price, 1645, 1647, 1650-1653, 1659, 1663, 1668, 1669, 1672; Richard Prance, 1645, 1648, 1649, 1651, 1652; John Putnam, 1663, 1671, 1672; Nathaniel Putnam, 1653, 1654, 1659, 1661, 1665, 1674, 1675, 1681, 1682; Thomas Putnam, 1648, 1649, 1652, 1653, 1655, 1658, 1659, 1672, 1679, 1680; Daniel Ray, 1645; Joshua Ray (Rea), 1664, 1674, 1675, 1680, 1681, 1683; John Kayment, 1653, 1654, 1668, 1669; Esdras Reade, 1613; Charles Redford, 1684; Thomas Rix, 1664, 1676, 1679, 1680; Josiah Rootes, 1665; Thomas Rootes, 1655, 1662-1664, 1669, 1674-1676, 1678; John Ruck, 1673-1676, 1680, 1681, 1683, 1684; Thomas Scruges, 1647; Francis Skerry, 1659, 1661, 1663, 1667, 1670, 1673, 1674, 1676, 1678, 1679, 1682, 1683; Henry

or fifteen men. Juries of inquest were composed of twelve men who lived near the scene of the occurrence to be investigated, and were informally requested to serve by the constable.

At a town meeting, March 31, 1638, Mr. Fiske desired enlargement of his farm; and there was granted to John Stratton one hundred acres of land for a farm,¹ and to Elias Stullman an addition of sixteen acres adjoining to his thirty acres. It was then agreed that Mr. Hathorne should have the marsh ground lying before the gunsmith's house or lot, and also the meadow or marsh along to the little brook betwixt the two hills, in consideration of his many employments for the town and country so long as he is continued in such affairs or the like.

On the twenty-third of the next month, at the meeting of the whole town, there was granted to William Hathorne all the salt marsh lying along the South River on the west side from the house of Richard Waters to the little brook called the Frost fish brook, which ran from between the two hills, being about three or four acres. There was also

granted to Samuel Corning² one *Samuel Corning* acre of ground next to Mr. Hawthorne, and a five-acre lot on the Forest River side in exchange of it. There was granted to John Pease five acres of land next to Samuel Corning's near the water mill. It was ordered that Mr. Johnson's meadow at Brooksbys and the lieutenant's meadow there be laid out within ten days. There was then granted to Samuel Smith³ two hundred acres of land, being fifty more than his

Skerry, 1655, 1666, 1661, 1664; Thomas Spooner, 1643, 1649-1652, 1654, 1655, 1659; Elias Stilmun, 1642; Job Swinerton, 1652, 1653, 1675-1677; James Symonds, 1677, 1681, 1682; John Symonds, 1657; John Thorndike, 1653, 1654; William Trask, 1669, 1674, 1675, 1681, 1682; Thomas Trusler, 1648, 1649; Mark Vernais, 1643; Philip Verrin, 1642, 1648; Thomas Watson, 1650; Henry West, 1678, 1679, 1681-1684; Resolved White, 1676; Thomas Wickes, 1654, 1655; Isaac Williams, 1671, 1672; Edward Woodland, 1671, 1672; Humphrey Woodbury, 1666; John Woodbury, 1642-1644, 1647; William Woodbury, 1643, 1644, 1647.

¹This was laid out in Salem Village near the lands of Mr. Hawthorne and Lieutenant Davenport, and Mr. Stratton mortgaged it to Valentine Hill of Boston.—*Lechford's Note Book*, page 126.

²Samuel Corning (Corney, Cornish) was born about 1616; planter and husbandman; married Elizabeth —, who died Aug. 18, 1688, aged about eighty-five; he died soon afterward; children: 1. Remember, baptized May 3, 1640; 2. Samuel, baptized March 14, 1641; lived in Beverly; married Hannah Batcheller; died May 11, 1714, aged seventy-three; she died, his widow, Feb. 17, 1717-8; 3. Elizabeth, baptized June 4, 1643.

³SAMUEL SMITH was one of the very first settlers in Enon, which became Wenham; married Sarah —; died in the autumn of 1642; she married, secondly, Daniel Rumball; children: 1. Thomas²; 2. Marie²; living in 1642; 3. Sarah²; married Hon. William Browne.

THOMAS SMITH² living in 1642; children: 1. Benjamin², baptized Feb. 17, 1636-7; 2. Nathaniel², baptized March 24, 1639-40.

former grant of one hundred acres, which was annulled. It was agreed that William Allyn should have an acre of salt marsh at or near the end of his lot.

There was granted to George Emery half an acre of marsh over against Mr. Endecott's farm. This lot was probably in the North field and adjoining Waters River.

The spring of 1638 was so cold that the seed corn rotted in the ground, and planting had to be repeated, in some instances twice; but the weather became warmer and the crop was saved.

The first day of June was a typical June day, with bright sunshine and a gentle west wind. In the middle of the afternoon, while the men were in the field, and the women in the house, acute ears noticed a low and distant murmuring sound from the west which became clearer and nearer, until it resembled the rumble of thunder. Not a cloud was seen. It became louder until it resembled the rattle of many carriages fast driven on pavements. Labor ceased, as the people questioned as to what it was, and the earth began to tremble beneath their feet. They threw down their tools and reeled as though intoxicated. The people indoors heard the sound and felt the tremble of the earth, and the houses shook until it seemed they must collapse. Imperfectly built, of rough and uneven stones, on the outside of the house, almost perpendicular and without mortar, except for pointing, chimneys readily yielded to the shaking on the house or ground. The tops of many of them fell off, striking on the house or ground. Pewter platters and dishes, striking upon shelves, knocked together and fell. The first shock continued about four minutes. The people resumed their labor. Half an hour later, the trembling was again heard and the earth quaked. This quickly passed, being milder than the first. The islands were shaken violently and the vessels in the harbor and those sailing along the coast were affected as if a series of tidal waves had passed under them.

The people of that time must have been more affected by such an experience than those of to-day, though earthquakes are always disquieting. The people of that period must have had many doubts and fears, as they were not only superstitious, but this was an almost unknown region, which only lately had been believed to be filled with terrors. This was the greatest earthquake of that century, and an epoch in the history of the people.

At a court of assistants, held at Cambridge June 5, 1638, John Bennet and Philip Deare (Beare?) were referred to Salem court for their drunkenness; and Francis Weston's wife was censured to be set two hours in the bilboes at Cambridge and Salem, upon a lecture day.

From the beginning of the settlement of the colony the crime of adultery was punishable with death, but the law was allowed to fall into disuse. At the general court, June 6, 1637, John Hathaway and Robert Allen were both indicted and, September 7, found guilty of adultery with Margaret, wife of Edward Seale of Marblehead. She was also found guilty. Seale was a beastly drunkard, and was sentenced, at the same court, to be set in the bilboes and be severely whipped. The next succeeding March 12th, all three were sentenced to be severely whipped and banished, never to return upon pain of death. At the latter court, the original law was confirmed. In his Journal, Winthrop wrote of this incident as follows: "1638: 1: 30. Edward Seale of Marblehead twenty pounds for his wife's appearance when she shall be called for after her delivery." Hathaway and the Seales never came back, but a Robert Allen appears in Salem in 1642, and subsequently in Manchester, but it hardly seems reasonable that he was identical with the Marblehead man of that name, as the life of the Manchester man was so different from that of the Robert Allen who was of Marblehead in 1637.

June 25, 1638, William Wood was granted half an acre of land near Strongwater brook or mill [end] brook, and also ten acres. Thomas Reed was granted half an acre of land lying by his other lot.

On the eastern side of South River, opposite Castle Hill, there was formerly a long and narrow strip of salt marsh called "the deacons' marsh" for nearly two centuries. This constituted the two acres of marsh given to John Horne until the town should further dispose of it, and two acres given to Charles Gott upon the same condition (and also one acre "more, if there be any in the town's hands when other men are provided for"). Messrs. Horne and Gott were the deacons of the church in Salem.

The town also ordered that Richard Adams, widow Smith, Samuel Cornish and Joseph Gratton's mother-in-law, all of whom were forgotten in the division, should each have half an acre apiece of marsh land. One acre of marsh was granted to Mr. Clark, one acre to Moses Maverick, three-fourths of an acre to Jeffrey Easty, three-fourths to John Hart, and to Mr. Gafford and John Stone their proportions of marsh meadow if they continued in Salem. There was granted to Roger Maury a strip of

¹Winthrop's Journal, Boston, 1825, volume II, page 349.

SALT MAKING

The colonists at Jamestown, Va., began to send salt to the Puritan settlers in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1033. This was salt made by solar evaporation of the water of the ocean, which was run into large shallow pans several inches in depth, and remained there till it was evaporated, leaving a layer of salt in the pan. Salt made in this way was coarser than that produced by boiling sea water.

June 25, 1638, the town of Salem granted to him "liberty to set a salt house upon Ryall's side with wood for his occasions about the same house, and common for two cows to pasture in." Mr. Winthrop immediately erected a house on the northerly side

John Winthrop married, first, his cousin Martha Fones, who died in 1634 or 1635; and second, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Reade of Wicford, Essexshire, England, step-daughter of Hugh Peter; children, by the second wife: 1. Elizabeth, married, first, Rev. Antipas Newman of Wrentham in 1588; he died Oct. 15, 1672; and she married, secondly, Zerubbabel Endcott; 2. Lucy; married Edward Palmer of New London, Conn.; 3. Margaret; married John Corwin of Salem; 4. Martha; married Richard Wharton of Boston; 5. Anne; married John Richards of Boston; 6. John, born in Ipswich March 14, 1638; served in the army of General Monk in Scotland and elsewhere until the Restoration; then returned to New England and figured in the Indian wars; was major-general in the expedition to Canada in 1690; governor of Connecticut from 1698 to 1707; and died in Boston Nov. 27, 1707; 7. Waltsitt, born in Boston Feb. 27, 1642; soldier in the Indian wars; major-general; judge of the superior court and chief justice of Massachusetts.

Lat: Pickman

Robert Hubbard

The following is a copy of a letter written here to his father:

¹See papers in Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, volume VI, pages 244 and 248.

*NATHANIEL PICKMAN¹ (Pickman) was born about 1696; house carpenter; lived on the eastern side of Central Street in the middle of what is now Charter Street; married Tabitha widow of Andrew Heman; she died Sept. 10, 1683; he died in the autumn of 1684; children: 1. Heman²; married John Sanders Nov. 5, 1661; 2. Tabitha²; married Edward Phipps, year Aug. 30, 1664; 3. Mary²; married Robert Hodges June 22, 1665; 4. Nathaniel²; born about 1668; 5. Bethnah²; married, first John Silsby Feb. 15, 1673; second, Alexander Cole in 1687.

NATHANIEL PICKMAN, married Parina — before 1673; died in or before 1668; children: 1. Taobtha, born Nov. 4, 1670; married John Baker of Charlestown March 9, 1695-6; 2. Elizabeth,³ born Dec. 25, 1673; of Boston, unmarried, in 1681; 3. Nathaniel,³ born April 13, 1676; mariner in 1698; 4. Joseph,³ living in 1698; 5. Benjamin,³ living in 1698; 6. Isamael,³ living in 1698; 7. Hannah,³ living in 1698; 8. Mary,³ living in 1698; 9. Abigail,³ living in 1698.

Robert Hibbard (Hibbert); born about 1615; bricklayer; lived in the Beverly part of Salem on the south side of Colon Street, about halfway between Cabot and Header streets; called John Luff "father" in 1667; married Joan —; Bridget Luff (Love) (probably John's mother), age 7, eighty-four, was living in their family in 1671; he died in Beverly May 7, 1684; she was living, his widow, in 1693; children: 1. Mary, born Nov. 27, 1616; 2. John, born Jan. 24, 1642-3; married Ruth Walden Nov. 16, 1679; 3. Sarah, born Sept. 26, 1644; died Dec. 8, 1644; 4. Joseph, baptized May 1, 1648; lived in Beverly; married Abigail Graves Oct. 20, 1679; died May 14, 1701; 5. Robert, baptized May 7, 1648; lived in Wenham; married Mary —, 6. Hannah; living in 1671; 7. Joanna, baptized March 9, 1651-2; 8. Elizabeth, baptized May 1, 1653; 9. Abigail, baptized May 6, 1655; married Thomas Blashfield of Beverly March 28, 1676; 10. Samuel, baptized June 20, 1658; husbandman; lived in Beverly in 1690; married Mary Bond of Haverhill Nov. 16, 1679; had children.

⁴Files of Ipswich Quarterly Court Records, volume 26, leaf 48.

about the high tower of the cathedral
very quiet in the night, with a few lights
glowing in the windows, and a few
stars visible in the sky. The air was
very still, and the moon was
low in the sky, and the stars
were very bright. The cathedral
was very old, and the tower
was very high. The air was
very still, and the moon was
low in the sky, and the stars
were very bright. The cathedral
was very old, and the tower
was very high.

The moon was low in the sky, and the stars
were very bright. The cathedral
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low in the sky, and the stars
were very bright. The cathedral
was very old, and the tower
was very high.

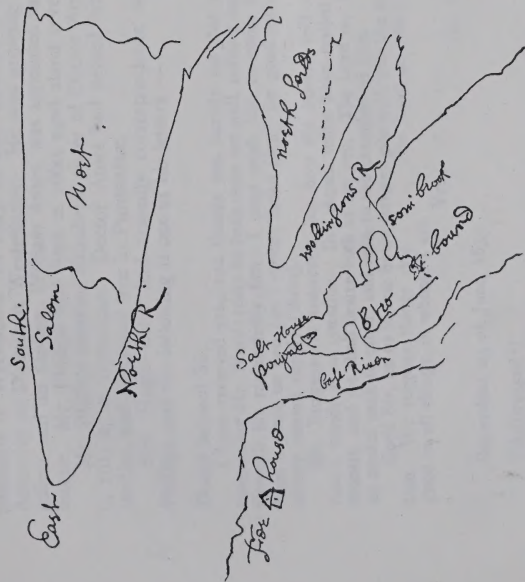
The moon was low in the sky, and the stars
were very bright. The cathedral
was very old, and the tower
was very high. The air was
very still, and the moon was
low in the sky, and the stars
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low in the sky, and the stars
were very bright. The cathedral
was very old, and the tower
was very high.

Sir—These calling in this night intending to go towards Boston tomorrow, I am bold to present my humble duty & my wives to your self & my brother, desiring to lett you understand y^e we are in good health (blessed be God) wth the rest of our friends here, & at my uncle Downings. Heer is now news to write you of. Joseph Grafton was on Friday sevenmigt at Pascataway, having made his voyage hence thither and back againe in 3 daies, but there was noe ship come then to the Isle of Sholes. Just now are come to me y^e came from Quinpiack certifying y^t Mr. Goose was arrived there. Before he



MAP OF SALT HOUSE POINT.

came thence he saw my brother Steven there well; the merchants then were about to hire Mr. Goose his ship for England, but this party coming out of the bay, I suppose it is not news to you. Last weeke one having laded his canoe wth wood coming where the sea was a little ruffe, she filled presently wth water, but not sinking right downe he was succoured by another boate & so saved. Goodman Giles of this towne came to me this day & told me he had order for Sergeant Watson by your order to pay me ru bushels of corne, but hauing no notice thereof from you, I doubted it might be some mistake. Thus

JOHN WINTHROP.
Myselfe & wife salute our brothers & friends wth you.¹

On the opposite page is reproduced a rough map, made by Daniel Epes, the schoolmaster, March 28, 1677², showing the boundaries of this land and the location of the salt house.

About 1645, Mr. Winthrop removed to what is now New London, Conn., and devoted himself to the interests of the Connecticut colonies, being elected in 1651, the first governor of the united colonies. He held the office seventeen years. He was highly educated, accomplished, upright, generous and efficient, and was elected a member of the Royal Society, in England, as a tribute to his scientific attainments. He died in Boston, while there temporarily, April 3, 1676, and was buried by the side of his father in King's Chapel churchyard.

The salt house was probably gone before 1670, and Mr. Winthrop gave the land to his daughter Mrs. Elizabeth Newman, wife of Rev. Antipas Newman of Wenham and, later, wife of Zerubbabel Endecott of Salem.

This neck of land was known for a century as Salthouse neck or point, later as Salt'us point and now as Salter's point.

¹Winthrop's Letters (1867 edition), volume II, page 264.
²Files of the Insular Quarantine.

*Titles of the Ipswich Quarterly Court, volume 26, leaf 44.

although he did not obtain a deed of it until he had removed to Dedham in 1641. It had been granted to Townsend Bishop, who conveyed it to Mr. Chickering Oct. 1, 1641; and Mr. Chickering conveyed it to Gov. John Endecott Oct. 4, 1648.¹ Mrs. Ames removed to Cambridge, where she died Dec. 21, 1644.

Mr. Phillips remained in Dedham only a short time; and Oct. 26, 1641, he and his wife sailed for England, experiencing a long and disastrous voyage. The next year he resumed his pastorate in Wrentham. In 1643, he was appointed one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. He was growing old and infirm, and his nephew, William Ames, was appointed as his colleague. Mr. Phillips died Sept. 2, 1660, aged about seventy-five. Mr. Phillips married Elizabeth, sister of Doctor Ames, Jan. 6, 1611-2, at Wrentham. Doctor Ames had helped him in his studies, and influenced him in Puritanism.

Rev. Hugh Peter had friendly correspondence with Mr. Phillips, and the following is one of his letters:—

Dearly beloved Sir,

I have received yrs., and thank you hartely for that you write concerning Mr. Ward; truly he hath done not well, making many suffer through his melancholly fits; I pray wish him to come away; we have a place or two (as I write) looke [ing] for good men, and this cuntry cannot supply [them].

Mr. Burgesse is answered, but how the bookes will come into men's hands is a question. Dr. Ames wilbe here settled the next moneth, and we shall desire both to see you. The Lord our God make us useful each to other, and both to the churches of God.

Good Sir, let us learne howe thinges goe with you the next visitation. We suppose things doe . . . The Lord in mercy doe you good in all things, in whome I am,

Yrs.,

HU. PETER

Rotterdam, 23 of June, 1633.

[Addressed:]

To the Reverend, my very worthy friend, Mr. Phillips, at Wrentham, these, &c., &c. Leave this letter with Abraham Wheeler's wife.

Mr. Phillips was a man of good learning, sound doctrine, consistent life and laborious usefulness, "a very profitable and useful preacher," and obnoxious to Matthew Wren,² by whom he "was chased out of Old into New England for his Noutconformity." He came back, nevertheless.

¹See volume I, pages 289 and 334, for grant and plan of the farm.

²Bishop Wren was uncle of Sir Christopher Wren, England's famous architect.

Dec. 3, 1641, the selectmen granted to Phineas Fiske twenty acres of land "more at the village nere the pond."

Before his final departure for England, Rev. Hugh Peter went to Wenham Lake and standing upon a conical mound¹ on its shore about half-way between the highway and the point of land projecting into the lake, preached to the people, who assembled there, from the text: John III: 23, "In Enon, near to Salim, for there was much water there." This little hillock was subsequently known as "Peter's pulpit," and it was leveled about 1850, for the site of the new ice-houses of Addison Gage & Company.

Aug. 24, 1639, the Salem church considered the matter of establishing three villages, at Danvers, Wenham and Manchester. The subject was brought up for discussion several times in subsequent church meetings.

Nov. 29, 1642, the town granted to Richard Pettingall² a ten-acre lot at Enon, to Henry Haggett³, the cow keeper at Enon, a ten-acre lot there, and to George Ingersoll twenty acres to be laid out near his other land at Enon. Pettingall and Haggett lived there for some years. Jan. 23, 1642-3, the town granted to William Sawyer twenty acres of land and two acres of meadow, all at Enon. Two days later, the town granted to John Small Robert Tuke five acres of land at the west side of the great pond, to Henry Reignolds and John Boorne five acres each at the great pond, and to William Allin, Robert Allin, Thomas West and Michael Sallowes ten acres each at the great pond. It was also ordered that Jeffry Massy should have at the great pond his twenty acres formerly granted.

Feb. 15, 1642-3, the town granted to Richard Prince, Hugh Stacy and Christopher Yonges a ten-acre lot each at Enon, providing they shall go to reside there within twelve months, to John White six acres of meadow there and to John Abby ten acres of land there, in exchange for ten acres near Bass River. Five days later, the selectmen granted to Thomas Skelling⁴ fifteen acres of

¹The town seal of Wenham preserves a view of this mound.

²Richard Pettingall married Joanna Ingersoll; lived in Wenham until he removed to Newbury, about 1650; children: 1. Richard, baptized in Salem Feb. 9, 1644-5; 2. Nathaniel, born Sept. 21, 1654, in Newbury; 3. —, born Nov. 15, 1657; 4. — (son), born Jan. 16, 1659.

³Henry Haggett was born about 1594; married Ann —, lived in Wenham; died Jan. 24, 1672-8; she survived him; children, living in 1676: 1. Henry; 2. Moses; 3. Mary; 4. Deliverance; 5. Hannah.

⁴Thomas Skelling probably lived here only a short time removing to Gloucester. His wife Deborah was born about 1623. They had two children: 1. Deborah, born Aug. 22, 1640; 2. Thomas, born Nov. —, 1643. A Thomas Skellin died at Salem Dec. 30, 1676, leaving a widow named Mary.

land at Enon. July 8, 1643, the town granted to Christopher Hersome¹ ten acres of land at Enon.

In preparation for the establishment of a village at Enon, the dividing line between Ipswich and Salem was determined by a committee of eight, four being appointed by each town. The representatives from Salem were Joseph Yongs, Roger Conant, Jeffery Massve and John Balch. The committee met and wrote their report March 27, 1643. This was allowed and recorded by the general court at its session May 10, 1643. The following is a copy of the agreement as thus recorded:—

The 27th of the First Month, 1643.

At a meeting by us whose names are underwritten, chosen by the towns of Salem & Ipswich, & having full power either towne to agree & determine of the bounds between the said townes, do in the behalfe of each towne agree & determine the same as followeth: Imprimis, wee conceive that the meeting houses of the two townes stand from each other north north east haulfe a point easterly, & south south west haulfe a point westerly; whether it bee exactly so or no, wee are fully agreed that the line betwixt the two townes shall run as followeth, vi: From the bound tree near John Fairfield's house west north west haulfe a point northerly, & east South east haulfe a point southerly, as the trees are marked both wayes from the said bound tree.

WILLI: HUBBERD,
JOHN TUTTLE,
JOSEPH YONGS,
ROGER CONANT,
JEFFERY MASSVE,
JOHN BALCH,
THOM: HOWLETT,
JOHN GAGE.

Sept. 7, 1643, the general court established the town of Wenham by the following laconic vote: "ordered that Enon shallbee called Wenham. Wenham is granted to bee a towne, & hath liberty to send a deputy."

The History of Wenham states that a little meeting house was erected in 1641, but a church was not organized until Oct. 10, 1644. John Fiske removed thither from Salem, and was its pastor until his removal to Chelmsford in 1655. An attempt to form a church early in 1644 did not succeed. In his Journal² Governor Winthrop wrote: "At Wenham there was a public assembly for gathering a church, but the magistrates and elders present, finding upon trial, that the persons appointed were not fit for foundation stones, they advised them not to pro-

¹Christopher Hersome lived in Wenham, and soon died. Widow Mary Hersome died there in 1646.
²Winthrop's Journal, volume II, page 177.

ceed, which they obeyed." Edward Johnson, in his Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour¹, wrote, in 1654, as follows: Salem "was helpful to this her little sister, nourishing her up in her own bosom, till she came of age, being beneficial to her besides, in giving her a good portion of Land; . . . is very well watered, . . . the people live altogether upon husbandry . . . yet are they no great company, they were some good space of time there before they gathered into a Church-² good, the godly and reverend Mr. John Fisk went thither with them, at first setting down as a planter among them, yet withal he became helpful in preaching the Word unto them when they were but a few in number, they afterward called him to the office of a Pastor."

The earliest town records of Wenham are practically lost. As far as town officers are concerned, William Fiske is the only one known at first. He was the first town clerk and constable. He also conducted the ordinary or public house. Joseph Batchelder was the first representative to the general court.

In preparation for the township, Samuel Smith and John Fiske, on whose land the first meeting house was probably built, each gave ten acres of their land to the new town that it might be divided into house lots, on which the new settlers could build and live, constituting a little hamlet, the center of which was where the public buildings now stand. The land was divided apparently into two-acre lots. The first of the town records is devoted to this. It reads as follows:—

The 2 day of ye first month 1642.

There is given unto Wenham Twenty acres of ground being laid out of eyther side of y^e meeting house. Ten acres given by M^r Smith out of his farme & laid out by him beginning wth the bounds at y^e vpper end of Phinehas Fiske Lott & soe to y^e swampe; & the other Ten acres given by M^r John Fiske being laid out joyneing to it on y^e other s^t of y^e meeting house:

It is ordered & Agreed vpon at this o^r meetinge y^t such as haue any ground granted of that w^{ch} is given to y^e Towne w^{ch} lyes about y^e meetinge house, such shall Come & line vpon it themselves, & if not to lay it downe to y^e plantation, & if any shall build vpon it &c. & after remoue themselves & make sale of the same it is ordered that the Plantation shall haue the first piare & giue there Answer in a short time before they make sale of it to any other.

12 Day of y^e 3^{mo}; 1643.

There is graunted Two Acres of Ground by y^e Meeting house to M^r Hubbard for y^e easment of his family vpon y^e Conditions specified in y^e former Order.

¹Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour, page 189.

mission of several misdemeanors.¹ James Thomas, servant to Daniel Ray was also ordered to be severely whipped for stubbornness and disobedience to his master.

On the same day, the wife of Thomas Trusler, was fined twenty marks for saying that their teacher taught the people lies, and that Mr. Norrice and Mr. Endecott were the foundation of their church and they were unfaithful.

At a town meeting, Sept. 30, 1644, it was agreed that Richard Temple, the tailor, Henry Harwood, widow Moore, the midwife, and John Jackson should have, each of them, so much of the wet marsh or swamp as lies before their ground according as it butts upon it. It was also agreed that William Robinson should have about a quarter of an acre of ground that lies before his house, which was then being built, down to the mill brook, a little above the bridge that "leads to the way to Mr. Gardner's new building." At the same meeting, it was ordered that the highway from Francis Lawes' ten-acre lot be laid out most conveniently for him. It was also ordered that Rev. Mr. Norris be sufficiently supplied with wood, according to the custom; and that Thomas Gardner should set up a fence from the end of the bridge, called Mr. Read's, down to the fence at the mill.

Thomas Abree lived in Salem from 1644 to 1647, and Edward Nicholson² was living in Marblehead as early as 1644.

Jan. 13, 1644-5, the seven men granted to Thomas Tuck four or five poles of ground. Thomas Edwards desired a farm, and a few weeks later he was granted sixty acres of land near Mr. Ruck's farm, "beyond Goodman Putnam's."

John Bartlett of Marblehead was presented to the Salem court, July 9, 1645, for stealing ropes, iron bolts and blocks from Richard Hollinworth, and for defaming certain of his women neighbors. He went to Newbury immediately afterward, apparently.

Richard Andrews of London with other merchants had a trading agreement with various men at New Plymouth, to which Isaac Allerton was a party, for some fifteen years. The business

¹ July 3, 1646, Govis was ordered by the court, for purloining corn of his master, to make double restitution and serve him eight weeks longer. July 6, 1647, he was presented for taking tobacco abroad contrary to order. Nov. 15, 1648, for stealing wood of John Bridgman and for unclean speeches and practices, he was sent to the Boston jail for further trial in Boston. No more is heard of him.

² Edward Nicholson died in the autumn of 1660, and his widow married, secondly, _____ Brown before 1673. Mr. Nicholson's children were: 1. Christopher; living in 1661; 2. Joseph, born about 1641; living in 1673; 3. Samuel; living in 1674; 4. John; living in 1665; 5. Thomas, born about 1654; living in 1669; 6. Elizabeth.

yielded no profit for several reasons. In 1642, it was discontinued, and Mr. Andrews agreed to settle for five hundred pounds and some items amounting to five hundred and forty-four pounds in all. This was to be collected for him by Governor Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay Colony; and Mr. Andrews gave the money to the Bay Colony. It was payable one-third at once, and the residue in four annual instalments. Sept. 8, 1642, the general court thanked Mr. Andrews and his London associates "for their kindness." Oct. 13, 1642, the general court chose a committee of three to go to New Plymouth to settle Mr. Andrews' claims; and they returned with certain bonds, notes, etc. A committee was appointed to distribute this money as it was received. Only about one-half was collected, and this was divided among the towns in the colony. Nov. 13, 1644, ten pounds or two cows were allowed to Salem. The following March, the seven men voted "that Robert Cotta should have the first five pound given by Mr. Andrews of London to be laid out in a cow or heifer, and this was so disposed of with the consent of the elders of Salem."

Oct. 29, 1645, at a meeting of the elders and townsmen, "they considered that the poorest man or at least he that most was in want was John Batchelor and therefore they have disposed of the second cow unto him." No more is heard of this fund; and probably no more money was collected. July 3, 1645, "By order of the general court, upon advice with the elders a general fast was kept. The occasions were the miseries of England, and our own differences in the general court, and also for the great drought. In this latter the Lord prevented our prayers in sending us rain soon after, and before the day of humiliation came."

Sheep were scarce in Salem in the first settlement; and in the records of a town meeting, Sept. 22, 1645, it is stated that "divers have underwritten for sheep at forty a head."

At the same meeting, Thomas Lothrop and John Neale were appointed to procure wood for "our teacher"; and John Kitchen and Thomas Spooner "for our elder Mr. Sharpe."

Oct. 1, 1645, the general court authorized Richard Saltonstall, Esq., Mr. Simon Bradstreet, Mr. Samuel Symonds, Mr. Richard Dumer, Mr. William Hubbard, Capt. William Hathorne and Mr. William Paine, as a free company of adventurers, for twenty years, to establish a trading house, which was to be not less than fifty miles from any English plantation, and any man was allowed to join the company within twelve months if he was of this jurisdiction. No one was allowed to set up another trading house within twenty miles of theirs.

³ Winthrop's Journal, volume II, page 215.

struction of the new bridge eight pounds and four shillings, for which he gave the town a bull and a cow, which the town could sell unless he paid in some other way.

Oct. 26, 1646, the town agreed "that Thomas Wheeler¹ shall work at the bridge work which he is contented to do, and he is to have two shillings and sixpence a day till the bridge work be

Demas together

ended if he work so long. But the said Thomas Wheeler doth bind himself to work there ten days together if weather will permit and to begin upon the sixth day of this week: and is to be paid in corn or cattle at the merchants' price."

Dec. 10, 1661, the Salem court "ordered that the bridge or causeway at the western end of the town of Salem be sufficiently repaired and a stone wall built against the side at the county's charge."

The bridge and causeway were improved in 1663 by the town, under a vote of Jan. 13, 1662-3, by which the town agreed with William Flint and John Neale to repair the bridge by making "a sufficient wall of stone on the east side of the bridge by thick at the bottom and twenty inches at the top and the foundation of it to be laid one foot within the ground and in height it is to be as high as the highest bank of the bridge and in height it whole bridge level with sand and on the top of it to lay good hard gravel three or four inches thick all over the whole bridge and to cover the wall with good turf of English grass from end to end for the which work being sufficiently performed they are to be paid twenty pounds." The county treasurer paid this twenty pounds to the town. The bridge was not entirely finished in 1666.

At a town meeting, Nov. 29, 1642, John Pickering was granted four poles of ground near his house; Goodman Lawes sixteen poles of marsh by the water next to his ten-acre lot; Lieutenant Davenport and Thomas Lathrop eighty acres of land which was formerly given to Richard Waterman, who deserted it; Alexander Field twenty-five acres of land which was formerly granted to Thomas Lathrop, who resigned it to said Alexander Field in lieu of the former grant of forty acres. The town sold to Henry Skery an acre of land that was Nicholas Draper's for

¹Thomas Wheeler was born about 1605; had wife Mary in 1663; removed to Lynn in 1649; was living there, a miller, April 1, 1653, when he bought the windmill then standing in Salem; and was apparently of Stonington in 1680. Perhaps the two Wheeler children, who were baptized in Salem in 1648, Isaac and Zipporah, were his.

twelve shillings. It was ordered that a highway be laid out through Daniel Ray's lot and he was given the old way before, over in the ten-acre lots in the North field.

John Bulfinch¹

lived in Salem in 1640 and as late as 1643.

He returned to England, and died at Chatham, in Kent, in 1679.

Richard Cooke lived in Marblehead in 1640, at the age of thirty, and as late as 1645². John Hart³ came to Marblehead as early as 1637, and died there in 1655. Robert Elwell⁴ came to Dorchester in 1634 and to Marblehead in 1640. He removed to Gloucester in 1642.

¹John Bulfinch's daughter, widow Katherine Bell, was of Charlestown in 1680. In 1642, there was a Goody Bulfinch here.

²Richard Cooke had a wife in 1644, and lived in Boston in 1650.

³John Hart³ had wives Mary and Florence, and the latter survived him; children: 1. John¹; lost at sea in 1673; 2. Jonathan²; 3. Elizabeth³; married Edward Flint; 4. Sarah⁴; married Jeremiah Neale; 5. Deborah⁵; married Joseph Morgan of Beverly; 6. Florence.

⁴JONATHAN HART⁴; lived in Salem; married Lydia Neale Nov. 1671; they were living in 1682; children: 1. Lydia¹, born Jan. 5, 1671-2; married Nehemiah Stone; 2. Jonathan²; born April 14, 1673; 3. John³, born June 6, 1675; 4. Sarah⁴; married Joseph Balch of Beverly.

⁵JONATHAN HART⁵; seaman; married Sarah Maule Jan. 24, 1705; died in 1720; she died in 1732; children: 1. Lydia¹, born Sept. 22, 1706; married William Browne Dec. 5, 1727; 2. Peletiah², born Sept. 10, 1708; 3. Jonathan³, born April 18, 1711; mariner; lived in Beverly; married, first, Rebecca Massy Dec. 20, 1733; second, widow Abigail (Anne) (Baker) Oyer of Beverly Nov. 12, 1741; was living in 1744; she died in Beverly Dec. 6, 1768; 4. Sarah⁴, born Aug. 31, 1713; married John Webber of Marblehead Jan. 8, 1733; 5. Margaret⁵, born Oct. 13, 1717; married Clement English.

See volume I, page 440.

¹ROBERT ELWELL¹; married, first, Joan —; she died March 31, 1675; married, second, Alice, widow of Robert Leach of Manchester May 29, 1676; he died May 18, 1683; had children, baptized in Salem as follows: 1. Samuel¹, born in Dorchester about 1636; married Esther Dutch; lived in Gloucester; died about 1697; she died Sept. 6, 1721; had children; 2. baptized Aug. 28, 1639; died at age of six months; 3. —; baptized Feb. 27, 1641; married Mehtable —; lived in Gloucester; had children; 6. Josiah⁶; married Mehtable —; lived in Gloucester; Sara⁷, born April 20, 1651; married John Webber of Marblehead; Thomas⁸, born Nov. 23, 1654; 11. Jacob⁹, born June 18, 1657; 12. Richard¹⁰, baptized April 11, 1658; 13. Mary¹¹.

¹²JOHN ELWELL¹²; fisherman; removed to Gloucester about 1673; married Jane Durin Oct. 1, 1667; she was living in 1688; he died in captivity among the Indians Feb. —, 1710; children: 1. John¹, born Oct. 14, 1668; Robinson²; second, Mary Joslyn, Jan. 7, 1709; had children; 2. Jane³, born Jan. 23, 1671-2; in Salem; 3. Susanna⁴ (twin), born April 24, 1678, in Gloucester; 4. Samuel⁵ (twin), born April 24, 1678; 5. Mary⁶, born Feb. 9, 1680-1; 6. Christian⁷, born May 16, 1683; 7. Penelope⁸, born Aug. 6, 1688.

Essex County was made up of eight towns. The accompanying map shows the territory of each town.¹ Salem was made the shire town of Essex County by vote of the general court Nov. 13, 1644; and it has occupied that position ever since.

Dec. 4, 1643, the town appointed a committee to find a room and set up a forge for William Place, the gunsmith.

At the meeting of the seven men, Dec. 11, 1643, John Hardy desired a ten-acre lot about Bass River for his son Joseph, and he was granted ten acres near Mr. Alford's farm, adjoining the old planters' farms. John Jarrett² was received as an inhabitant, and the next month was granted a ten acre lot, formerly Estras Reed's adjoining Ryall Side, which was returned to the town April 15, 1644. Two acres of meadow formerly granted to Samuel Edson was ordered to be laid out in the pine meadow near Mr. Kenniston's farm. There was granted to Thomas Moore five acres of land on Darby's side; and Samuel Corney was ordered to have the five acres of land formerly granted to him laid out on Darby's fort side. John Kitchen was granted about an acre of land near Edward Gaskill's ten-acre lot at the Great Cove. Mark Lohrop was received as an inhabitant, and he requested some ground near his kinsman Thomas Lohrop; and the latter desired some meadow. Roger Haskell was granted six acres in the great meadow.

Zaccheus Curtis¹ appeared in Salem as early as 1643; removed to Reading about 1655; went to Gloucester in 1658; and returned to Salem the next year. From Salem he removed to

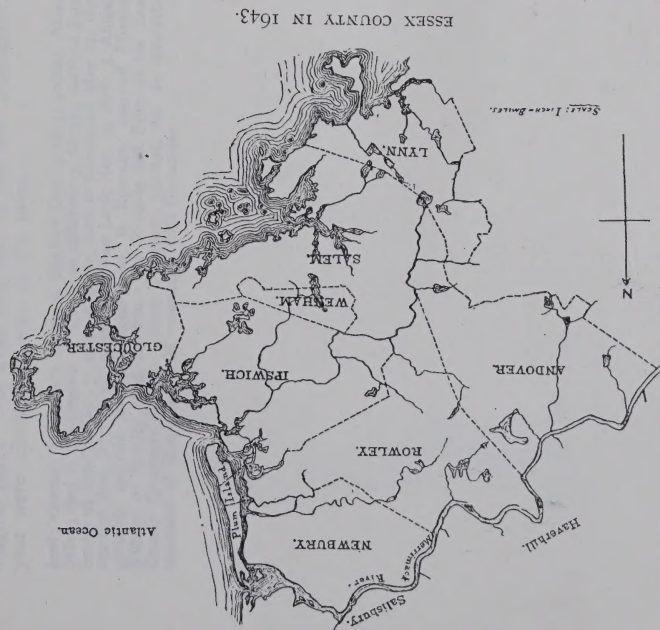
born in 1815; died, unmarried, Oct. 22, 1897; 2. Mary G.¹ born about 1822; died, unmarried, in Danvers Sept. 15, 1846; 3. Dorcas C.¹ born April 7, 1824; died, unmarried, Feb. 10, 1912; 4. Lucy H.¹ born Oct. 28, 1829; died, unmarried, Dec. 31, 1912; 5. William¹ born May 25, 1839; fruit dealer; died, unmarried, May 2, 1897. AARON NOURSE²; married Harriet Matilda Kimball Aug. 26, 1840; she died June 29, 1899; died Aug. 2, 1902; children: 1. Elizabeth Prince¹ born Nov. 11, 1842; died, unmarried, Sept. 10, 1920; 2. Catherine Elizabeth Ellison¹ born March 4, 1847; 3. Cynthia B.¹ born June 28, 1850; married William P. Upland Dec. 1, 1880; 4. Henry Prince¹, born Feb. 22, 1862.

HENRY PRINCE NOURSE¹; letter carrier; married Edith H. Scott Dec. 28, 1900; children: 1. Dorothy K.¹ born June 1, 1901; 2. Harriet S.¹ born Jan. 8, 1903; 3. Elizabeth F. P.¹ born Jan. 1, 1905; 4. Harrie K.¹ born March 11, 1908; died May 23, 1908; 5. Vesta S.¹ born Jan. 3, 1911; 6. ——— (twin), born April 27, 1917; died April 28, 1917; 7. ——— (twin), born April 27, 1917; died May 3, 1917.

That part of Lynn which was set off to Reading is not included in the map. The towns between Merrimac and Piscataqua rivers constituted Norfolk County.

¹He probably came from Rowley, and returned after a few months.

²Zaccheus Curtis; planter; married Joanna ———, died in 1682; she survived him; children: 1. John; lived in Boxford and Topsfield; married Mary Look Dec. 4, 1672; died in the spring of 1718; she died in Topsfield. Aug. 23, 1745, aged ninety-seven; had children; 2. Zaccheus; lived in Box-



ESSEX COUNTY IN 1643.

Rowley Village (Boxford) in 1663. Savage says that he came from Downton, Wiltshire, England, in the Jaunces, sailing from Southampton in 1635. He was born about 1619. He brought his wife and children to Salem, and from thence went to Boxford.

From this time on, the town grew very slowly from English immigration, as the war was on, and ships were stopped leaving English ports. Not more than one or two new inhabitants a year were admitted by vote of the town.

ford; married, first, Mary Blake of Boxford Dec. 4, 1673; second, Abigail Stiles; died in the summer of 1712; had children: 3. Sarah; married James Scales of Rowley Nov. 7, 1677; 4. Mary, born in Gloucester May 12, 1659; married, first, John Herd; second, Jonathan Look Nov. 19, 1678; 5. Abigail; probably married James Mackearwith; 6. Ephraim; married Elizabeth Kilburn of Rowley; had children. See Records and Files of the Essex County Quarterly Courts, volume II, pages 131-134, for an interesting statement of Zaccheus Curtis' connection with Gloucester.

Nov. 5, 1656, was appointed by the general court as a day of thanksgiving for plenty and abundance of the blessings of the earth, supply of the churches with officers beyond expectation, etc. The frequency of fasts and thanksgivings indicate a nearness to and consciousness of the dependency of the early settlers upon God and of his interest in their welfare.

Nov. 27, 1656, the selectmen ordered that Simon Bradstreet should have fifty acres of upland in consideration of ten acres of meadow which should have been laid out with the one hundred acres formerly granted to John Stratton as conveniently as may be for Serg. John Porter.

The next day, the Salem court heard the case of William Lord, jr., for beating James Abbot,¹ servant of Edmond Batter. Lt. Thomas Lawthrop was granted by the selectmen, Jan. 16, 1656-7, six acres of upland about the Longham; and there was formerly granted to Samuel Corning twenty acres of upland near the land of John Harding, sr.,² deceased.

The selectmen, April 23, 1657, agreed with Samuel Archard and Nathaniel Pickman to make the stocks sufficient and "set up" the whipping post. At this period, the constable was paid two shillings and six pence for each person he whipped. Nov. 16, 1667, constables were released from whipping, and the town agreed to hire a whipper.

Richard Sibley,³ a traymaker, lived in Salem as early as 1657.

James Abbott came from Winceanton, England, about 1642.

"John Harding" was John Hardy, who died in 1652.

¹RICHARD SIMLEY⁴ married Hannah —; died in 1676; she was his widow in 1700; children: 1. Samuel⁵, born March 10, 1658-9; 2. Hannah⁶, born Sept. 20, 1661; married William Beckett; 3. Sarah⁷, born Dec. 20, 1663; living in 1676; 4. Damaris⁸, born Aug. 26, 1666; living in 1676; 5. John⁹, born first, died in April, 1669; 6. Mary¹⁰, born Jan. 25, 1671-2; living in 1676; 7. Elizabeth¹¹, living in 1676.

SAMUEL SIBLEY¹², house carpenter and shingler, married Sarah Wells Sept. 13, 1665; killed by the Indians at Haverhill Aug. 20, 1708; she married, secondly, John Sawyer (published Nov. 25, 1710); children: 1. Hannah¹³, born May 17, 1666; married Batt Moulton of Amesbury Dec. 1, 1712; 2. Richard¹⁴, born Jan. 1, 1668; 3. Sarah¹⁵, born March 27, 1669; married Edward Emery of Newbury, Dec. 19, 1719; 4. Jonathan¹⁶, born Nov. 25, 1701; joined; lived in Amesbury and Newbury, married Hannah Goodridge Nov. 27, 1730; had children: 5. Samuel¹⁷, born July —, 1704; 6. Samuel¹⁸, born May 5, 1705; John Simley¹⁹, husbandman, cordwainer and weaver, lived in Salem Village; married Elizabeth Peale July 4, 1695; they were living in 1722; children: 1. Elizabeth²⁰, born Oct. 3, 1696; died in 1698; 2. Elizabeth²¹, born April 13, 1699; 3. Hannah²² (twin), born March



WHIPPING POST

May 11, 1657, the selectmen granted to Thomas Robbins the thirty acres of land granted to his predecessor Thomas West, to be bounded between Elias Mason's forty acres and Osborne Trask's thirty acres near Rise Edwards' land. Also, the selectmen delivered to constables Jeffrie Massey and Henry Skerry "the three barrels of town powder which lately stood in the little house over the deacons' cellar."

June 8, 1657, the selectmen ordered that John Porter and Thomas Putnam forthwith repair a highway, now Pine Street, leading from John Endecott's farm to Goodnan Hinchisson's house; and it was agreed that the way through Daniel Ray's ten-acre lot in the North neck should be exactly bounded by Jeffrie Massey and Francis Skerry before the last of the month. It was, also, agreed that John Porter, Jacob Barney and Jeffrie Massey should determine the differences between William King, John Batchellor, Nicholas Heaward and others and Ensign Dixey, Josiah Roots and Samuel Corning concerning a driftway from the head of Bass River into Royall's neck. This way is probably the ancient way from Balch Street, through Rial Side, to Stoney or Aunt Betty's Cove.

Thomas West was found by the Ipswich court, March 31, 1657, to have committed two burglaries, one on the Lord's day, and that he also stole five bushels of malt, one bushel of wheat, a pistol and some tobacco pipes. He was sentenced to be whipped and pay treble price of the stolen goods. He appealed to the general court, which referred the case to the next session of the Salem court, July 1, 1657. The local court, it being "his first offence," ordered that he be branded in the forehead with the letter B and have one of his ears cut off.

Alexander Seers²³ lived in Salem as early as 1657.

At this time, Edmond Batter was the county treasurer.

14, 1701; died March 21, 1701; 4. Mary²⁴ (twin), born March 14, 1701; died March 21, 1701; 5. Mary²⁵, born Aug. 25, 1702; 6. John²⁶, born Dec. 1, 1704. SAMUEL SIMLEY²⁷, cordwainer and merchant, lived in Newbury from about 1735 to 1738; married Meribah Bartlett of Exeter, N. H., in 1739; died in 1749; children: 1. Samuel²⁸; 2. John²⁹; 3. Nathaniel³⁰; 4. William³¹; of Exeter in 1761; 5. Sarah³²; married Somerby Gilman of Exeter; 6. Susanna³³; of Exeter in 1763; 7. Littlefield, baptized May 6, 1739, in Salem; married, Sarah Lambert Aug. 19, 1765; 8. Hannah³⁴, baptized April 19, 1741; lived here in 1763; 9. Eunice³⁵ (twin), baptized Oct. 7, 1744; 6. Priscilla³⁶ (twin), baptized Oct. 7, 1744; 11. Mary³⁷, baptized Sept. 6, 1747; spinster, of Salem, in 1770.

Alexander Seers married Mary —; died in the spring of 1667; she married, secondly, Stephen Searls the same year; children: 1. Robert, born Aug. 6, 1657; living in 1667; 2. Mary, born Feb. 22, 1659-60; died Nov. 23, 1662; 3. Abigail; died Jan. 16, 1662-3; 4. Alexander, born May 25, 1664; living in 1667.

Sept. 14, 1657, the selectmen ordered for the settling a highway between Salem and Reading that John Porter and Nathaniel Putnam meet with inhabitants of Reading.

June 20, 1657, the town received James Rising¹ as an inhabitant; and granted to Thomas Hale,² for his trade of a Glover, a small portion of ground, not exceeding two and a half rolls square. This land was at the northerly end of Washington Street. Mr. Hale emigrated from England to Boston in 1637, and settled in Newbury. He came to Salem in 1657 and returned to Newbury in 1661.

The road to Topsfield from what is now Danvers Square was laid out in 1657. It followed Maple Street to Locust Street and thence to Topsfield, practically as Locust Street now runs. The return of the Salem and Topsfield committees to the Salem quarterly court is as follows:—

the 22 . 8 . 57

We hose names ar under written beinge appointed by the too Townes to lay out a cuntry way be twine the too Townes Salem & Topsfield we began vpon John Porters farme according as the trees ar marked and so alonge vpon Daniell Rayes farme too pole brod and so thoroh the woods to a farme of John Porters wich was formerly m^r Kenistones and so thoroh the woods to a farme of John Porters wich was formerly m^r Downings and so thoroh the woods to the Rever against Gudman Townes house and this we have don according to our best descretion

JOHN PORTER
WILLIAM DODGE
THOMAS BORMAN
FRANCES PARODY

This was allowed of by the court (as it is layd out) held at Salem 29th of June 1658

ROBERT LORD cleric

Nov. 9, 1657, the selectmen ordered that the difference between John Porter and John Pitnam about a highway over Mr.

¹James Rising came from Boston; married Elizabeth Hinsdale July 7, 1657; and removed to Windsor, Conn., after 1662. He died there in 1669.
²Serg. Thomas Hale married Thomasine ———; died in Newbury Dec. 21, 1682; she died Jan. 30, 1683; children: 1. Thomas, born Nov. 18, 1633; married Mary Hutchinson May 26, 1657; lived in Newbury; had children: 2. John, born April 19, 1635; carpenter; married, first, Rebecca Lowell Dec. 5, 1660; she died June 1, 1662; married, second, Sarah Symonds Dec. 8, 1663; she died June 19, 1672; married, third, Sarah Symonds of Ipswich; she died Jan. 19, 1698-9; he died June 2, 1707; had children: 3. Samuel, born in Newbury Feb. 2, 1639-40; removed to Woodbridge, N. J.; married, first, Lydia Musgrave March 19, 1660; second, Sarah Halsey of there Nov. 5, 1709; had children: 4. Apphia, born in 1642; married Benjamin Rolfe Nov. 3, 1659.

See Old Newbury, by James J. Currier, page 85.

Sharp's hill be determined by Captain Trask; and that Francis Skerie forthwith remove his fence that is near John Luff's to the enlargement of the country way one pole into his ground.

The town voted, Nov. 18, 1657, "that ould goodie Neves," a widow, should have relief from the town. Dec. 14th she was allowed five pounds.

Sept. 14, 1657, the selectmen ordered that Jacob Barney and Jeffery Massey view a highway to the mill and meeting house, and hear William King and others of his neighbors and Roger Haskell, who disagreed as to its course, and report to the selectmen.

Nov. 20, 1657, the selectmen ordered that the way from the meeting house on Cape Ann Side to Lawrence Leach his mill shall be directly in the Country way to Edmund Grovers and from thence to the way lying betwixt the said Grover's land and of Osman Traske and so forward through the land of Henry Hericke." It was also ordered that, "as some of the neighbors on Cape ann syde" desire a way from the meeting house to the mill through the proprietries of Roger Haskell and others, their desires were granted, provided they first paid to the owners of the land over which it goes full satisfaction, the way not to exceed four rods wide, and to be made and maintained by those that make use of it. Two men to be chosen by the selectmen were to appoint the way.

William Sergeant had lately removed himself and family to Salem, "under pretence of some work he had undertaken to do, and was not approved of by the selectmen as an inhabitant. Jan. 11, 1657-8. Henry Herrick promised that they and their children should not become chargeable to the town.

Feb. 8, 1657-8, the selectmen granted to Robert Lemon, in consideration of a country way laid out through his five-acre lot and a foot path through it, thirty acres of land at Cape Ann Side next the sea, near that which was William Bahe's lot.

The town, Feb. 17, 1657-8, ordered that Mrs. Sharpe should have ten pounds for her relief for the year ensuing.

At a town meeting, March 8, 1657-8, it was voted that John Gedney should "have the lane that is between his fields in the Neck as one goes down towards Ipswich, paying to the town forty shillings, provided there be a foot way through those fields." At the same meeting, upon the request of James Patch, about the exchange of some land on Cape Ann Side, Mr. Conant and Samuel Corning were appointed to view it. It was also ordered that these men lay out Ensign Dixie's land on Cape Ann Side.

March 22, 1657-8, the selectmen requested John Gardner, William Flint and Henry Skerry to join with Lynn men to perambulate their line, beginning at the sea and so to the great pond

11, 1673-4, which was decided in favor of the town;¹ and the other, June 11, 1675, was against John Upton² who lived on the line of the parish, in West Peabody.

The accompanying plan shows the territory which constituted the parish limits. This included the Bellingham and Denison grants, which are now wholly within the town of Middleton. Besides the families named on the map, Thomas Small and Benjamin Woodrow lived just easterly of Log bridge. There were two or three families living in Rowley Village (Boxford), and attended religious meetings here. Philip Knight and one or two other families lived over the line in Topsfield, and attended church here.

A church was not intended to be organized in the Village at this time, as the Salem church was reluctant to part with any more of her members.

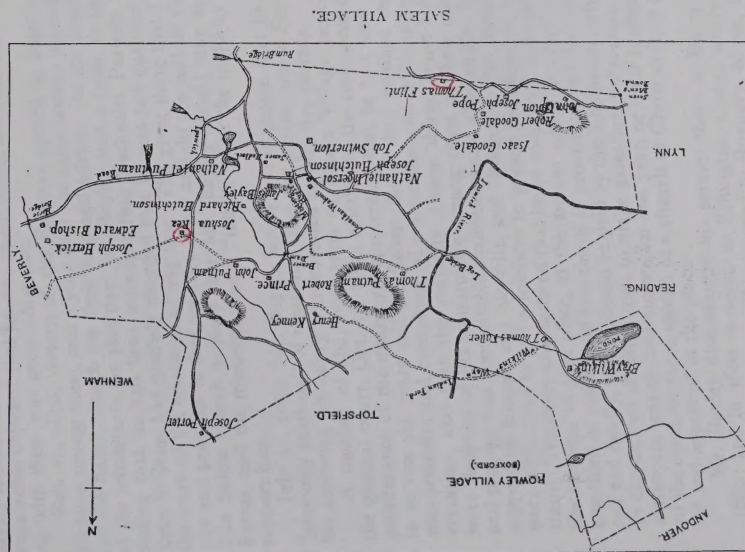
The first meeting of the Farmers after obtaining the act of the general court was held Nov. 11, 1672, when Lt. Thomas Putnam, Thomas Fuller, sr., Joseph Porter, Thomas Flint and Joshua Rea were chosen to conduct their affairs and to levy necessary taxes. It was also voted to raise by taxation the salary of their minister, namely forty pounds and wood, or seven pounds more without the wood.

The preacher was Rev. James Bayley,³ son of John and Eleanor (Emery) Bayley of Newbury, where he was born Sept. 12, 1650. James Bayley graduated from Harvard College in 1669; and came to Salem Village to preach when only twenty-two. The parish

voted to build a house for him to live in, but they did not do so, and in 1673 he erected a house for himself upon land of Richard Hutchinson. This house stood on the northerly side of Hobart

¹Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, volume V, pages 271-275. Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, volume VI, pages 45 and 46.

²Rev. James Bayley removed to Killingly, Conn., in 1682, and, in 1692, to Roxbury, Mass., where he became a physician; married, first, Mary Carr of Salisbury Sept. 17, 1672; she died in Killingly Oct. 28, 1688; married, second, Mary, he died at Roxbury June 18, 1707; she died Oct. 23, 1717; children: Mary, born July 6, 1673, in Newbury; died Aug. 10, 1673; James, born April 12, 1675, in Salem; died Dec. 20, 1677; John, born May 10, 1678, in Salem; physician; lived in Killingly and Roxbury; Samuel, born March 2, 1679-80, in Salem; Isaac, born Oct. 2, 1681, in Newbury; H. C., died in 1701; lived in Stonington and Lebanon, Conn.; Sarah, born Sept. 3, 1683; died in 1683; Joshua, born in 1685; physician in Newbury and Haverhill. See The Essex Antiquarian, volume V, page 123.



SALEM VILLAGE.

Street, some distance from the road, and easterly of the burial place.¹

At a public meeting, June 23, 1673, it was voted that Mr. Bayley should continue in the work of the ministry in the Village; while some objected that he was never called, and that his standing with them was upon sufferance.

Feb. 16, 1678, sixteen of the Farmers agreed to support a minister among them, and a year later the same sixteen agreed to ask the Salem church for their help and advice. At the meeting of the inhabitants, on that day, Mr. Bayley sent a letter to them, stating that he had been informed that Nathaniel Putnam and Bray Wilkins had publicly charged that he was not qualified for the work of the ministry, adding that "The great thing that I desire and pray for is that we may know and do the will of God." The Salem church advised that Mr. Bayley should stay at the Farms, and the minority should "fall in" with the majority and support him.

July 31, 1679, Mr. Bayley wrote to the people that he was "seriously thinking" of removing from the parish; and in September following his salary was increased to fifty-five pounds.

A number of the inhabitants of Salem Village petitioned the general court, Oct. 15, 1679, relative to the continuance and maintenance of the minister, representing that he had been there in service six years and the Salem church had certified that he was orthodox and competent, of a blameless and selfdenying conversation, and that the majority (some thirty house-holders) were desirous of his continuance among them as their minister, and praying that comfortable maintenance be allowed him for the support of himself and his wife and children. The inhabitants were authorized to call a minister to preach the Word of God to them. The court also ordered that he be continued, and settled as the minister of that place, at the annual salary of sixty pounds, one-third in money and two-thirds in provisions and fuel for himself and family, which should be paid by the inhabitants, who were to choose two or three men to make assessment therefore. This settlement was to continuance for one year, or until further order of the court, or there should be a church of Christ orderly gathered and approved in the place.

Mr. Bayley discontinued his service there in the spring of 1680; and in 1682 removed to Killington, Conn., where he remained for ten years. He removed to Roxbury, Mass., in 1692, and became a physician. He died at Roxbury June 18, 1707, at the age of fifty-six. During his service in Salem Village, a great

¹See, Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, volume 54, pages 225 and 233.

lack of unity constantly caused trouble, yet he remained for seven years and performed faithful service. The uncertainty of his position there was undoubtedly the occasion of many of the disagreements. There were about fifty householders and only about eleven or twelve members of the Salem church. Criticism of his ability on the part of some and lack of support by others were common.

Dec. 26, 1672, the Farmers voted to build a meeting house thirty-four feet long, twenty-eight feet wide and sixteen feet between joints. The building committee consisted of the above committee and Nathaniel Putnam, Henry Kenny, Joseph Hutchinson and Nathaniel Ingersoll. The money to pay for it was to be raised by taxation.

Nathaniel Ingersoll conducted a tavern on the northeasterly side of what is now Center Street, about midway between Hobart and Ingersoll streets; and he was authorized by the selectmen of the town to sell beer and cider by the quart while the Farmers were building their meeting house and on Lord's days afterwards. This he continued to do until 1681.

In 1684, the meeting house was incomplete, as it was then voted that it "shall be filled and daubed where it wants below the beams and plates and that six casements shall be hung in the meeting house and that there be a canopy set over the pulpit." Galleries were added a little later. The meeting house was built on the northerly side of Hobart Street about one hundred and fifty feet easterly of Forest Street, on land of Joseph Hutchinson who conveyed an acre of it to the "inhabitants of the Farms," "for the meeting house and ministry amongst them."

After Mr. Bayley had ceased to be the pastor, the parish voted, Feb. —, 1680-1, to build a parsonage house forty-two feet long, twenty feet wide and thirteen feet stud, with four chimneys and no gable ends, and that a rate of two hundred and twenty-one pounds, nine shillings and six pence should be made to meet the expense. It was completed within about a year.

The Salem court ordered, June 26, 1677, that the town of Salem should choose a committee to order highways for the convenience of the Farmers or Villagers.

The general court had directed that although there was no church, two men should be chosen each year to act as deacons, especially to collect money and settle with the minister. The first deacons, Lt. John Putnam and Nathaniel Ingersoll, were chosen in December, 1679. The next year, they were Lt. Thomas Putnam and Serg. Jonathan Walcott. In 1683, Nathaniel Ingersoll was elected in place of Walcott, and, in 1686, Walcott was elected in place of Thomas Putnam.

Mr. Bayley's successor was Rev. George Burroughs, who came to the Village to preach in November, 1680. It was voted to give him a salary of sixty pounds a year. He graduated from Harvard College in 1679; and after preaching in Casco (now Portland), Maine, awhile he came to Salem Village. His wife died in 1681, but he had received but little, if any, of his salary, and had no money to pay her funeral expenses. The next year, too dispiriting to him in his loneliness. He returned to Maine early in 1683. He was there in 1690, when the Indian raid occurred, and went to Wells, where he preached a year. He was a small, black-haired man, with a dark complexion and possessed of quick passions and great strength.

Daniel Epps, the Salem schoolmaster, preached there between Burroughs and Lawson, the next minister, for many weeks.

Rev. Deodat Lawson of Boston succeeded Mr. Burroughs in the Village in the winter of 1683-4. He had been thoughtful of going there since the preceding May. His salary was sixty pounds. He left in 1688. The old factions continued with increasing bitterness among young and old.

Then came Rev. Samuel Parris, who was ordained Nov. 19, 1689, the day of the organization of the church and of his induction as its pastor. He was born in London, and was then thirty-five. He had attended Harvard College, but did not graduate. He was then a merchant in the West Indies and in Boston. He was a year in coming,—a year in bargaining.

The following is a copy of the covenant of the church, which was adopted at its establishment:—

We whose names (tho unworthy of a name in this church) are hereunto subscribed, Lamenting our own great unfitness for such an Awful and solemn approach unto the Holy God and deploring all the miscarriages committed by us, either in the Days of our unregency or since we have been brought into acquaintance with God, in the communion of his churches which we have heretofore been related unto: And yet apprehending ourselves called by the Most High to serve the Lord Jesus Christ and Edifie one another according to the Rules of his holy word, Being persuaded in matters of Faith according to the Confession of Faith owned and consented unto by the Elders and Messengers of the churches assembled at Boston in New-England, May—12—1680 which for the substance of it, we now own and profess

We, do, in some measure of sincerity, this day give up our selves unto God in Christ, to be for him and for another, at the same time renouncing all the vanities and Idols of this present evil world.

We give up ourselves, and offspring, unto the Lord Jehovah, the one true and living God, in three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy

Ghost. To God the Father of our Lord Christ, as to our Reconciled God and Father in Christ Jesus; and unto Christ Jesus as our King, Priest and Prophet, and only Mediator: And unto the Holy Ghost as our only Sanctifier and Comforter: As to our Best good and Last End: promising, (with divine help) to live unto, and upon, this one God in three Persons: hoping at length to live forever with him.

We do likewise give up ourselves one unto another in the Lord, engaging, (with divine aid) as a church of God to Submit to the order, Discipline and Government of Christ in this his church, and to the Ministerial teaching, guidance, and oversight of the Elder (or Elders) thereof, as to such as watch for our Souls: And also to a mutual brotherly watchfulness according to Gospel Rules, so long as by such Rules we shall continue in this Relation to each other: And promise also to walk with all regular and due communion with other churches of our Lord Jesus, and in all cheerful endeavor to support and observe the pure Gospel institutions of our Lord Redeemer so far as He shall graciously reveal unto us his will concerning them.

In order hereunto:

We resolve uprightly to study what is our duty, & to make it our grief, & reckon it our shame, whereinsoever we find our selves to come short in the discharge of it, & for pardon thereof humbly to betake our selves to the Blood of the Everlasting Covenant.

And that we keep this Covenant, & all the branches of it inviolable for ever, being sensible that we can do nothing of our selves,

We humbly implore the help & grace of our Mediator may be sufficient for us: Beseeching that whilst we are working out our own Salvation, with fear & trembling, He would graciously work in us both to will, & to do. And that he being the Great Shepherd of our Souls would lead us into the paths of Righteousness, for his own Names sake. And at length receive us all into the Inheritance of the Saints in Light.

1. Samuel Parris, Pastor.	The women which embodied with us by their several Names as followeth Viz.
2. Nathaniel Putnam	1. Eliz: (wife to Sam:) Parris
3. John Putnam	2. Rebek: (wife to John) Putnam.
4. Bray Wilkins. 79.	3. Anna (wife to Bray) Wilkins.
5. Joshua Rea:	4. Sarah (wife to Jolhuah) Rea.
6. Nathaniel Ingerfoil	5. Hannah (wife to Jn ^s (jun ^r) Putnam.
7. Peter Cloyes	6. Sarah (wife to Benj ^s) Putnam.
8. Thomas putnam	7. Sarah Putnam.
9. John Putnam Jun ^r	8. Deliverance Walcott
10. Edward Putnam	9. Persis (wife to William) Way.
11. Jonathan putnam	10. Mary (wife to Sam:) Abbie.
12. Benjamin putnam	
13. Ezekiel Cheever	
14. Henry Wilkins	
15. Benj ^s Wilkins	
16. William way	
17. Peter Prescott	

Illi quoru nominibus hoc Signum prefigitur
+ è vivis cefferunt.

travel without arms, more than one mile from his dwelling house, except in places where houses were near together; and every town had to provide a sufficient watchhouse before the last of the next July. Also, all those who kept families at their farms, which were remote from the town, were not compelled to send the help from the farms to watch or ward in the town.

Nov. 20, 1637, the order for bringing arms to the meeting house was repealed, and, May 2, 1638, that matter was referred to each town.

Dec. 3, 1639, the general court fined the town of Salem for not keeping watch the preceding summer; and again, for a similar neglect, June 2, 1640.

May 13, 1640, the general court provided that the ordinary watch and wards, in time of peace, should be set by the constables in each town; but in case of sudden danger from the enemy, the military officers should have charge.

Dec. 1, 1640, the general court permitted the Salem meeting house to be the watchhouse. This practice was allowed for several years.

CHAPTER X.

SICKNESS AND DEATH.



APT. JOHN SMITH wrote that Governor Winthrop found that sixty of the colonists had died and the rest were sick, ill-cared for and complaining.¹ Both Charlestown and Salem suffered greatly by sickness. If the people in England had known how poorly the planters had passed the winter here, the ardor of the emigrants would have abated; however, they were ignorant of the conditions and sailed with great expectations.

Dr. Samuel Fuller, Edward Winslow and Isaac Allerton, all of Plymouth, spent Sunday, July 25, 1630, at Salem. After the evening service, Mr. Johnson stated that he had received a letter from Governor Winthrop relative to the sickness at Charlestown, that it was very great and a number of the people had died. It was desired that a day be set apart to beseech God to remove his wrath thus manifested. The Salem church declined to do so without the advice of the Pilgrims who were then present. After conference with them it was agreed that Friday, the thirtieth, be set apart for the people to humble themselves before God and seek Him in His ordinances, the service to end with godly persons publicly stating their desire to walk before the Lord in righteousness. It was agreed that the day be observed in the three plantations of Massachusetts Bay; and Doctor Fuller and Mr. Winslow wrote from Salem the next day, to Governor Bradford, Rev. Ralph Smith and William Brewster, requesting that the church at Plymouth set apart the same day for the same purpose. The following is a copy of the letter from Doctor Fuller and Mr. Winslow to Governor Bradford and others at Plymouth:—²

¹Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England, &c., by Capt. John Smith, London, 1631. See Magnalia Christi Americana, volume I, book 3, part 2, chapter 1.

²Gov. William Bradford's Letter Book, page 57.

Note - Samuel Fuller was in Salem for while as a doctor

To our loving brethren and christian friends Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Ralph Smith and Mr. William Brewster, these be Beloved, &c.

Being at Salem the 25th of July, being the Sabbath, after the evening exercise Mr. Johnson having received a letter from the Governor, Mr. Winthrop, manifesting the hand of God to be upon them, and against them at Charlestown, in visiting them with sickness and taking divers from amongst them, not sparing the righteous, but partaking with the wicked in those bodily judgments, it was therefore by his desire, taken into the godly consideration of the best here, what was to be done to pacify the Lord's wrath; and they would do nothing without our advice, I mean those members of our church, there known unto them, viz. Mr. Fuller Mr. Allerton and myself, requiring our voices, as their own, when it was concluded, that the Lord was to be sought in righteousness; and so to that end the sixth day (being Friday) of this present week is set apart, that they may humble themselves before God, and seek him in his ordinances; and that then also such godly persons that are amongst them and known each to other, publicly at the end of their exercise, make known their godly desire, and practice the same, viz. solemnly to enter into covenant with the Lord to walk in his ways; and since they are so disposed of in their outward estates, as to live in three distinct places, each having men of ability amongst them, there to observe the day, and become three distinct bodies; not then intending rashly to proceed to the choice of officers, or the admitting of any other into their society than a few, to wit, such as are well known unto them, promising after to receive in such, by confession, as shall appear to be fitly qualified for that estate; and, as they desired to advise with us, so do they earnestly entreat that the church at Plymouth would set apart the same day, for the same ends, beseeching God as to withdraw his hand of correction, so to establish and direct them in his ways; and though the time be very short, yet since the causes are so urgent, we pray you be provoked to this godly work, wherein God will be honoured, and they and we undoubtedly have sweet comfort in so doing: Be you all kindly saluted in the Lord, together with the rest of our brethren: The Lord be with you and his spirit direct you, in this and all other actions that concern his glory and the good of his:

Your brethren in the faith of Christ,

Salem, July 26, Anno 1630. SAMUEL FULLER,
And fellowship of the gospel,
EDWARD WINSLOW.

Doctor Fuller went from Salem to Charlestown to assist in allaying the fever there, but he could do no good for lack of drugs, etc.

Among those who first died at Salem that spring was Mr. Houghton, an elder of the church. Samuel Sharp was chosen to succeed him in that office.

When Governor Winthrop came to Salem for the first time, in June, he found Rev. Mr. Higginson sick and weak with fever; but he rallied sufficiently to preach one sermon afterward. The

and guarded against every insidious foe, crushing insubordination and excluding every hostile element.

Union of Mr. Endecott's company with the planters already at Naumkeag increased the colony to fifty or sixty persons.¹

At first, there was no system in the settlement of the colony. Captain Endecott went farther up the river than the old planters, and chose a site for his house at what is now the southeast corner of the junction of Washington and Federal streets. He then sent Richard Brackenbury and others to the old fishing stage of the Dorchester Company at Cape Ann to take down the house that the Company had built there. This was done, and the lumber brought to Naumkeag; and rebuilt on the spot he had selected. In this house, Mr. Endecott lived until he removed to Boston, in 1655; and soon after the house disappeared from this site.² Richard Brackenbury built his house in the very midst of the old planters, and probably others of the new settlers lived there.

Edward Johnson, in his *History of New England*; or *Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour*, wrote, in 1654, that the colonists "began to build a Town, which is called Salem, after some little space of time having made a tryall of the Sordid spirits of the Neighbouring Indians, the most bold among them began to gather to divers places, which they began to take up for their owne, those that were sent over servants, having itching desires after novelties found a reddier way to make an end of their Masters provision, then they could finde meanes to get more: They that came over their owne men had but little left to feed on, and most began to repent when their strong Beere and full cups ran as small as water in a large Land, but little Come, and the poore Indians so far from relieving them, that they were forced to lengthen out their owne food with Acorns, and that which added to their present distracted thoughts, the Ditch betweene England and their now place of abode was so wide, that they could not leap over with a lope-staffe, yet some delighting their Eye with the rarity of things present, and feeling their fancies with new discoveries at the Springs approach, they made shift to rub out the Winters cold by the Fire-side, having fuell enough growing at

¹Planters Plea, chapter IX.

²Deposition of Richard Brackenbury, in Essex Registry of Deeds, book 5, leaf 107.

³Thomas Maule, at page 219 of his book, entitled "Truth Held Forth and Maintained," and published in New York in 1695, wrote: "And as the Word of the Lord was by the Mouth of his Servants to *John Indicot* Governour, even so is it, for his fair Dwellings in *Boston* are become a Barn, and Stable for Cows and Horses; and one can hardly find where his fair Dwelling in *Salem* stood."

⁴A *History of New England*, by Edward Johnson, 1654, chapter IX, page 20. Saviour, by Edward Johnson, 1654, chapter IX, page 20.

their very doores, turning down many a drop of the Botell, and burning Tobacco with all the ease they could, discoursing betweene one while and another, of the great progresse they would make after the Summers-Sun had changed the Earthe white furr'd Gowne into a greene Mantell."

Sickness early manifested itself among the new comers. The servants of the Company, for want of wholesome food and suitable lodgings, were seized with scurvy and other distempers, which shortened their lives, and prevented much labor.¹ The winter that followed was fatal to some of the new colonists, including Mrs. Endecott. Apparently she had been sick on the voyage, and never regained her health. At the request of Mr. Endecott, the Pilgrims at Plymouth kindly sent to Naumkeag their physician, Dr. Samuel Fuller, to do what he could to allay the prevailing sickness. Governor Bradford sent a letter to Captain Endecott, with whom he was personally unacquainted. Through this kind act of Governor Bradford friendship between the Puritans and Pilgrims was established. Captain Endecott wrote to Governor Bradford a most friendly letter, teeming with sincere Christian spirit, in which he acknowledged the favor done the Puritans by the presence of Doctor Fuller and expressing his desire for intimate acquaintance. The letter is as follows:—

To the worshipful and my right worthy friend William Bradford, Esq. Governour of New Plymouth, these,

Right Worthy Sir,

It is a thing not usual, that servants to one master and of the same household should be strangers; I assure you I desire it not, nay to speak more plainly, I cannot be so to you: God's people are all marked with one and the same mark, and sealed with one and the same seal, and have, for the main, one and the same heart, guided by one and the same spirit of truth; and where this is there can be no discord, nay, here must needs be sweet harmony; and the same request (with you) I make unto the Lord, that we may, as christian brethren, be united by an heavenly and unfeigned love, bending all our hearts and forces in furthering a work beyond our strength with reverence and fear, fastening our eyes always on him that only is able to direct and prosper all our ways. I acknowledge myself much bound to you, for your kind love and care, in sending Mr. Fuller amongst us, and rejoice much that I am by him satisfied, touching your judgments, of the outward form of God's worship; it is (as far as I can yet gather) no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained, ever since the Lord in mercy revealed himself unto me, being far differing from the common report that hath been spread of you touching that particular; but God's children must not

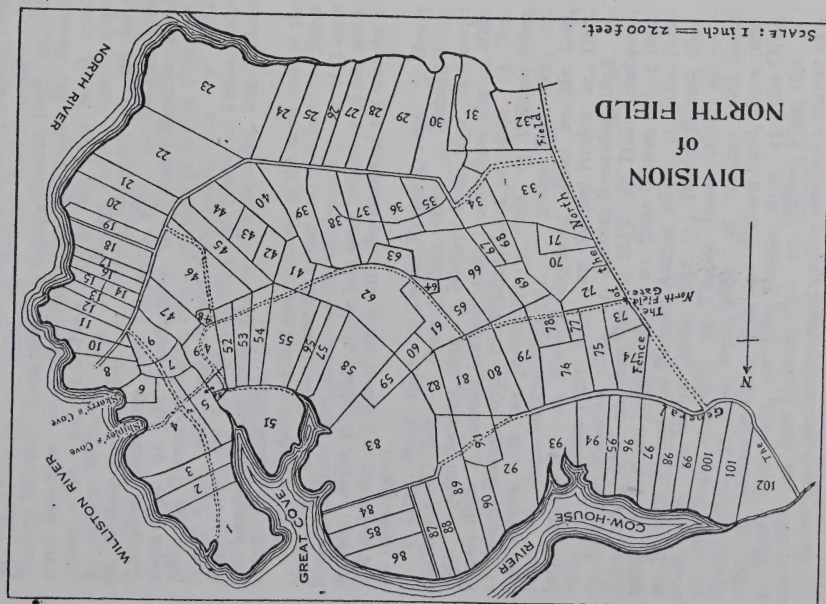
¹History of New England, by Rev. William Hubbard, page 110.

²Gov. William Bradford's Letter Book.

lingworth, 1653. 128. Francis Collins, 1637. 129. Andrew Woodberry, 1658. 130. Joseph Younges, 1649. 131. Robert Lemon, 1667. 132. Mathew Nixon, 1667. 133. Andrew Woodberry, 1668. 134. Edward Hilliard, 1653. 135. Thomas Rix, 1661. 136. Roger Conant, 1658. 137. John Beckett, 1653. 138. Thomas Solas, 1661.

When the North field was laid out is unknown, but it must have been before the town records were begun. Apparently most of the original lots consisted of ten acres each. By tracing the land titles the accompanying plan is made possible. The following is a list of the lots with the names of the owners at the dates stated.

1. This was the horse pasture, which was owned by Capt. George Corwin (five-fourteenths), Philip Cromwell (five-fourteenths), William Browne, sr. (two-fourteenths), and Dr. George Emery (two-fourteenths) in 1669. 2. Thomas Watson, 1669. 3. Robert Butten before 1674. 4. John Shipley about 1650. 5. Robert Goodell, 1658. 6. Francis Skerry, 1682. 7. Francis Lawes and John Luff, being two ten acre lots, in 1659. 8. John Massey, 1700. 9. Francis Lawes and John Luff, 1659. 10. John Trask, 1695. 11. Thomas Robbins, 1680. 12. Daniel Ray, 1655. 13. Alice Fernaldes, 1655. 14. Thomas Watson, 1655. 15. Thomas Tuck and Joseph Harris, 1659. 16. Mark Fernaldes, about 1670. 17. Thomas Wilkes and wife Mary, 1656. 18. Thomas Watson, 1656. 19. Thomas Oliver, about 1670. 20. John Symonds, before 1670. 21. Robert Buffum, 1661. 22. The easterly part belonged to widow Spooner and the westerly part to George Corwin very early. 23. Robert Buffum before 1690. 24. John Kitchen, 1659. 25. Edward Gaskill, 1659. 26. Thomas Spooner, 1659. 27. John Trask, 1672. 28. — Marshall, about 1650. 29. Thomas Gardner, 1658. 30. Henry Phelps, 1658. 31. William Bacon, 1653. 32. Thomas Gardner, 1644. 33. Richard Bishop, 1654. 34. Samuel Gaskill, 1670. 35. Thomas Gardner, 1674. 36. Samuel Gaskin, 1682. 37. Robert Stone, 1682. 38. John Alderman, about 1650. 39. Samuel Gaskill, 1659. 40. Thomas Goldthwaite, 1659. 41. Job Swinerton, 1681. 42. William Place, about 1650. 43. James Symonds, 1698. 44. Samuel Ebourn, about 1680. 45. Col. Bartholomew Gedney, 1697. 46. Col. Bartholomew Gedney, 1697. 47. Samuel Ebourn, 1698. 48. John Blevin, 1698. 49. John Gedney and John Symonds, 1665. 50. John Gedney, 1667. 51. Hugh Peter, 1640. 52. John Higginson, 1679. 53. John Norman, sr., 1636. 54. Mr. Herbert, before 1650. 55. Robert Goodale, 1663. 56. Thomas Reed, 1663. 57. Henry Bartholomew, 1663. 58. Thomas Reed, 1667. 59. John Foster, 1700. 60. David Foster, 1700. 61. John Tompkins, 1675. 62. Edward Beacham, 1682. 63. Benjamin Gerrish, 1682. 64. Thomas Spooner, before 1680.



65. John Hill, 1675. 66. Hugh Pasco, 1682. 67. Caleb Buffum, 1682. 68. John Pease, about 1680. 69. Job Swinerton, 1664. 70. Joseph Pope, 1664. 71. Henry Birdsall, 1650. 72. John Bourne, 1653. 73. Hugh Jones, 1688. 74. Anthony Luxton, 1680. 75. John Pudney, sr., 1692. 76. William Robinson, 1661. 77. Thomas Wheeler, about 1661. 78. George Corwin, 1658. 79. Edward Beachem, 1662. 80. John Alderman, 1656. 81. Thomas James, 1662. 82. John Foster, 1675. 83. John Small, 1700. 84. Henry Williams, 1654. 85. Robert Butten, before 1650. 86. William Towne, 1652. 87. Richard Waters, 1658. 88. John Tompkins, 1658. 89. John Tompkins, 1664. 90. Robert Cotta, about 1650. 91. John Foster, 1664. 92. Thomas Scudder, about 1660. 93. Thomas Robbins, 1681. 94. George Smith, 1679. 95. Henry Cook, 1680. 96. Samuel Goldthwait, 1687. 97. John Burton, 1683. 98. John Marsh, 1673. 99. Nathaniel Felton, 1667. 100. Lawrence Leach, 1660. 101. — Veren, 1660. 102. William Cantlebury, about 1660.

The South field was laid out probably at the same time as the North field. A fence ran along the upper end of it from the South River to Palmer Cove and along the southwesterly side of it from the first. Most, if not all, of the lots were originally of ten acres. The following is a list of them with the names of the owners at the dates stated.

1. Hugh Peter, 1640. 2. Daniel Rumball, 1652. 3. Henry Bartholomew, 1664. 4. Peter Palfrey, 1662. 5. Richard Hide, 1652. 6. John Swazey, 1652. 7. Richard Hide, 1652. 8. George Ropes, 1662. 9. Samuel Archard, 1660. 10. Richard Prince, 1662. 11. Joseph Hardy, 1675. 12. William Lord, sr., 1668. 13. Deacons' marsh, 1668. 14. Joseph Hardy, 1668. 15. William Allen, 1652. 16. Hugh Laskin, 1650 (?). 17. Joshua Rea, 1660. 18. John Orne, 1679. 19. Richard Raymond, 1662. 20. Mr. Gott, 1660. 21. William Ager, 1653. 22. Samuel Archer, sr., 1667. 23. Nathaniel Pickman, 1660. 24. Thomas Browning, 1658. 25. John Talby, 1652. 26. John Bourne, 1655. 27. Henry Harwood, 1661. 28. William Jeggles, 1658. 29. Elias Mason, before 1692. 30. Richard Waters and Richard Adams, 1650. 31. John Pickering, 1678. 32. Henry Cooke, 1652. 33. Daniel Baxter, 1644. 34. John Neale, sr., 1671. 35. Thomas James, 1652. 36. — Friend, 1660. 37. John Ruck, 1680. 38. William Lord, about 1680. 39. Alexander Field, 1652. 40. William Lord, about 1680. 41. Henry True, 1653. 42. John Mousar, 1639. 43. John Orne, about 1680. 44. John Holmes, 1672. 45. William Flint, 1670.

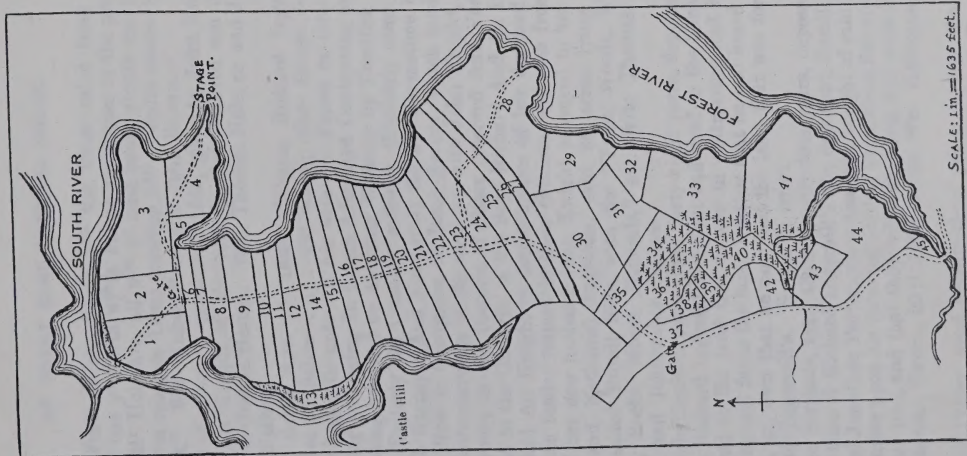
Salem was never incorporated until it received a charter as a city in 1836. Its origin as a municipality is unique. At first, it was the only settlement within the territory of the Massachusetts

Bay Colony. When other settlements were made within the borders of the colony, it became necessary to establish division lines between them. So the settlement of Agawam or Ipswich caused the line north of Wenham and Manchester to be established; the settlement of Gloucester induced the eastern line of Manchester to be determined; and the settlement of Lynn caused the western boundary of Salem to be fixed. Wenham was detached from Salem in 1643; Manchester in 1645; Marblehead in 1648; Beverly in 1668; and Danvers in 1752; leaving the territory of Salem practically as it is at present. It is the survival of many eliminations.

The origin of its town government is as interesting and peculiar as its beginning as a town. Originally, Salem was locally under the immediate control of the governor and council; but after the general court had been transferred to Newtown, the freemen of Salem held town meetings, granted land, made orders relating to its affairs and appointed a number of themselves to carry on the routine business of the settlement. The duties of the latter were similar to those of the later boards of selectmen. The freemen appearing to have thus acted for the town before March 3, 1635-6, were John Endecott, William Trask, Philip Verrin, Townsend Bishop, John Holgrave, Edmond Batter, Thomas Gardner, Roger Conant and Jeffrey Massy. The number of the settlements had so increased that the general court had too many important duties to which to attend to give its attention to the ordinary affairs of the individual towns, and, March 3, 1635-6, definitely provided that the freemen in each town be empowered to dispose of their own land and make such orders as might concern the well ordering of their town, enforce penalties for their breach, not exceeding one pound, and to choose their own officers, such as constables and surveyors of highways.

For at least a year or two before this order was passed the freemen of Salem met in what the town records, in some instances, called "a general court," but generally "a meeting of the freemen," "a town meeting" or "a meeting of the town in general," and afterward it was ordinarily called "a general town meeting," although sometimes "a general town meeting of the freemen," or "a public town meeting."

Commencing in 1636, "the town's representatives" granted land and performed other acts as if delegated by the freemen. March 28, 1636, the town records called "the town representatives" "the thirteen men," among them during that year were John Balch, Edmond Batter, Townsend Bishop, Roger Conant, John Endecott, Thomas Gardner, John Holgrave, Jeffrey Massy, William Trask and Philip Verrin. In 1637, until June 19, the men



DIVISION OF SOUTH FIELD.

Pascoe Foote & one South with the River called frost fish River, & one y^e North with a Farme sometimes in the possession of Mr Holgrave, all wth s^d land being aboute one hundred Acres more or Lesse together with y^e Salte marsh lying within it." Wit. Walter Price and John Brown.

Power of attorney, dated 10:2:1663, given by John Knight sr. and An Knight of Newbury to their beloved son John Potman or Joseph Holton. Wit: Thomas Hale, sr. and Johnathan Haines.

Deed, dated Apr. 10, 1668, "Whereas Richard Ingerson long since of Salem . . . did among other things devise, Give or bequeath unto An his wife one Farme or Grant of land lying and being In Salem Aforsayd Conteyning eighty Acres being bounded or Abutting Westerly by Frostfish River, Easterly the Countrie roadway, Southerly some land of Jacob Barneys: And Northerly the lands sometime Pasco Footes, Now in Occupacon of Jacob Barney, which land was before entermarriage of the sayd An with John Knight, Senr of Newbury in the Countie of Essex reserved And Verbally disposed to the Children of the Sayd Richard And An Ingerson," said An Knight in remembrance of her deceased husband and tender respect to their children, with the free consent of her now husband John Knight conveyed to her sons, John and Nathaniel Ingerson, said 80 acres lying at a place called Royall Side, with the "Trees, Woods, Waters, Soyles, Rocks, Mines, Minerals," etc. Wit: Thomas Hale, senior, and Johnathan Haines.

Joseph Houlton, aged about forty-eight years, deposed that he was Richard Ingersall's servant and lived in the house that belonged to the land that is now in controversy and helped break up and fence the land. Further that he had heard Jacob Barne, sr., own that he now had the land that was formerly Richard Ingersall's. Sworn in court.

John Simonds, aged about seventy-four years, deposed that in the time of Richard Ingersoll's life, deponent, Saml. Corning and Jonathan Porter, since deceased, bought of said Ingersoll timber upon his farm lot butting upon Frost fish river at a rate per tree, and that they felled the trees and worked them into staves. Sworn, 29:1:1669, before Wm. Hathorne, assistant.

John Porter, aged seventy-three years, deposed that John Knight, sr., of Newbury came to his house and offered him the farm in controversy, for a cow. Deponent replied that it lay more convenient for his neighbor Barney, and went

with him to Barney's house and heard him make the same offer. Later Knight said they did not agree. He further deposed that Jacob Barney, sr., in 1651, moved a parcel of salt marsh south of little creek, which creek lay also southward from "the basing place," and had continued from year to year without molestation. Sworn in court.

John Putnam, aged about forty years, deposed that he heard John Engerson demand his land of Jacob Barney, sr., but Barney told him that he had no land of his, but he had the land that was his father's Richard Engerson's. Further, that in 1641 or 42, said Richard, the father, had a house standing upon the land commonly called Engerson's point, adjoining Willstone's river, near the place of fishing, and there planted corn. Joseph Holton testified to the same. Sworn in court.

Henry Bartholomew, aged about sixty years, deposed that he went with Jacob Barney, sr. of Salem to Mr. William Paine, then living at Ipswich, to assist said Barney in buying the Ingersoll farm. Said Barney bought it and paid 8 li. for it in 1651. For 1 "finde on my booke in the 3^d m^o 52 that I had charged Jacob Barney debtor for the s^d 8 li that I had pd Mr Paine for him and that he had at that time pd me the most of it." Sworn in court.

Jacob Towne, aged about thirty-eight years, deposed that seventeen years since he saw Barney cut grass, etc. Sworn in court.

Verdict of the jury: that the land was granted to plaintiff, that defendant bought it before 1652 and possessed it by felling timber, etc., and that if this was a legal possession according to the law of 1657, they found for defendant, if not, for plaintiff.

Nathaniel Pootman, aged about forty-eight years, deposed. Sworn in court.

John Putnam, aged forty years, deposed that about eighteen or nineteen years ago, Mr. Paine told him that he had bought this land and that he would sell it to deponent's father if he would buy it, and deponent helped to draw the timber that John Wild cut, etc. Sworn in court.

"Granted to Rich. Ingersoll in the years 1636 eighty Acres of Land.

"2 in the Yeare 1643 Its ordered that the Lotts that are laid out next to Goodman Leechs at the great Hill as namely, Jacob Barneys and Rich. Ingersolls shall determine with a straight Line at the tope of the Hill at the marked tree where Lawrence Leech lott doth end puided it comes not within any mans propriety." Copy made by Edmond Batter.

Richard Pettingell, aged about forty-five years, deposed that John Knight came home one time to Newbery and told his wife that he had sold Mr. Pain some timber at the lot at Frost fish river. She was much troubled and asked him why he sold her timber, whereupon Knight said she should have twenty shillings for it. Knight then owned that he had no right in that land. Sworn in court.

John Knight, aged forty-five years, deposed that his father and mother sold Goodman Simons, a cooper of Salem, some white oaks, about twenty trees, etc. Sworn in court.

Josua Ray, aged about thirty-eight years, deposed that the creek or cove below the Bas point on Frostfish river, above twenty years ago was always considered the bounds between Jacob Barnee and Richard Inkersall. Then there ran a fence from that Creek up toward Barne's old barn, for after Inkersall went away to live, etc. Sworn in court.

John Wild, aged about fifty years, deposed that about nineteen years since, he cut wood there for Mr. Paine, who had bought the land in exchange for a cow, by Capt. Gerrish. Sworn in court.

Richard Lech, aged about fifty years, deposed that Richard Inkersall built upon this land and dwelt there, etc. Sworn in court.

Nathaniel Ingersall deposed. Sworn in court.

William Hobbs, aged about twenty-eight years, deposed that he kept his master's cattle, etc. Also that he lived with old Jacob Barne seven years ago and helped him fence in the first field that was fenced in since 1653. Sworn in court.

Copy of will of Richard Ingersoll, made by Hillyard Veren, cleric. Inventory of the estate of Richard Ingersoll of Salem, dated Oct. 4, 1644, taken by Townsend Bishop and Jeffery Massy: Seven Coves, 34 li.; 2 young steers, 4 li.; 2 young heifers, 4 li. 13 s. 4 d.; a bull and steer, 7 li. 10 s.; pair of Oxen, 14 li.; pair of steers, 11 li.; bull and a steer; 8 li. 10 s.; 3 calves, 3 li.; 3 swine, 4 li. 10 s.; half a pig, 4 s.; 2 horses, a mare, colt and foal, 28 li.; Indian Corne, 4 li.; pease in the barn, 2 li.; Ry & wheate, 5 li. 12 s.; Ry, 1 li. 15 s.; Hog, 3 li. 15s.; the 3d pt of a cart, 8 s. 4 d.; the third pt of a Tumbrell, 5 s.; the third pt of a Harrow, 1 s. 8 d.; the 3d pt of 3 yokes & chains, 4 s. 8 d.; the 3d pt of 2 plowes, 6s. 8 d.; hemp & flax, 5 s. 6 d.; a farme, 80 acres, meddow, 20 acres, 14 li. 13 s. 4 d.; another farme 75 acres, 7 li.; 26 acres, 2 houses, 2 acrs a quartr of salt marsh, 26 li. 7 s. 6 d.; Debts due to the estate, 6 li. 19 s.; bedstead and bed-

ding, 4 li. 14 s.; another bedstead & bed, 1 li. 15 s.; press cupboard, 14s.; pece of locum, 3s. 4d.; a warming pan, 4s.; 2 cushions & a chaire, 10s.; pewter, 10 s.; 2 dripping pans, 10 s.; a great Iron Kettle, 1 li.; 2 Iron potts, 1 li. 10s.; brass Kettle, 4s.; a settle, 6 s. 8 d.; cheese fatts, 3 s.; churne, 4 s.; Kneading trough, 4 s.; seive, 1 s. 4 d.; 7 traies, one milke pan, 5 s. 4 d.; milke paile, 4 s.; cheese, 6 s. 8 d.; oates, 8 d.; malt & wheate, 8 s.; spinning wheele, 2 s. 6 d.; woollen wheel & cards, 5 s. 4 d.; moose skin sute, 2 li.; cloath sute & coate, 1 li.; total, 213 li. 19 s. Proved in court, 1:11:1644, by Ralph Fogg, p curia. Copy made by Hiliard Veren, cleric.

SOME BUSINESS FIRMS IN DANVERS IN 1875.

The year 1875 does not seem so far in the long ago to many Danvers people, yet the Danvers Mirror of Sept. 18, 1875, has many surprises in store for anyone who peruses its advertising columns. It is one of the first Mirrors on file, and was published by H. Carleton Cheever at Brown's Building, Maple Street.

At that time, Nye & Beal were selling dry goods and groceries, corner of Maple and Locust streets; F. A. Couch, carpenter and builder, gave special attention to the drawing of plans; L. F. Weston was a job printer, corner High and Park streets; William Stimpson had the bakery; Lincoln & Cross sold groceries at Danvers Centre; Potter, Batchelder & Co. "owing to the hard times and scarcity of money" were selling coal at \$8.50 per ton; D. J. Preston was deputy sheriff at his residence north of the Georgetown Railroad crossing; Miss Ida M. Tibbetts made braids, puffs and frizetts, and also gave instruction in waxwork at Dea. F. Howe's house; James Kelly & Son were lumber dealers with an office rear of J. & N. Bragdon's box factory; G. W. Pew did furniture repairing; also sold new furniture at Perley's block; Caskin, O'Connell & Co., sold pumps, ranges and parlor stoves, including the "Midnight Sun Parlor." A. P. Perley sold boots and shoes; A. W. Duncan had hair-dressing rooms over Bates & Stetson's store; J. W. Haynes did shaving and hair cutting "with neatness and despatch" over the Central market; N. P. Merriam had just opened a new coal yard at Richards' wharf, Danversport, and at his store in Tapleville, he sold clothing, in-

"My Dear Cousin:

"I should be very glad to write a story as you request for the benefit of the Essex Institute or for any other purpose that might be deemed desirable by my native townspeople. But it is now many years since the epoch of the 'Twice-Told Tales' and the 'Mosses from an Old Manse'; and my mind seems to have lost the plan and measures of those little narratives, in which it was once so unprofitably fertile. I can write no story therefore, but (rather than be entirely wanting to the occasion), I will endeavor to describe a spot near Salem on which it was once my purpose to locate such a dreamy fiction as you now demand of me. It is no other than that conspicuous hill, which used in my younger days, to be known by the name of 'Browne's Folly.' But what made the hill particularly interesting to me, were the traces of an old and long vanished edifice, midway on the curving ridge, and at its highest point. A pre-revolutionary magnate, the representative of a famous old Salem family, had here built himself a pleasure house on a scale of magnificence which combined with its airy site and difficult approach, obtained for it and the entire hill on which it stood the traditional title of 'Browne's Folly'."

"I have quite forgotten what story I once purposed writing about 'Browne's Folly,' and I freely offer the theme and site to any of my young townsmen, who may be afflicted with the same tendency toward fanciful narratives which haunted me in my youth and long afterwards."

"Truly yours,

"Nathaniel Hawthorne."

Among other things Hawthorne writes: "The ancient site of this proud mansion may still be traced upon the summit of the hill. Two shallow and grass-grown cavities remain of what was once the deep and richly stored cellars under its two wings, and between them is the outline of the connecting hall, about as deep as a plow furrow and somewhat greener than the surrounding soil. The two cellars are deep enough to shelter a visitor from the fresh breezes that haunt the summit of the hill. There I have sometimes sat and tried to re-mit of the hill. In my imagination, the stately house, or to fancy what a splendid show it must have been so far off as in the streets of Salem, when the old proprietor illuminated his many windows to celebrate the 'King's Birth Day.' Had Nathaniel

Hawthorne known then, what is known today concerning this "Old Landmark," what a story he would have written, and thus forever have immortalized the hill.

As we move along this river, we think of the days long past, when, in the early part of the seventeenth century, Governor John Endecott sailed over its waters. Let an Essex County poetess describe the scene:

"In his shallop from the Bay
Came the Governor one day,
Up the slow tide of the creek,
On the inland shores to seek—
May-be just an hour of rest—
From the homesick group that pressed
Round him, everywhere he went
In the new born settlement.

"Governors, we are aware,
Though they shirk no public care,
Though they hold the people dear,
Do not always want them near:
Sometimes they must draw apart
From the crowd, to read its heart."

We notice on our left, the land bordering upon the river rising gradually and gracefully until it reaches the higher land, and here we observe an old house which has stood just here for probably more than two hundred and fifty years. It is the "George Jacobs House." Mr. Jacobs, its owner, was in Witchcraft days accused of being a wizard, and being tried was found guilty and bravely met his death at the hands of his wicked accusers. A most respected member of this society, a direct descendant of George Jacobs, the late Deacon William A. Jacobs, was the owner of this old home at the time of his decease, and for many years tilled the soil on the farm of his honored ancestor.

Just as we near the wharf where we are to leave the boat, on the left hand side, we notice the residence of the late William Penn Hussey, originally built by Mr. Matthew Hooper. On this spot in early days, stood a very old house similar to the George Jacobs house, built by Richard Waters, which was bought by Mr. Hooper, torn down by him, and on its site he built the Hussey house. The present name, Waters river, was so called in honor of the Waters family.

(To be continued.)

built on rented land as a conveyance* made by Hannah, administratrix of William Woodcock's estate, to Daniel Andrew of Salem, bricklayer, Feb. 18, 1672, clearly proves. She conveyed the house, goods, drugs, physic, vessels, pots and a horse, without land, the property being bounded on three sides by land of Edmund Batter and on the remaining side by the street.† Daniel Andrew later removed to Danvers, in the section known as Putnamville near the Wenham line, where several succeeding generations of Andrew lived.

DR. JOHN SWINERTON.

Another Salem physician who was perhaps more intimately connected with Danvers than the others mentioned was Dr. John Swinerton. He was son of the emigrant Job Swinerton, and a brother of Job, who lived on the present Garden street, near the little cemetery, through whom the Danvers family of that name is descended. He was practicing early in Salem. Through his marriage on March 8, 1679-80, with Hannah (Bartholomew) Brown, born in February, 1642-3, the daughter of Henry Bartholomew and at this time the widow of James Brown, he had still further Danvers connections, for Bartholomew was early in possession of considerable land on the easterly side of Nichols street. By her first husband she had six children, the eldest fifteen at the time of her marriage with Dr. Swinerton, and by the latter she had three, Mercy, John and Antipas. Her first husband, James Brown, was the son of Elder John Brown, and was a merchant. He was murdered in Maryland, Nov. 12, 1675, leaving his widow a house situated at the present western corner of Union and Essex streets. Dr. Swinerton died Jan. 6, 1691, aged fifty-seven years. His will dated Nov. 22, 1688 was proved April 29, 1691. He made provision for his wife and children, Mercy and John, and stipulated that if John wished to follow his father's calling all his books and manuscripts should be kept for him and that "he be brought up to learning if it be thought suitable for him, but at least that he be perfect in ye Latin Tongue." He also generously provided for his wife's children. His son John evidently did not incline to the study of medicine, as he is mentioned some years later as a cooper, but the profession was duly represented by his wife's son, Bartholomew Brown, to whom probably descended the books and man-

*Essex Deeds, Vol. 4, p. 60.

†See Essex Antiquarian, Vol. 2, p. 168-171.

not on
by John Brown was given to his son Nathaniel & John, as James

uscripts mentioned in his will. His widow, Hannah, died Dec. 28, 1713.

There seems to be a question as to the house in which Dr. Swinerton dispensed drugs and practiced "physic." Dr. Bentley, in his diary, asserts that he lived in his wife's house on Essex street to which reference has already been made. He says that Dr. Swinerton's house was where Dr. Holyoke boarded when he first came to Salem in 1749; that when the house was torn down in 1808, a John Brinsley's Latin grammar (1611) with John Swinerton's name, 1652, was found in the ceiling; and that Abraham Watson, whose wife was a descendant of the Brownes, was the last owner; and that he (Watson) had the arms of the Swinerton family in his own house. This house, which was valued at £200 in 1676, was conveyed on April 29, 1706, by the widow Hannah Swinerton to Capt. William Pickering in consideration of his providing for her during the remainder of her life. The house next adjoining at the present corner of Walnut and Essex streets descended from Elder John Browne to Dr. Swinerton's stepson, Bartholomew Browne, and is where the latter practiced his profession.

Charles W. Upham, the witchcraft historian, places Dr. Swinerton's residence in a house which stood at the corner of Washington and Church streets, as a tenant of Bridget Oliver. This house was sold by Benjamin Ropes, who purchased it in 1694 of Job Hilliard, to Nathaniel Ropes, in 1716, when it was described as "now in the possession of Mr. John Swinerton." As the Doctor died in 1691, it would seem to be his son John who occupied this place as late as 1716.

The Swinerton family were united in opposition to witchcraft and were firm supporters of Rebecca Nurse.

Dr. Holmes says: "The miserable delusion of witchcraft illustrates, in a still more impressive way, the false ideas which governed the supposed relation of men with the spiritual world. I have no doubt many physicians shared in these superstitions. Mr. Upham says they—that is, some of them—were in the habit of attributing their want of success to the fact that an 'evil hand' was on their patient. The temptation was strong, no doubt, when magistrates and ministers and all that followed in their lead were contented with such an explanation. But how was it in Salem, according to Mr. Upham's own statement? Dr. John Swinerton, was, as he says, for many years the principal physician of Salem. And he says, also 'The Swinerton family were all along opposed to

Danvers Hx Gee Dec 4

Mr. Parris, and kept remarkably clear from the witchcraft delusion." Dr. Swinnerton died the very year before the great witchcraft explosion took place. But who can doubt that it was from him that the family had learned to despise and to resist the base superstition; or that Bridget Bishop, whose house he rented, as Mr. Upham tells me, the first person hanged in the time of the delusion, would have found an efficient protector in her tenant, had he been living, to head the opposition of his family to the misguided clergymen and magistrates?"

Hawthorne has immortalized Dr. Swinerton in his "American Notes," "The House of the Seven Gables," and "The Dolliver Romance." Dr. Swinerton and his wife were buried in the Charter Street Cemetery, where the following inscriptions are plainly legible today:

HERE LYETH BURIED
YE BODY OF JOHN
SWINNERTON PHISIAN
DECEASD Ye 6 OF
JANUR J690 IN Ye 58
YEARE OF HIS AGE
HERE LYES YE BODY
OF HANNAH SWINNER-
TON
WIDDO OF DOCTOR
JOHN SWINNERTON
AGED 71 YEARES
DIED DECEMBER
23d 1713

DR. ZERUBBABEL ENDECOTT.

Zerubbabel Endecott, son of Gov. John and Elizabeth (Gibson) Endecott, was educated for the practice of medicine, and may have attended to the needs of the settlers in Danvers in the early days. He was born in 1635 and married twice, his second wife being the daughter of Gov. John Winthrop and the widow of Rev. Antipas Newman. His house in Salem was on the easterly side of what is now Washington street, near the corner of Church street, but during the latter part of his life he lived on the "Orchard farm," his father's grant at Danversport. His brother John Endecott was also a surgeon. In 1659, with his brother John, and Daniel Samons, he was fined for misdemeanors common to that day, and in 1665 was Ensign of a military company in Salem. In 1676, he served on a jury of inquest upon the death of Jacob Goodale, servant of Giles Corey, and performed a post-mortem examination, reporting that he found "clodders of Blood" about the man's heart. Upon Mr. Endecott's death in 1684

he bequeathed to his son John, who was also a physician and who died in England, "al my Instruments and books both of phisicke and chirurgery." Inventory of his estate shows, "a case of lances, 2 Rasors, a box of Instruments, 10 bookes in folio, 16 in quarto, a saw, with 6 instruments for chirurgen and a chest of bookes & writings."

One of the earliest volumes of medical recipes was published by Mr. Endecott in 1677. It contains recipes which he used at the time for the treatment of the many diseases that flesh is heir to, and in his introduction he explains to the "Courteous Reader" that we are not to wonder at the appearance of "this untimely fruit." It was "a Miscellany only intended for private use," which statement after perusal, the present day reader will have no hesitancy in accepting. Mr. Endecott made some of the instruments which he used in surgery, reference to which is made in this volume. The house which is now standing on Endicott street, Danvers, has been said to be in part the same house in which this early physician dwelt. He was probably buried in the Endecott burying ground at Danversport with his first wife, Mary Smith, and several children who died young.

DR. WILLIAM GRIGGS.

There seems to have been always a haze surrounding the identity of this ancient representative of the Aesculapian art which has not been dispelled by the light of recent historians. But there is no doubt that he was the first practicing physician in Salem Village of whom we have any authentic record. There may have been another before him. Had it not been for the witchcraft delusion we should not have known of his existence in this community. Dr. Griggs came originally from Boston. His wife was Rachel, daughter of Mrs. Elizabeth Hubbard, who was very early in Boston, and died there 6: 11: 1643. Rachel's brother Benjamin Hubbard was in Charlestown as early as 1633, and was a follower of Roger Williams. He was an inventor of mathematical instruments and died at Long Island in 1712. Dr. Griggs' children by his wife Rachel born in Boston were William, born April 2, 1640; Sarah, born Oct. 6, 1642, mar. Josiah Haskell, Nov. 22, 1682; Rachel, born Oct. 13, 1644; Isaac, born Oct. 5, 1646; Elizabeth, born Oct. 3, 1648; Jacob, born Nov., 1658; two others were born in Rumney Marsh, now Chelsea, Hannah, on Mar. 12, 1659 and Rebecca on April 3, 1662. How long

he was living at the Village previous to the witchcraft trouble is not known, but on Feb. 16, 1691-2, he bought of Jacob Barney, a house and nineteen acres of land, for \$71, the land being bounded as follows: Beginning southwest at the corner of the fence at Sergt. Leach's barn, and running in a straight line west to a bushy oak to the country road, then from the road east twenty-eight poles, then south to a stone wall adjoining Mr. Howard's land and Sergt. Leach's land, except two acres on the highway. The house stood not far from the junction of the present Liberty and Conant streets, and was built probably by Jacob Barney before 1661.*

Thus it will be seen that Dr. Griggs had purchased his house only a few months previous to the breaking out of the terrible epidemic which wrecked so many homes in this parish. For how much of this Dr. Griggs was responsible, it is not unjust to state that a large share of the subsequent heartaches might with propriety be laid at his door. If, as Deacon Fowler once said, when the "afflicted children" were examined by the Village physician, "Griggs first suggested witchcraft to Mr. Parris, and Parris sent to Boston for Perkins' 'Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft,' and found the symptoms" it would seem that the ignorance of Dr. Griggs figured fully as much as did the superstition of Mr. Parris. The only charitable thought arising from the matter is the query whether any other Salem physician of that time might not have made the same diagnosis. Elizabeth Hubbard, the young niece of Mrs. Griggs and a servant in the family, was one of the principal witnesses in the trials, she making at least twenty depositions against the accused, including Rebecca Nurse, John Proctor, George Burroughs and Giles Cory. The Doctor's wife barely escaped accusation when Benjamin Gould testified in the examination of Goody Proctor that he had seen "Goody Griggs in his chamber last Thursday night." Samuel Parris says that Elizabeth Hubbard was in a trance during the whole examination, and it was well for her aunt that Elizabeth did not hear the mention of her name.

After the smoke had cleared away, Rev. John Hale of Beverly in his "Modest Enquiry," printed in 1702, a copy of which rare book this Society is the possessor, attempted to explain the cause of the epidemic. He calls Perkins, the author of the book on demology, to account, as follows: "If after Cursing there follows Death, or at least some mischief;

*See Salem Commoners' Records, p. 55.

This saith Perkins, this is a presumption. For Witches are wont to practice their mischievous facts by cursing and banning. This also is a sufficient matter of Examination. If any person, man or woman, be notoriously defamed for such a party. This Perkins makes a presumption. But in truth there is no weight in this Some persons will put an evil construction upon an innocent action, and so raise an evil fame against a person; and then others believing it, are apt to look upon other actions with a squint eye, and through the multiplying glass of their own jealousies, make a Molehill seem a Mountain, to render an hated or despised neighbour evil spoken of."

Yet he believed with Perkins, that "Another sort are such as they call white Witches; that by spells, charms, &c will cure Diseases, and that more easily than men can, and fetch fish bones out of men's hands, &c. Note here that the Devil hath more skill in the knowledge of all healing medicines than any man; and more ability and dexterity to convey them insensibly into any sore than any mortal creature. That some have such an ambition to excel in Physick & curing variety of wounds and diseases, that they will rather go to the Devil, then fall of their desired skill and honour thereby. Many creditable Histories I have heard of this kind; but I spare to enlarge in these things which have been so fully handled by Perkins."

Regarding previous neighborhood quarrels, Mr. Hale says: "I have heard it said, That the Presidents in England were not so exactly followed, because in those there had been previous quarrels and threatenings of the Afflicted by those that were Condemned for Witchcraft; but here, say they, not so. To which I answer. In many of these cases there had been antecedent personal quarrels, and so occasions of revenge; for some of those Condemned, had been suspected by their Neighbours several years, because after quarrelling with their Neighbours, evils had befallen those Neighbours." A man who was afflicted with hallucinations, he says, sent "for a Physician three miles off. The Physician sent word that the vapours ascending from his sore Legg had caused a water in his Eyes, and disturbance in his Braines, by means whereof he was troubled with such Visions; and sending an eye water to wash his eyes with, and a cordial to take inwardly; upon the use of these, this disturbance vanished in half a quarter of an hour. If a disease may do this, what may Satan working upon bodily distempers and vapours impose upon the Imagination?"

Discusses Wm Perkins book on witchcraft
Also Dr Griggs' diagnosis of the "bewitched" girls & his wife's relation to one of them.

The history of the United States is a subject of great importance and interest. It is a subject which has attracted the attention of many writers and readers. The history of the United States is a story of growth and development. It is a story of a people who have built a great nation out of a small colony. The history of the United States is a story of a people who have fought for freedom and justice. It is a story of a people who have built a great nation out of a small colony. The history of the United States is a story of a people who have fought for freedom and justice. It is a story of a people who have built a great nation out of a small colony.

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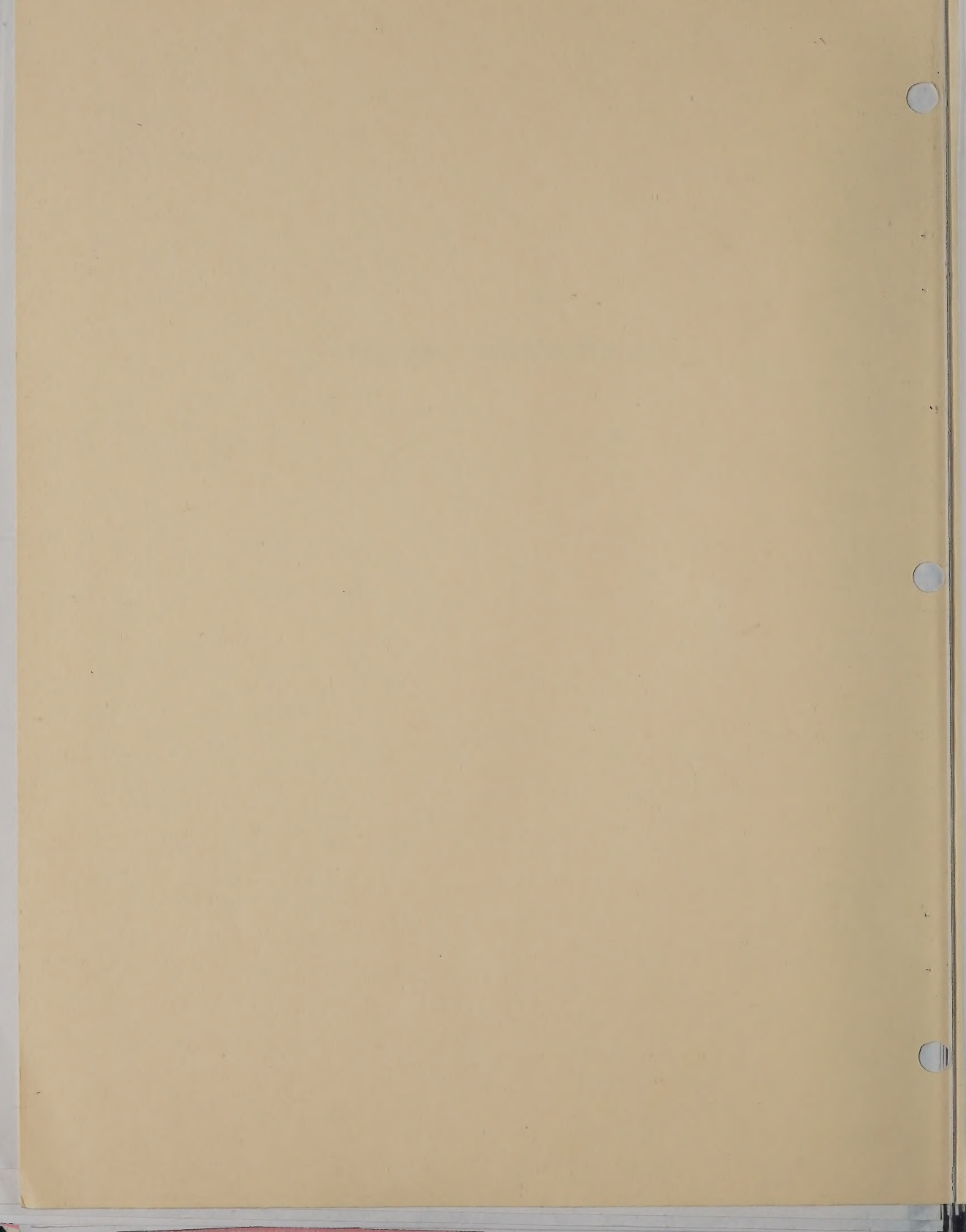
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THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION.



THE
HISTORY OF SALEM
THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION.

MASSACHUSETTS

By SIDNEY FARLEY

Author of

History of Boston, Cambridge, Concord, Salem, and Essex County

History of Salem in the Seventeenth Century

and other Local History of Essex County

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VOLUME II

1629-1636

SIDNEY FARLEY

THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION

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ford; Indian Land Titles of Essex County;
Hovey Book; Plumer Genealogy; etc.

VOLUME III

1671—1716

SALEM, MASS.
SIDNEY PERLEY
1928

CHAPTER XIV.

THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION.



HOUGH, separately, curiosity and the desire for notoriety have their harmless limitations, when combined they have wrought many and disastrous evils. Beginning with a desire to learn certain things which seemed mysterious, and therefore fascinating to them, and without a thought of anything more than the amusement of a passing hour, some girls in Salem Village (now a part of Danvers) listened to stories told to them by Tituba, a West Indian servant in the household of Rev. Samuel Parris, pastor of the church in that parish. These were weird tales which she had learned in her childhood from the people of her race and her island home. She taught the children to perform certain tricks which seemed interesting because they were inexplicable to the elders of their families and the neighbors.

This was the first phase of the origin and development of the so-called witchcraft delusion of 1692. These things, more or less harmless in themselves, when coupled with belief in the occult, which was then still held by both learned and ignorant, caused the ignoble and awful deaths of a score of people here.

This faith in the evil hidden or mysterious forces in the spirit world was practically confined to biblical witchcraft, that is, the belief which was held by the religious people in Judea two thousand years ago. This idea was not taught, but was inborn; and practically may be said to be this,—that there were two beings, both entirely spiritual in their nature, one, God, of supreme power and goodness, the other, Devil, almost equal to God in ability, but subject, nevertheless, to the supreme authority, and was intensioned to overthrow all goodness and destroy the organized forces of God's kingdom. These two spiritual existences were regarded as individual personalities,—so much so that even now Devil is represented in human form with horns and hoofs. The heathen also showed God by idols, in similar form, but without Devil's

appendages. Devil was believed to have been cast out of Heaven, for breach of its law; and ever after he sought to oppose the will of God, not simply as an insidious influence, but boldly and directly. In all eras, wrong done by and to the people was deemed to be from the judgment of God or the direction of Devil,—as, for example, that insanity or disease was the direct work of the latter. Pastors of churches generally naturally endeavored to eradicate or weaken all such influences and inroads of Devil among their people.

Rev. Samuel Parris became minister of the Salem Village church in 1689. He came from the West Indies, where he had been a merchant, and where the atmosphere was saturated with faith in witches and demoniac influences and the mysterious was as commonplace as life itself.

The parsonage in Salem Village was situated about a hundred feet northerly from the present parsonage house. When Mr. Parris came there he had brought with him John and his wife Tituba, who had been his slaves in the West Indies, and here they continued in his service. Like the colored race generally, and especially of the tropics, Tituba was a believer in the occult, and delighted in the exploitation of the mysterious and wonderful. She told stories of inexplicable happenings and impressively spoke of her faith in the existence of spirits, especially those which were evil. Her auditors were the two young girls in the household. These were Elizabeth Parris, aged nine, daughter of the minister, and her cousin, Abigail Williams, aged eleven. This was toward the end of December, 1691. Tituba also taught the girls the practice of arts associated with such wonderful and unseen powers. These children became greatly impressed and influenced by the introduction to such conditions and mysteries.

An older girl, who lived at 177 Dayton Street, learned of the new amusement of the girls at the parsonage, and she, too, became interested. This was Ann Putnam, twelve years of age; and although *anne Putnam* she lived a mile away was occasionally there. The addition of an older girl furnished a suggestion of further practices which would be pronounced wonderful or at least mysterious. They soon began to exhibit queer actions, as creeping into holes and under chairs, putting themselves into odd postures, making antic gestures, and uttering loud cries and unintelligible expressions, as children had done before and since, especially girls. To the ordinary person even of that time, these performances were regarded as the ordinary trend of a childish imagination, but instead they were taken seriously.

The actions of the children, under the guidance of Tituba, were apparently unreasonable, even in children, and they became

noticed and subjects of comment. The attention they received encouraged them to do more extraordinary things, and Mr. Parris became perplexed and dismayed.

Dr. William Griggs had moved into the town, to a house on the southerly side of Conant Street, easterly of Folly Hill (now in Beverly), just a week before Mr. Parris consulted him as to what was the matter with the girls. This was probably Doctor Griggs' first call, and as there was no physician in the Village parish, and he was living practically within it, and, of course, was looking for a start in practice there, and there could be no stronger supporter in the parish than the minister, readily and guilely acquiesced on the opinion of Mr. Parris that it was a case of witchcraft. Nevertheless, honesty may have led the doctor into the declaration in favor of witchcraft, for both of them, although professionals, were believers along the same trend of thought and practice. Probably, if the exhibitions of the girls had been ignored at this time Salem witchcraft would have never existed.

A new and very important lime-light was thrown upon these young and unsophisticated girls. They immediately became the central figures of a wide interest and attention, and were regarded with awe. Witchcraft existed in this small New England hamlet! The parents of the children tried fasting and prayer. Neighboring ministers were called in consultation, and the children performed before them, each succeeding rehearsal becoming more developed and natural. It was generally agreed that Devil was working here. Physicians of the soul agreed with the physicians of the body. Prayers were unavailing; and from that time the children were called "afflicted."

The question then arose, "Who bewitched them?" Perhaps we do not now understand what was intended by the question put to the children as to who "afflicted" them. It might have been understood by the girls to be who troubled them to do the things they did. They would certainly have truthfully replied, "Tituba." But the word was soon understood to mean something very different. It must be remembered that the whole matter was confined to acts and statements of these three children, who were respectively nine, eleven and twelve years old and, later, Mercy Lewis, who was seventeen. This was a new and bald question for the girls, who were importuned to tell. They at first cried out, "Tituba," as they would naturally do. But, doubtless, at Tituba's suggestion, they also named Sarah Good and Sarah Osborn, the two women of the Village who were most disliked. Mrs. Good was about middle-aged, lived apart from her husband, William Good, and tried to support her children by begging. Her hopeless and forlorn condition prejudiced her in the parish. No one cared for her.

Sarah Osborn, whose second marriage was unhappy, was depressed and her mind affected, and she was ill and bed-ridden. These women were the safest of all in the parish for the girls or Tituba to accuse. The girls had undoubtedly heard them spoken of as hags or worse, for they were subjects of many detrimental discussions. Before this period, the girls had created a sensation in that credulous time; but now it assumed great and awful proportions. Before, there were only a few harmless childish antics,—now began a series of incidents by which a score of human lives paid the penalty of ignorance of the representatives of the "learned" professions.

News,—bad news,—travels fast. Few had known of these mysterious evidences; but, now, the whole community was alarmed. From near and far, people came to witness the exhibitions which the children found were very important, and they became the center of interest everywhere.

The children declined to say anything as to why or how they performed. They had not thought of that phase of it, except that they did not wish to tell tales of Tituba. At this stage of the matter she said she knew how to discover witches and that she would prepare some concoction for them to take. This affronted the children. They had trusted her and refused to tell of her part in the mystery; and, now, whatever she meant by her promise to discover them to be in the control of some being of whom they knew nothing beyond what they heard in the pulpit of the awfulness of demons, the girls turned on her and cried out that she pinched, pricked and tormented them, falling into fits. Tituba denied that she was a witch herself.

The girls only named the persons, and without evidence or investigation on which to found a legal complaint, Joseph Hutchinson, Edward Putnam, Thomas Putnam and Thomas Preston, four leading men of the parish, signed a complaint for the arrest of the accused. The warrant, which was duly issued by John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin, the Salem magistrates, upon the complaint, February 29th, was served by George Locker, constable, who made return that he had "brought the person of the within Sarah Good." The warrant charged her with "suspicion of witchcraft done to Elizabeth Parris, Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam and Elizabeth Hubbard." Elizabeth Hubbard was from the household of Doctor Griggs. She was seventeen, niece of Mrs. Griggs, and a servant in the family.

Tituba, Mrs. Good and Mrs. Osborn were duly arrested March 1st and they were examined the seventh, being taken to Boston at the completion of their examination for confinement there.

In the course of the examination of Tituba, she was asked if she ever went on a witch expedition with Good and Osborn, and she replied, "They are very strong and pull me to go with them." "Where did you go?" asked one of the magistrates. "Up to Mr. Putnam's and make me hurt the child." "Who did make you go?" "A man that is very strong, and these two women, Good and Osborn, but I am sorry." "How did you go? What do you ride upon?" "I ride upon a stick or pole, and Good and Osborn behind me; we ride taking hold of one another; I don't know how we go, for I saw no trees or path, but was presently there when we were up." She declared that she never practised witchcraft in her own country. Asked what sights she saw when she went abroad, she replied, "I see a man, a dog, a hog, and two cats, a black and red, and the strange monster was Osborn's that I mentioned before, this was the hairy imp. The man would give it to me but I would not have it." Mr. Parris refused to pay the fees for Tituba's support, and after thirteen months she was sold to pay her prison fees.

The girls were now learning the nature and methods of witchcraft, how witches rode on broom sticks, how by simply wishing to do so they hurt, pinch and bite other people, by so treating an image or doll, representing the subject of their wicked actions and thoughts. Also, about black cats making animals and people sick.

The examinations of the accused were begun on Tuesday, March 1st. They were intended to have been held in the tavern of Lt. Nathaniel Ingersol; but the house was inadequate to accommodate the large numbers who came to participate in the opening of the great drama of the new world, and the magistrates adjourned to the meeting house.

Sarah Good was taken to Ipswich jail immediately, and was brought on horseback to Salem Village, a distance of ten miles each way, on the morning of the day of the hearing, and returned that night, and again came the next morning. On the seventh, with Tituba and Mrs. Osborn and her own daughter, Dorothy, five years old, she was taken to the prison in Boston. She appeared to be less infirm than she has been generally regarded. On her trips between Salem and Ipswich, she jumped off her horse three times, railed at the magistrates and endeavored to kill herself.

Calef says that she had been long accounted a "melancholy and distracted woman." Her examination shows two conditions very clearly, one, that, knowing nothing of the fact or nature of witchcraft, it was probably suggested to her that if she confessed she would be released, as many others understood in the trials which followed, though any such statement seems to have been ignored in the final decision of the cases; and, the other, that she was not a weakling.

These confessions were of little importance, except to support the accusers and the promulgation of the idea that Devil was here endeavoring with all his powers to overthrow the church and its work. Devil should have been given credit for greater sense, for the people of that parish were doing that very thing thoroughly without any effort on his part.

At her examination, Mrs. Good's testimony was taken by Ezekiel Cheever, as follows:—

The examination of Sarah Good before the Worshipful Esqrs. John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin.

Sarah Good, whose evil spirit have you familiarity with? None.

Have you made no contracts with the devil? No.

Why do you hurt these children? I do not hurt them. I scorn it.

Who do you employ then to do it? I employ nobody.

What creature do you employ then? No creature: but I am falsely accused.

Why did you go away muttering from Mr. Parris' house? I did not mutter, but thanked him for what he gave my child.

Have you no contract with the devil? No.

Hathorne desired the children all of them to look upon her and see if this were the person that hurt them, and so they all did look upon her and said that this was one of the persons that did torment them. Presently they were all tormented.

Sarah Good, do you not see now what you have done. Why do you not tell us the truth? Why do you thus torment these poor children? I do not torment them.

Why do employ then? I employ nobody. I scorn it.

How came they thus tormented? What do I know? You bring others here and now you charge me with it.

Why who was it? I do not know but it was some you brought into the meeting house with you.

We brought you into the meeting house. But you brought in two more.

Who is it then that tormented the children? It was Osburn.

What is it you say when you go muttering away from person's houses? 'If I must tell I will tell.

Do tell us, then. If I must tell, I will tell. It is the commandments: I may say my commandments, I hope.

What commandment is it? If I must tell you, I will tell; it is a psalm.

What psalm?

(After a long time she muttered over some part of a psalm.)

Who do you serve? I serve God.

What God do you serve? The God that made heaven and earth (though she was not willing to mention the word "God"). Her answers were in a very wicked, spiteful manner, reflecting and retorting against the authority in base and abusive words; and many lies she was taken in. It was here said that her husband had said that she was either a witch or would be one very quickly. The worshipful Mr. Hathorne asked him his reason why he said so of her, whether he had

ever seen anything by her. He answered: "No, not in this nature, but it was her bad carriage to him; and indeed," said he, "I may say with tears, that she is an enemy to all good."

Hathorne wrote an account of this examination himself, as follows:—

Salem Village, March the first. 1692. Sarah Good, upon examination, denied the matter the fact, viz., that she ever used any witchcraft or hurt the above said children, or any of them. The above named children, being all present, positively accused her of hurting them sundry times within this two months, and also that morning. Sarah Good denied that she had been at their houses in said time or near them or had done them any hurt. All the above said children then present accused her face to face. Upon which they were all dreadfully tortured and tormented for a short space of time, and, the affliction and tortures being over, they charged said Sarah Good again that she had then so tortured them, and came to them and did it, although she was personally then kept at a considerable distance from them.

Sarah Good being asked if that she did not hurt them, who did it, and the children being again tortured, she looked upon them, and said it was one of them we brought into the house with us. We asked her who it was. She then answered, and said it was Sarah Osburn, and Sarah Osburn was then under custody, and not in the house, and the children, being quickly after recovered out of their fit, said that it was Sarah Good and also Sarah Osburn that then did hurt and torment and afflict them, although both of them at the same time at a distance or remote from them personally. There were also sundry questions put to her, and answers given thereunto by her according as is also given in.

This statement of the clerk shows that the testimony, as taken by Mr. Cheever, was interspersed with comments of his own; though the statement of the evidence of Hathorne is given correctly as the evidence appeared. It is true that all the reported testimony in the whole episode of the delusion was written by persons who were prejudiced in favor of the persecution. Much of it was taken by Mr. Parris himself; and he was intensely partial. It should be stated that the prisoners were not allowed counsel.

Sarah Osborn was then about sixty years old, and under popular ban for the treatment her second husband and herself had given the sons of herself and her first husband, in attempting to secure to themselves the boys' interest in their father's estate. At this time, she was "a bed-ridden old woman." Her examination occurred on the first three days of March, and it was very similar to that of Mrs. Good. She denied that she was a witch, had familiarity with any evil spirit, had made a contract with Devil, had hurt the children or employed any one to hurt them. Mr. Hathorne desired all the children to stand and look upon her, and see if they did not know her, which they all did. They all

said that she was one of those that afflicted them. With Tituba and Mrs. Good, she was taken to Boston, feeble as she was from the mental strain and excitement of her arrest and examination, the exposure in traveling to and from the Ipswich jail several times. The hardships of life in jail, the irons which secured her, the ill-treatment and brutality of the jailer proved fatal to her, and she died in the Boston prison May 10th. The bill of items in the account rendered the country treasurer, of the support of the witchcraft prisoners contains this item: "Sarah Osborne from March 7 to May 10, when she died, 9 weeks and 2 days, £1, 3s." Both Mrs. Good and Mrs. Osborn were kept in irons; and Mrs. Good's child, Dorothy, continued in the jail in Boston with the mother. Of these accused, only Mrs. Good was ever tried.

Having seen Tituba, Mrs. Osborn, Mrs. Good and the latter's child on the way to jail, the girls became aware that they were important and famous, and they were emboldened to become pert and impudent. At the service in the meeting house on Sunday, March 20th, when the Psalm previous to the sermon had been sung, and before Rev. Mr. Lawson, the preacher, could approach the desk, Abigail Williams cried out, "Now stand up and name your text." When he had read it she exclaimed in a loud and insolent voice, "It's a long text." A Mrs. Pope, who, apparently, wished to enjoy the notoriety which had been acquired by the girls, and had attempted to maintain a part as one of them, while the sermon was being delivered, broke in with "Now there is enough of that." While delivering this sermon, Mr. Lawson referred to the doctrine he had expounded in the morning service, and Abigail Williams rudely ejaculated, "I know no doctrine you had. If you did have one, I have forgot it."

A warrant for the arrest of an aged member of the church for witchcraft had been issued the day before, but had not been served. Of this the girls were aware, and in the service Abigail Williams called aloud the name of the accused who was present, and said, "Look where she sits upon the beam sucking her yellow-bird betwixt her fingers!" and Ann Putnam joined in by exclaiming, "There is a yellow-bird sitting on the minister's hat, as it hangs on the pin in the pulpit." Mr. Lawson said afterward, in the simpleness of his mind, that these occurrences "in the time of public worship did something interrupt me in my first prayer, being so unusual." Apparently, neither admonition nor punishment followed these demonstrations.

Mary Black, a negro belonging to Nathaniel Putnam, was examined for witchcraft April 22d. Mr. Parris took down the evidence as follows:—

The examination of Mary Black (a negroe) at a Court held at Salem Village 22 Apr. 1692 By the magistrates of Salem

Mary, you are accused sundry acts of witchcraft: Tell true be you a witch? Silent.

How long have you been a witch? I cannot tell you.

Why do you hurt these folks. I hurt no body

Why doth? I do not know

Her master saith a man sat down upon the form with her about a twelve month agoe.

What did the man say to you? He said nothing.

Doth this Negro hurt you? Severall of them said yes.

Why do you hurt them? I did not hurt them.

Do you prick sticks? No I pin my Neckcloth

Well take out a pin, & pin it again.

She did so, & several of the afflicted cryed out they were prickt. Mary Walcott was prick^d in the arm till the blud came, Abigail Williams was prick^d in the stomach Mercy Lewis was prick^d in the foot. m^r Samuel parris being desired to take in wrighting the Examination of Mary Black And upon heareing the same and seeing what wee did then see together with y^e Charge of y^e afflicted persons then present Wee Committed s^d Mary black

JOHN HATHORNE
JONATHAN CORWIN

*Assis^{ts}*¹

She was released at the time of the general delivery Jan. 11, 1692-3.

Mrs. Sarah Buckley and her daughter Mary Whittridge, both of Salem Village, were arrested, and examined May 18th. The examination of Mrs. Buckley was as follows:—

The examination of Sarah Buckley. 18. May. 1692

Abig: Williams said this is the woman that hath bit me with her swagged teeth a great many times.

Mary Walcutt, Ann Putnam, & Susan Sheldon unable to speak.

Mercy Lewis said she see her upon her feet last night. Mary Walcotts testimony read

Eliz: Hubbard said I see her last sab. day hurt Mary Walcott in the meeting house but I do not know that she hurt me.

Ann Putnam's testimony read

Mary Warren said that she saw this Woman & a great company & that this woman would have her the said Warren go to their Sacrament up to m^r Parris.

Susan: Sheldon said this Woman hath tore her to peices & tempted her with the book

Ann Putnam carried to this examinant in a fit was made well upon the Examnants grasping her Arm

Susan: Sheldon the like.

Mary Warren the like

When the examinant was pressed to confess she said she did not hurt them. she was innocent.

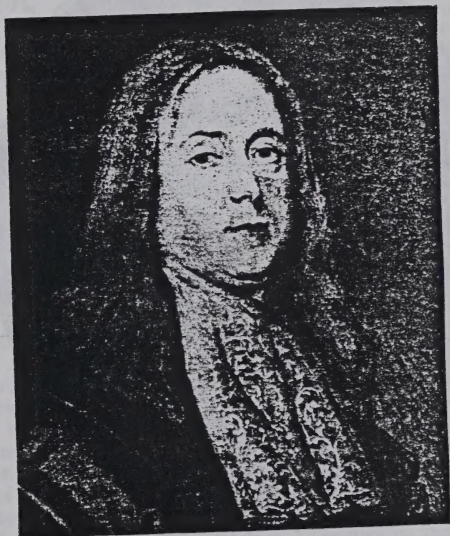
Susan: Sheldon said there is the Black man whispering in her ear.

¹Massachusetts Archives, volume 135, leaf 20.

This is a true Copy of the substance of the Original examination of the abovesd Sarah Buckley. Witness my hand upon my Oath taken this day in Court 15 Sept 1692.

SAM PARRIS¹

These two women, mother and daughter, remained in confinement until January following, when they were tried, and acquitted.



WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

Thomas Newton, the Crown's attorney, spent May 21st at Salem Village. He wrote to Isaac Addington at Boston, from Salem on that evening, saying that he had been there all day, and "I have beheld most strange things scarce credible; . . . the afflicted spare no person of whatever quality." He said that the examinations were tedious, and suggested that Tituba and Mrs. Thatcher's maid be kept separate.²

As the delirium proceeded, the girls added fits, fainting and raving to their accomplishments; accusations rose from outcasts to

¹Massachusetts Archives, volume 135, leaf 22.

²Massachusetts Archives, volume 135, leaf 23.

persons of high reputations; and the witches were declared to be guilty, not simply of pinching, etc., but of horrible murder, even by a clergyman. Mr. *Samuel Parris* removed his daughter to a place of retirement in the trouble.



SAMUEL SEWALL.

Here were jails, in which were many prisoners, to be tried, but no court. This was a condition which the colony was in when Sir William Phips arrived in Boston with the new provincial charter, May 14, 1692. In this charter, the general court to be elected was authorized to establish courts; but there was not time to hold an election for this purpose, and the cases must be tried and disposed of. In cases of an emergency, it had long been a practice in England for the king to appoint Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer to hear and decide the causes. Governor Phips, as the personal representative of the king, issued a commission for such a court May 25th, and on Friday, the twenty-seventh, the members were

Wm Stoughton.

appointed. William Stoughton, the deputy-governor, was named first, and therefore always presided as its chief-justice. He was educated for the ministry and not the law. His associates on the commission

John Hathorne

Jonathan Corwin, of Salem, and Maj. John Richards, Wait Winthrop, Peter Sargent and Capt. Samuel Sewall, of Boston. These men were among the ablest in the colony, in the social scale and in capacity.

Samuel Sewall was son of Rev. Henry and Jane (Dummer) Sewall and brother of Maj. Samuel Sewall of Salem, and was born in Bishopstoke, England, March 28, 1652. He learned to read at Baddesly, and was afterward educated at the grammar school at Ramsey. He came to America with his parents, arriving at Boston, July 6, 1661. The family settled in Newbury, where he was prepared for college by Rev. Thomas Parker. He graduated at Harvard College in 1671, at the age of nineteen, and received the degree of A. M. three years later. He became a "resident fellow" of Harvard, and, March 1, 1674, was appointed "keeper of the college library." He intended becoming a clergyman, and studied theology, but his marriage with Hannah Hull, daughter of the mint master, probably diverted him from his purpose. As an assistant, he became, *ex-officio*, a judge of the superior court. As a judge of the court of Oyer and Terminer, he acknowledged his error in condemning the accused, and publicly craved forgiveness from God and man. He resigned as chief-justice of the Province in 1728, and died Jan. 1, 1730, at the age of seventy-seven. Of his children, his son Samuel married Rebecca, daughter of Gov. Joseph Dudley, his daughter Elizabeth married Grove Hirst, who was born in Salem, and whose daughter Mary married Sir William Pepperrell. The portrait of Chief-justice Samuel Sewall on the opposite page is from the original painting in the possession of Cecil Hampden Cutts Howard of Bebee, Arkansas.

Their views of witchcraft were substantially the same as of the English judges.

Saltonstall withdrew at the time of the first session of the court, as he was "very much dissatisfied with the proceedings of it." The clerk of the court was Stephen Sewall, brother of Samuel Sewall. Thomas Newton was appointed special king's attorney for these cases, and prepared the earlier ones for the court. He

Nath^l Saltonstall

Jonathan Corwin

Samuel Sewall

then resigned, and the attorney general, Anthony Checkley, took charge of the prosecution. The sheriff, took the place of marshal

George Corwin

of the colonial court. This was George Corwin, nephew of Jonathan Corwin of the court. Judge Corwin was forty years of age, and George was only twenty-six. John Hathorne lived where the Holyoke Building stands, Jonathan Corwin in the "Witch house" and the sheriff on the site of the Washington House. The court sat in the court house which stood in the middle of Washington Street, opposite the Masonic Temple.

The first session of the court was held the next Thursday and Friday, June second and third, and early in the next week. The case of Bridget Bishop was the first tried. Why she was the first one tried, instead of the first accused, is unknown, unless it was because she was here in Salem, and Mrs. Good was in Boston prison, with her five-year-old child. Mrs. Bishop was wife of Edward Bishop, and they lived on the northerly side of Conant Street, now in Beverly, on the westerly corner of the westerly entrance to the Cherry Hill farm. The Bishops then conducted a house for the entertainment of travelers, and dispensed cider. Mrs. Bishop's guests remained up late at night, playing checkers and drinking and being merry. Their neighbors complained of them; and years before they were convicted of theft and lying. In 1680, Mrs. Bishop was tried for witchcraft, but was discharged; and news of these things had become known by the childish accusers, probably from Elizabeth Hubbard, who was her neighbor, and had lived in the family of Doctor Griggs long enough to discover how obnoxious the Bishop family were to the people of that vicinity.

A warrant for the arrest of Mrs. Bishop was issued, Monday, April 18th, and she was arrested the next day and committed to jail. Five indictments were found against her. They were for practising witchcraft upon Mercy Lewis, Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott, Elizabeth Hubbard and Ann Putnam respectively.

Indictments were apparently drawn in blank and filled in as required. Apparently, the clerk knew that a considerable number of indictments would be found, and to facilitate their issuance he prepared them in complete form, except the date, name of the accused, the place and the name and residence of each one upon the witchcraft was believed to be practised. The form was as follows:—

Essex in the Province
of the Massachusetts
Bay in New England
Ss

Anno R R^e & Regine Guli-
elmi & Marie &c. Quarto
Annoq Domini 1692.

The Juriors for our Sou^r
Lord and Lady the King and Queen doe pre-

sent that Sarah Buckley wife of William Buckley of Salem In the County of Essex Shoemaker In & vpon the Eighteenth day of may In the yeare aforesaid and divers other days and times as well before as after Certaine detestable acts called Witch craft of Sorceries Wickedly mallitiously and feloniously hath used practised and Exercised at and in the Towne of Salem in the County of Essex aforesaid in upon & against one Ann: Puttnam of Salem aforesaid Single Woman by which said Wicked acts y^e said Ann Puttnam y^e Day & yeare aforesaid and divers other days and times, both before and after was and is Tortured afflicted Consumed Pined Wasted & Tormented and also for sundry other Acts of Witchcraft by the said Sarah Buckley Comitted and done before and since that time against Our Sou^r Lord and Lady the King & Queen theire Crowne & Dignity and the forme in the Statute In that case made and Prouided.¹

At the trial of Mrs. Bishop, as soon as she came into the court room all the children fell into fits. She was told that "They say you bewitched your first husband to death." She said: "If it please your worship, I know nothing of it." Leading questions repeated in various forms did not make her confess any of the charges against her. When she turned up her eyes, the eyes of the children were turned up also, and they manifested the usual evidences of torture in the court room.

William Stacey testified that when he had the small pox some thirteen years before she professed great love for him; and sometime afterward he did some work for her and she paid him three pence. He put the money in his pocket, but after going a few rods could not find it. One day he met her going to mill and she asked him if his father would grind her grist. He said, "Why do you ask?" She answered, "Because folks count me a witch." He said that he had no doubt that his father would grind it, and after going about six rods from her with a small load in his cart the off wheel sank into a hole upon plain ground and he was forced to get some one to help him get the wheel out. Afterwards, he went back to look for the hole, but could find none. At midnight, one winter, he said that he felt something cold pressing on his teeth between his lips, and he saw her sitting on the foot of his bed. She hopped upon the bed and about the room. Sometime afterward, on a dark night, as he was going to his barn, he said he was taken or hoisted from the ground, thrown against

¹Massachusetts Archives, volume 135, leaf 23.

a wall, then taken up again and thrown down a bank at the end of the house. He afterward met Mrs. Bishop by Isaac Stearn's brickkiln, and after he had passed his horse stood still with a small load going up hill, so that the horse, trying to draw, "all his gears flew in pieces and the cart fell down."

Rev. John Hale of Beverly testified that Christian Trask, wife of John Trask, a neighbor of Mrs. Bishop, required of him that Mrs. Bishop be not permitted to receive the sacraments till she had given satisfaction for some offences, as, her entertaining "certain people in her house at unseasonable hours in the night to keep drinking and playing at shuffle-board whereby discord did arise in the other families and young people were in danger to be corrupted." Mr. Hale greatly feared that "if a stop had not been put to those disorders Edward Bishop's house would have been a house of great profaneness and iniquity." Mr. Trask stated that his wife was taken distracted the night after she had complained of Mrs. Bishop, and committed suicide by cutting her throat with a pair of scissors, so small that, after Mr. Hale had observed them, he said that he then judged it impossible for her "to mangle herself so without some extraordinary work of the devil or witchcraft." This was in 1690.¹

Two witnesses testified that on taking down the cellar wall in the old Bishop house where Mrs. Bishop lived in 1685 they found in holes in the wall several poppets made of rags and hog's bristles with headless pins in them with the points sticking out.

Samuel Shattuck testified that a few years before, his eldest child, who had hitherto been healthy, was "taken in a drooping condition," and as Mrs. Bishop "came often to the house it grew worse and worse." Sometimes, as the child was standing at the door he would fall out, as if he had been thrust out by an invisible hand, and bruise his face. Sometimes, the child would go out in the garden and get on a board; and when he was called he would walk to the end of the board and hold out his hands as if he could come no further, and he would have to be lifted off.

John Lander testified that Mrs. Bishop came into his room one night, and sat on his stomach. He said that he put out his hands, and she grabbed him by the throat and choked him. Another time, one Sunday, when he remained at home and the door was shut, he saw a black pig in the room. It came toward him, and he tried to kick it, but it vanished. Immediately afterward, he sat down in a narrow bar and saw a black thing jump into the window. It came and stood just before his face upon the bar. Its body looked like that of a monkey. Being greatly frightened, and not able to speak or help himself by reason of fear, it spoke to

¹See page 237 for an account of the suicide of Mrs. Trask.

him and said, "I am a messenger sent to you for I understand you are troubled in mind, and if you will be ruled by me you shall want for nothing in this world." He endeavored to clasp his hands upon it, and said, "You devil, I will kill you!" He could feel no substance, and it jumped out of the window. Immediately, it came in by the porch, although the doors were shut, and said, "You had better take counsel." Whereupon, he struck at it with a stick, but struck the ground sill. Then his arm was disabled, and, opening the door, he went out and saw Mrs. Bishop in her orchard going toward her house. When he saw her he had no power to set one foot before the other.

John Bly and his wife had a dispute with the Bishops about a hog. They testified that the hog was taken with "strange fits," jumping up and knocking her head against the fence, and seemed to be blind and deaf. It would not eat, neither let her pigs suck, but foamed at the mouth. They gave it red ochre and milk, which made it better, but soon "it did set off jumping and running, as if she was stark mad, and after that was well again, and we did then apprehend or judge and do still, that said Bishop had bewitched said sow."

John Cook deposed that five or six years previously he was assaulted with the shape of the prisoner in his chamber, and so terrified that an apple that he held in his hand flew strangely from him into his mother's lap, six or eight feet distant.

Mrs. Bishop was convicted; and a warrant was duly issued on Wednesday, the eighth of June, for her execution. It reads as follows:—

To George Corwin gent High Sheriff of the county of Essex greeting:

Whereas Bridget Bishop, als Oliver, the wife of Edward Bishop of Salem in the County of Essex, sawyer, at a speciall court of Oyer and Terminer held at Salem the second day of this instant month of June for the countyes of Essex, Middlesex and Suffolk before William Stoughton Esq. and his associate justices of the said court was indicted and arraigned upon five several indictments for using, practicing and exercising on the nynteenth day of April last past and divers other days and times before and after certain acts of witchcraft on and upon the bodyes of Abigail Williams Ann Putnam junr. Mercy Lewis May Walcott and elizabeth Hubbard of Salem Village single women where-by their bodyes were hurt afflicted pined consumed wasted and tormented contrary to the forme of the statute in that case made and provided. To which indictment the said Bridget Bishop pleaded not guilty and for tryal thereof put hereself upon God and her country whereupon she was found guilty of the felonyes and witchcraft where-of she stood indicted and sentence of death accordingly passed agt her as the law directs. Execution whereof yet remains to be done. These are therefore in the name of their maj^{ties} William and Mary

now King and Queen over England &c to will and command you that upon Fryday next being the tenth dy of this instant month of June between the hours of eight and twelve in the aforenoon of the same day you safely conduct the sd Bridget Bishop als Oliver from their majesties goal in Salem aforesd to the place of execution and there cause her to be hanged by the neck until she be dead, and of your doings herein make return to the clerke of the sd court and pr cept. and hereof you are not to faile at your peril and this shall be your sufficient warrant given under my hand seal at Boston the eighth dy of June in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovirgne Lord & Lady William & Mary now King and Queen over England &c annoqr dom 1692.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON

[Return on the warrant:]

According to the within written precept I have taken the body of the within name^a Bridgett Bishop out of their majesties goal in Salem and safely conveyed her to the place provided for her execution and caused ye sd Bridgett to be hanged by the neck untill she was dead and *buried in the place*^b all which was according to the time within required and so I make returne by me.

GEORGE CORWIN Sheriff.

Thus the first victim of the remarkable episode was tried, convicted and executed. It is easy to imagine the procession as it left the jail on St. Peter Street, passing down the narrow lane to the main street, and then winding its crooked way toward the nearest common land outside the town. Mrs. Bishop probably rode in a cart, drawn by a horse and guarded by officers, and following them were the curious of the town, wondering what it would be like. At what is now Boston Street, it turned to the right, and, passing over the town bridge, entered the Common land at the left to a spot now between Proctor Street and the late homestead of Solomon Stephens. There, upon a tree, her tragic end occurred. Malevolence had had its will.

The next to be tried by a jury was Mrs. Sarah Good, who was brought from Boston jail for this purpose. It must be remembered that these defendants were not allowed to have legal counsel, even if they could have procured them; and if they had had such assistance they could have had no power to stem the tide of superstition and delusion. Probably the written examinations of the accused taken at her original inquisition were put in as evidence, and oral testimony of various witnesses was introduced.

Deliverance Hobbs confessed that when she was at a meeting of the witches in Mr. Parris' field, at which Rev. George Burroughs preached to them, she saw Sarah Good among them. Her

^aThese italicized words were crossed out in the original.

daughter Abigail Hobbs, who then aged fourteen, testified that when she was with Sarah Good, whom she knew to be a witch, she (Abigail) was taken deaf; and Mary Walcott saw both Mrs. Good and Abigail run their fingers into Abigail's ears, and a little after Abigail said that Mrs. Good told her she should not speak. Mary Walcott said that "Sarah Good is a witch, and brought her the book to sign."

William Batten, William Shaw and Deborah Shaw testified that Susan Sheldon's hands were tied in such a manner that they were forced to cut the string. Sheldon told them that it was Goody Duston of Reading that tied her hands; that she had been thus tied four times in two weeks, the last two times by Sarah Good. They also stated that whenever she touched the string she was bit; also to a broom being carried out of the house and put into a tree.

Johanna Chilburn testified that the apparition of Sarah Good and her last child appeared to her and said that its mother murdered it; Mrs. Good said she did it because she could not attend it, and that the child told her that she was a witch, and then she said she gave it to the devil.

Henry Herrick testified that Sarah Good came to his father's house and wished to lodge there; but the father forbade it, and she went away grumbling. She was followed and forbidden to sleep in the barn. She then said that it would cost his father one or two of his best cows. Jonathan Batchelder added to this that about a week after two of his "master cattle" were removed and younger cattle put in their places, and since then several cattle had been let loose in a strange manner.

Elizabeth Hubbard, one of the afflicted girls, said that she saw the apparition of Sarah Good, "who did most grievously afflict her by pinching," and so continued hurting her until the first day of March, and then tortured her on that day, which was the day of her examination. She had also seen the apparition of Sarah Good afflict Elizabeth Parris, Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam and Sarah Vibber. "One night," she continued, "Samuel Sibley, that was attending me, struck Sarah Good on the arm." Susannah Shelden said she had been most grievously tortured by the apparition of Sarah Good "biting, pricking, pinching and almost choking me to death." June 26th, Mrs. Good most violently pulled her down behind a chest and tied her hands together with a wheel band and choked her, and William Battin and Thomas Buffinton were forced to cut the band from her hands, for they could not untie it. During the examination of Mrs. Good, this girl appeared to be afflicted, and said that Mrs. Good, by invisible hands, took a censer off the table and carried it out of doors.

Ann Putnam deposed that she saw the apparition of Sarah Good February 25th previously and Mrs. Good tortured her most grievously, and two days later she told Ann that she was Sarah Good. Ann did not know her name before. Then Mrs. Good pinched her most grievously, and afterwards at several times she urged Ann to write in her book. Also, on March 1st, being the day of her examination, Mrs. Good tortured her, and at several times continued to torture her. On the first day of March, she said she saw the apparition of Mrs. Good go and afflict the bodies of Elizabeth Parris, Abigail Williams, Elizabeth Hubbard and Sarah Vibber.

Sarah Vibber was a woman thirty-six years old, and she testified that Mrs. Good tortured Mercy Lewis on April 11th, and herself on May 2d, pressing her breath almost out, and also afflicted her infant so that she and her husband could not hold it. She further said that afterward the apparition had pinched, beat and choked her, and pricked her with pins. Subsequently, one night, her apparition came into Mrs. Vibber's room, pulled down the clothes and looked at her four-year-old child, and it had a great fit.

About three years previously, being destitute of shelter, Mr. and Mrs. Good were taken into the house of Samuel Abbey out of charity; and they stayed there until Mrs. Good was of "so turbulent a spirit, spiteful and so maliciously bent, that she had to go; and ever afterward she "carried it very spitefully and maliciously towards them." After she had gone from their house they began to lose cattle, and several of them "in an unusual manner, in a drooping condition, and yet they would eat." Altogether, they lost seventeen in two years, besides sheep and hogs; and they verily believed that they died of witchcraft. They further testified that William Good told them that he went home one day and told his wife that the Abbeyes had lost two cows, and she said she did not care if the Abbeyes lost all their cows. They concluded their testimony with this statement: "Just that very day that the said Sarah Good was taken up we the deponents had a cow that could not rise alone, but since presently after she was taken up, the said cow was well and could rise so well as if she had ailed nothing."

Sarah Gadge deposed that Sarah Good came to her house about two and a half years previously, and wanted to come in. Mrs. Gadge told her that she could not, for she was afraid that she had been with them that had had the small pox. She left muttering and scolding. The next morning, Gadge's cows died, "in a sudden, terrible, and strange unusual manner so that some of the neighbors said and deponent did think it to be done by witchcraft." The testimony of these witnesses shows that several persons had had personal encounters with Mrs. Good which naturally produced ill-feeling against her.

It is refreshing to learn that during this trial there was one incident, amid all the falsifying and incredulous testimony, that cleared up the truth of one statement at least, and that was following the statement by one witness that Mrs. Good had stabbed her, breaking off the point of the knife-blade in so doing, which point the witness took from her clothes where she said she was stabbed. This spectacular incident was impressive, as it was intended it should be. A young man arose in the court, and drew from his pocket the knife, stating that he had broken off the point of the blade the day before and had thrown away the tip, which the witness had found and was now using against the defendant.

Mrs. Good's daughter Dorothy, only five years of age, was called to testify against her mother. She said that her mother had three birds, one black and one yellow, and that these birds hurt the children and afflicted persons. Mercy Lewis, Mary Walcott and Ann Putnam made three depositions, in which they said that the little girl came, as an apparition, to them, and afflicted them, biting, pinching and choking them, and urging them to write in her book. Dorothy was arrested and taken to the jail with her mother. She probably remained in prison until the general delivery in the following January. She grew up to be a town charge, and was supported by the town as late as 1720.

Mrs. Good was sentenced to be hanged.

Mrs. Rebecca Nurse, wife of Francis Nurse, who then lived in the ancient Nurse house, off Pine Street, was complained of by the Putnams who issued the original complaints, and she was arrested on a warrant, dated March 23, 1692. She was retained at Nathaniel Ingersoll's inn, and her preliminary examination occurred the next day. At the request of the magistrates, John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin, assistants, the report of the proceedings was made by Rev. Mr. Parris as follows:—

What do you say (speaking to one of the afflicted), have you seen this woman hurt you? Yes, she beat me this morning.

Abigail, have you been hurt by this woman? Yes.

Ann Putnam in a grievous fit cried out, that she hurt her.

Goody Nurse, here are two, Ann Putnam the child and Abigail Williams, complain of your hurting them. What do you say to it? I can say before my eternal father I am innocent and God will clear my innocence. Here is never a one in the assembly but desires it. But if you be guilty, pray God discover you.

Then Hen. Kenny rose up to speak. Goodm. Kenny, what do you say? Then he entered his complaint and farther said that since this Nurse came into the house he was seized twice with an amas'd condition. Here are not only these but here is ye wife of Mr. Thomas Putnam who accuseth you by credible information & that both of tempting her to iniquity and of greatly hurting her. I am innocent & clear & have not been able to get out of doors these 8 or 9 days.

Mr. Putnam, give in what you have to say. Then Mr. Edward Putnam gave in his relate.

Is this true, Goody Nurse? I never afflicted no child, never in my life.

You see these accuse you. Is it true? No.

Are you an innocent person relating to this witchcraft? Here Thomas Putnam's wife cried out, did you not bring the black man with you? Did you not bid me tempt God and dye? How oft have you eat and drunk your own damnation?

What do you say to them? O Lord, help me—and spread out her hands & the afflicted were grievously vexed.

Do you see these afflicted persons & hear them accuse you? The Lord knows I have not hurt them. I am an innocent person.

It is very awful for all to see these agonies and you an old professor, thus charged with contracting with the devil by the effects of it, and yet to see you stand with dry eyes when there are so many wet. You do not know my heart.

You would do well if you are guilty to confess and give glory to God. I am as clear as the child unborn.

What uncertainty there may be in apparitions I know not, yet this with me strikes hard upon you, that you are at this very present charged with familiar spirits, this is your bodily person they speak to. They say now they see these familiar spirits come to your bodily person, now what do you say to that? I have none, sir.

Possibly you may apprehend you are no witch, but have you not been led aside by temptations that way? I have not.

Tell us, have you not had visible appearances more than what is common in nature? I have none nor never had in my life.

Do you think these suffer voluntarily or involuntarily? I cannot tell.

That is strange, every one can judge. I must be silent.

They accuse you of hurting them & if you think it is not unwillingly but by design you must look upon them as murderers. I cannot tell what to think of it.

Afterwards when this was somewhat insisted on she said, I do not think so. She did understand aright what was said.

Well, then, give an answer now, do you think these suffer against their wills or not? I do not think these persons suffer against their wills.

Why did you never visit these afflicted persons? Because I was afraid I should have fits too.

Upon motion of her body fits followed upon the complainants abundantly and very frequently.

Is it not an unaccountable case that when you are examined these persons are afflicted? I have got nobody to look to but God.

Again upon stirring her hands the afflicted persons were seized with violent fits of torture.

Do you believe these afflicted persons are bewitched? I do think they are.

When this witchcraft came upon the stage there was no suspicion of Tituba (Mr. Parris' Indian woman), she professed much love to that child. Betty Parris. but it was her apparition did the mischief, and why should not you also, be guilty, for your apparition doth hurt also? Would you have me belie myself?

She held her neck on one side and accordingly so were the afflicted taken.

Then authority requiring it, Sam. Parris read what he had in character taken from Mr. Thomas Putnam's wife in her fits.

What do you think of this? I cannot help it, the devil may appear in my shape.

This a true account of the sum of her examination, but by reason of great noises by the afflicted and many speakers many things are pretermitted memorandum.

Nurse held her head on one side and Elizabeth Hubbard (one of the sufferers) had her neck set in that posture, whereupon another patient, Abigail Williams, cried out, set up Goody Nurse's head, the maid's neck will be broke, and when some set up Nurse's head, Aaron Way observed that Betty Hubbard's was immediately righted.

Mrs. Nurse was placed in jail, and June first was brought before the grand jury. The next day they returned four indictments against her, for afflicting Ann Putnam, Mary Walcott, Elizabeth Hubbard and Abigail Williams.

For her trial, the court came in on the second; and its session was apparently adjourned until the twenty-eighth. Depositions of Ann Putnam, Mary Walcott, Elizabeth Hubbard, Abigail Williams and Sarah Vibber were in evidence against her. These charged Mrs. Nurse with biting, pinching and pricking them, and that they saw her apparition hurting each other. Ann Putnam said that she urged her to write in her book; and Mary Walcott that the apparition of Mrs. Nurse told her that she would kill her if she did not write in the book, and that Mrs. Nurse "told her she had a hand in the death of Benjamin Houlton, John Harwood, Rebecca Shepard and several others."

Abigail Williams claimed that on several days in May, Mrs. Nurse afflicted her, and tempted her to leap into the fire, and that she had "seen the apparition of a sacrament sitting next to the man with a high crowned hat." It had also confessed to her "its guilt in committing several murders with her sister Cloys." Sarah Vibber deposed that she had been pinched and choked by the defendant's apparition.

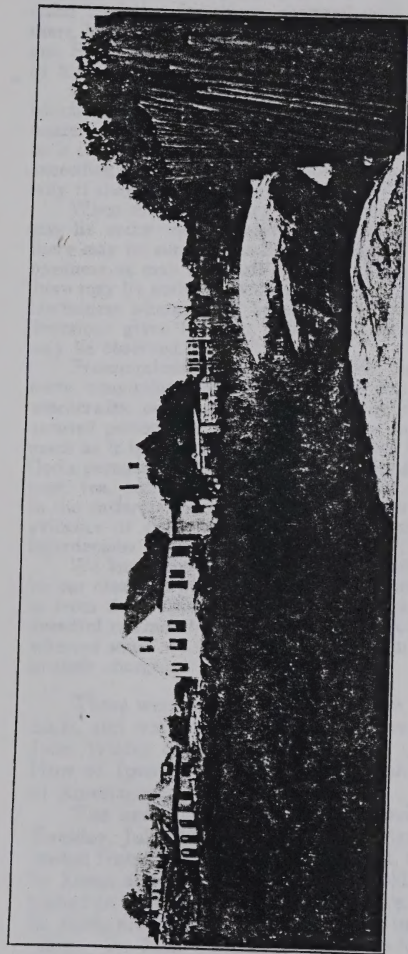
Johannah Childin testified that on June 2d the apparition of Mrs. Nurse and Goodman Harwood appeared to her and Harwood looked Mrs. Nurse in the face and said to her that she murdered him by pushing him off the cart and struck the breath out of his body.

Edward Putnam deposed that on March 26th Ann Putnam, sr., was bitten by Mrs. Nurse, as she said, about two o'clock the same day she was struck with a chain, the mark being in a band of a round ring and three strokes across the ring; she had six blows with a chain in the space of half an hour, and she had a remarkable one with six strokes across her arm; and that he saw the mark, both of the bite and chain.

Widow Sarah Holton deposed that, about three years before, her husband Benjamin Holton was as well as ever she knew him in her life, until one morning Mrs. Nurse came to their house and fell to railing at him because their pigs got into her field, though the pigs were sufficiently yoked and Nurse's fence was down in seven places; all that the Holtons could say did not pacify her and she continued to rail and scold for a long time, calling to her son Benjamin to get a gun and kill the pigs and let none of them go out of the field, though Mr. Holton never gave her a cross word. Within a short time after this, Mr. Holton went out very early in the morning, and when coming in he was taken with a strange fit in the entry, being made blind and struck down two or three times, so that when he came to himself he said that he thought that he would never come into the house any more; and all summer afterward he continued in a languishing condition, being much in pain in his stomach and often struck blind; about a fortnight before he died he was taken with strange and violent fits, and acted very much as if he would die, and the doctor who was with him could not discover what his distemper was, and the day before he died he was cheery, but at about midnight was again most violently seized with fits till the next night about midnight, when "he departed this life by a cruel death."

The jury returned a verdict of not guilty June 28th. When it was announced the accusers in court cried with renewed vigor and were taken in the most violent fits, rolling and tumbling about, creating a scene of the wildest confusion. The judges sent the jury back to reconsider the case, as they were told that they had not considered all points in the case. Practically, the judges told them to find the defendant guilty, which they did. She was thereupon sentenced to be hanged. That afternoon, she was excommunicated from the church.

The first general court under the provincial charter held its initial meeting at Boston June 8, 1692. The witchcraft judges united with the governor and council in requesting the opinion of the ministers of the churches on the matter of the witchcraft trials. Cotton Mather prepared the answer for the clergymen. He wrote from the viewpoint of a believer in witchcraft, and under the circumstances certainly manifested a more judicious position than the magistrates. He said:—



PLACE OF EXECUTION OF THE ALLEGED WITCHES

We judge that, in the prosecution of these and all such witchcrafts there is need of a very critical and exquisite caution, lest by too much credulity for things received only upon the devil's authority, there be a door opened for a long train of miserable consequences, and Satan get an advantage over us; for we should not be ignorant of his devices.

As in complaints upon witchcraft there may be matters of inquiry which do not amount unto matters of presumption, and there may be matters of presumption which yet may not be matters of conviction, so it is necessary that all proceedings thereabout be managed with an exceeding tenderness toward those that may be complained of, especially if they have been persons formerly of an unblemished reputation.

When the first inquiry is made into the circumstances of such as may lie under the just suspicion of witchcrafts, we could wish that there may be admitted as little as possible of such noise, company and openness as may too hastily expose them that are examined, and that there may be nothing used as a test for the trial of the suspected, the lawfulness whereof may be doubted by the people of God, but that the directions given by such judicious writers as Perkins and Barnard, may be observed.

Presumptions whereupon persons may be committed, as much more, convictions whereupon persons may be condemned as guilty of witchcrafts, ought certainly to be more considerable than barely the accused persons being represented by a spectre unto the afflicted, inasmuch as it is an undoubted and notorious thing, that a demon may by God's permission appear, even to ill purposes, in the shape of an innocent, yea, and a virtuous man. Nor can we esteem alterations made in the sufferers, by a look or touch of the accused, to be an infallible evidence of guilt, but frequently liable to be abused by the devil's legerdmain.

We know not whether some remarkable affronts given the devils, by our disbelieving these testimonies, whose whole force and strength is from them alone, may not put a period unto the progreess of the dreadful calamity begun upon us, in the accusation of so many persons, whereof some, we hope, are yet clear from the great transgression laid to their charge.

There were three others who were tried at this sitting of the court, and were convicted. These were Sarah (Averill), wife of John Wildes of Topsfield, Elizabeth (Jackson), wife of James How of Ipswich and Susannah (North), wife of George Martin of Amesbury.

The executions of these five convicted persons occurred on Tuesday, July 19th. Again, on that day, a larger procession proceeded from the jail on St. Peter Street, to Essex Street, and thence by Essex and Boston streets, to the old highway, into which they turned to the left to the spot where Mrs. Bishop had been executed in June, and there in the same way upon trees their lives were taken. As Mrs. Good stood upon the ladder, about to be ushered

into eternity, Rev. Mr. Noyes, the assistant pastor of the Salem Church, told her: "You are a witch, and you know you are a witch." "You are a liar," was her indignant reply; "I am no more a witch than you are a wizard, and if you take my life, God will give you blood to drink."

Mercy Lewis, one of the girls, who lived in the family of Thomas Putnam, had been in the family of Rev. George Burroughs when he was pastor of the Salem Village church, and knew of his troubles while he was there.¹ A warrant for his arrest was issued in Portsmouth, N. H., April 30, 1692, when he was preaching at Wells, Me., and he was taken to Salem with all speed, being suspected "for confederacy" with Devil in oppressing sundry persons of Salem. He was accordingly brought to Salem May 4th. Depositions charging Burroughs with being concerned in the witchcraft matter had been made as early as April 23d. Mrs. Deliverance Hobbs had deposed that she was "at a meeting of the witches in Mr. Parris' field when Mr. Burroughs preached and administered the sacrament to them." May 9th, he was examined, Stoughton and Sewall coming down from Boston to assist Hathorne and Corwin therein. The ministers of the local and neighboring churches joined in the private inquiry. They asked him about his partaking of the sacrament of the Lord's supper; and he said that he could not tell, but it was a long time before. When he entered the court room many if not all the bewitched apparently were tortured. Susan Sheldon testified that Mr. Burroughs' two wives appeared in their winding sheets and said he killed them. He was asked to look at Sarah, and, when he looked back at her, most or all of the afflicted who stood behind him fell down. When Mercy Lewis' deposition was about to be read, she "fell into a dreadful and tedious fit." It was so with Mary Walcott, Elizabeth Hubbard and Susan Sheldon. Being asked what he thought of these things, he answered that it was an amazing and humiliating providence, but he understood nothing of it, and he said, as some may have observed, when they begin to name any one they cannot do it. The bewitched were apparently so tortured that they were removed from the room.

Ann Putnam testified that Burroughs' first two wives appeared to her when he was present; that they turned their faces towards him and "looked very red and angry," and told him that he had

¹John Ruck of Salem was appointed guardian of Charles, George, Jeremiah and Josiah, children of Rev. George Burroughs, by the Salem probate court June 6, 1693; and they were all living in 1701. The son Charles, by wife Elizabeth, had children: George, born Aug. 24, 1706, and Charles, born March 15, 1710-1.

been a cruel man to them; that they should "be clothed with white robes in heaven when he should be cast down to hell." As soon as Mr. Burroughs disappeared, she said the two wives turned towards her, their faces being as pale as a white wall, and told her that he had murdered them. "One told me," she said, "she was his first wife and he stabbed her under the left arm and put a piece of sealing wax on the wound, and she pulled aside the winding sheet and showed me the place." The second wife told her, she said, that "that wife which he hath now, killed her in the vessel as she was coming to see her friends."

Mercy Lewis deposed that on the night of May 9th, Mr. Burroughs carried her up on a high mountain and showed her all the kingdoms of the earth and told her that he would give them to her if she would write in his book, and if she refused to do so he would throw her down and break her neck. She said that she would not write in the book if he threw her down on a hundred pitchforks.

Benjamin Hutchinson testified that he met Abigail Williams one day, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, in Salem Village, when Burroughs was in Maine, a hundred miles away. She said that she then saw Burroughs. Hutchinson asked where. She answered, "There," and pointed to a rut in the road. Hutchinson threw an iron fork toward the place where she said she saw Burroughs, and she fell in a fit. Having come out of the fit, she said, "You have torn his coat, for I heard it tear." Hutchinson asked, "Whereabouts?" "On one side," she said. Then Hutchinson went into Ingersoll's tavern, into a great room, and Abigail came in and said, "There he stands." Hutchinson said, "Where? where? and he drew his rapier. Then Abigail said, "He is gone, but there is a gray cat." Hutchinson said, "Whereabouts?" "There," she said, "there." Then Hutchinson struck with his rapier, and Abigail fell in a fit; and when she had come out of it she said, "You killed her." Hutchinson said that he could not see a cat, and then Abigail said that the spectre of Sarah Good had come in and carried away the dead animal.

Samuel Sheldon stated that Mr. Burroughs brought a book for him to sign, and said that if he would not do so he would tear him to pieces. Sheldon told him he would not sign it, and then Burroughs said he could not starve him to death, but he would choke him so that his vitals would do him but little good. Then Burroughs asked him whether he would go to the Village the next day to testify against him, as he was to be examined then. Sheldon replied that he should go. He then said that he would kill him before morning. He then appeared to him at the house of Lt. Nathaniel Ingersoll, and told him that he had been the death of three children at the eastward and had killed two of his wives,

the first he smothered, and the second he had choked and killed two of his children.

Mr. Burroughs was a very large man and of prodigious strength. This was also testified as evidence that he received it from Devil. Samuel Webber, Thomas Greenslit and Simon Willard bore testimony of this. The instances were holding out a heavy musket, having a barrel six or seven feet in length, at arm's length, and lifting a barrel of molasses or cider.

He was the most important person condemned at these trials.

The next accused who was tried was Elizabeth Procter, wife of John Procter. She was complained of April 4, 1692, by Capt. Jonathan Walcott and Lt. Nathaniel Ingersoll, for afflicting Abigail Williams, John Indian, Mary Walcott, Ann Putnam and Mercy Lewis. She was arrested on the eleventh, and taken to Salem for examination, together with Sarah Cloyes, wife of Peter Cloyes and sister of Rebecca Nurse. Thomas Danforth, Samuel Appleton, Samuel Sewall and Isaac Addington sat with Hathorne and Corwin on this occasion. Mr. Procter accompanied his wife in court, and as the girls cried out against him he was also arrested and tried. John Indian testified that Mrs. Procter came in her shift and choked him, and that she brought the book for him to write in. The court asked Mercy Lewis, Ann Putnam and Abigail Williams if Mrs. Procter hurt them, and they were dumb, being unable to speak. The court then asked Mrs. Procter, "What do you say, Goody Procter, to these things?" She answered, "I take God in heaven to be my witness, that I know nothing of it, no more than the child unborn." Turning to Ann Putnam, the court asked the latter, "Ann Putnam, doth this woman hurt you?" She replied, "Yes, sir, a great many times." Then Mrs. Procter looked at the girls, and they fell into fits. Abigail Williams said to Mrs. Procter, "Did not you tell me that your maid had written?" She answered, "Dear child, it is not so. There is another judgment, dear child," Then Abigail and Ann had fits. By and by, they cried out, "Look you, there is Goody Procter on the beam." The court said to Mr. Procter, "What do you say, Goodman Procter, to these things?" He answered, "I know not; I am innocent." Once, during this examination, Abigail Williams offered to strike Mrs. Procter, and as her fingers touched her hood they were burned, she said.

Mr. and Mrs. Procter were tried at the August sitting of the court. He was accused of afflicting Mary Walcott, Mercy Lewis and Mary Warren; and she of Mary Walcott and Mercy Lewis. The girls gave their ordinary testimony. Elizabeth Booth stated that on the eighth of June Hugh Jones appeared to her and said that Elizabeth Procter killed him because he had a pot of cider of her which he had not paid her for; and on the same day Eliz-

abeth Shaw appeared to her and told her that Elizabeth Procter and John Willard killed her because she did not have the doctors she advised her to have; that John Fuller appeared to her and told her that Elizabeth Procter killed her because she would not give her apples when she sent for some; that the apparition of Law Shapling and Doctor Zerubabel Endecott appeared and said that Elizabeth Procter killed them, and the apparition of Robert Stone, sr., said that John Procter and his wife killed him, and at the same time Robert Stone, jr., appeared and said that said Procter and his wife killed him because he took his father's part.

John Bailey and his wife were on their way on horseback from Newbury to Boston and had spent the night of May 24th in Salem, deposed that on the next morning, he and his wife were on their way to Boston and when they came in sight of Procter's house (at Procter's Crossing in Peabody) a hard blow was struck on his breast, which caused great pain in his stomach and "amazement" in his head. No one but his wife was in sight, and she sat back of him. When they came to Procter's house, he saw the Procters there. Procter looked out of the window, but his wife stood just within the door. Bailey told his wife of it, but she saw nothing but a little maid at the door. Afterwards, about a mile from the house, he was taken speechless for some time. His wife asked him several questions, and told him, if he could not speak, to hold up his hand, which he did, and his dumbness immediately left him. When they came to the Salem road (corner of County Street, in South Peabody), he received another blow on his breast, which caused so much pain that he could not sit on his horse. When he alighted, he saw a woman coming toward them about sixteen or twenty rods away. Mrs. Bailey could not see her. He remounted, and there stood a cow where he had seen the woman. If it were known just what had occurred while Mr. Bailey was at the tavern of Lieutenant Ingersoll, the incidents to which he testified might be explained.

Both Mr and Mrs. Procter were convicted and sentenced to be hung. Great efforts were made to save them. Rev. John Wise of Ipswich and thirty-one of the Procters' old neighbors in that town signed a petition in his behalf to the court of assistants, as follows: "We reckon it within the duties of our charity, that teaches us to do as we would be done by, to offer thus much for the clearing of our neighbors' innocency, viz, that we never had the least knowledge of such a nefarious wickedness in our neighbors since they have been within our acquaintance. As to what we have ever seen or heard of them, upon our conscience we judge them innocent of the crime objected."

Nathaniel Felton and twenty of their nearer Salem Village neighbors signed a similar petition, saying: "We whose names are

underwritten, having several years known John Procter and wife do testify that we never knew or understood that they were ever suspected to be guilty of the crime now charged upon them, and several of us, being their near neighbors, do testify, that to our apprehension, they lived christian like in their family, and were ever ready to help such as stood in need of their help."

Mr. Procter wrote a letter to Reverends Increase Mather, Allen, Moody, Willard and Bailey, which was signed by himself and several of his fellow prisoners, in which he said: "Here are five persons who have lately confessed themselves to be witches, and do accuse some of us of being along with them at a sacrament, since we were committed into close prison, which we know to be lies. Two of the five are (Carrier's children) young men, who would not confess anything until they tied them neck and heels, till the blood was ready to come out of their noses. My son William Procter, because he would not confess that he was guilty when he was innocent, they tied him neck and heels till the blood gushed out at his nose."

The prisoners asked that they might be tried in Boston, and, if not, that they might be tried by other magistrates, and that some of the ministers might be present at the trials, "hoping thereby you may be the means of saving the shedding of our innocent blood." The requests were unnoticed. Being pregnant, Mrs. Procter was not executed with the others, and her child was born January 27th following. The court subsequently ordered her execution, but Governor Phips reprieved her. Not only had her husband been hung, but three of her children had been imprisoned and her home stripped. This family seems to have been made the object of special persecution, probably because of Mr. Procter's opposition to the proceedings. With others, he said that if he had John Indian in his custody he would beat the devil out of him.

George Jacobs, sr., his son George Jacobs, jr., the latter's wife Rebecca and their daughter Margaret, were accused of witchcraft, and the father was tried at this sitting of the court. He was examined May 10th, and the accusing girls were present in full force. His examination was as follows:—

I am as innocent as the child born to-night. I have lived thirty-three years here in Salem.

What then? If you can prove that I am guilty I will lie under it.

Sarah Churchill said, last night, I was afflicted at Deacon Ingersoll's, and Mary Walcott said, it was a man with two staves. It was my master.

Pray do not accuse me. I am as clear as your worships. You must do right judgments.

What book did he bring you, Sarah? The same book that the other woman brought.

The devil can go in any shape.

Did he not appear on the other side of the river and hurt you?

Did not you see him? Yes, he did.

Look there, she accuseth you to your face, she chargeth you that you hurt her twice. Is it not true? What would you have me say? I never wronged no man in word or deed.

Here are three evidences. You tax me for a wizard. You may as well tax me for a buzzard. I have done no harm.

Is it not harm to afflict these? I never did it.

But how comes it to be in your appearance? The devil can take any license.

Not without their consent. Please your worships, it is untrue, I never showed the book. I am silly about these things as the child born last night.

That is your saying. You argue you have lived so long, but what then, Cain might live so long before he killed Abel and you might live long before the devil had so prevailed on you. Christ hath suffered three times for me..

What three times? He suffered the cross and gal——

You had as good confess (said Sarah Churchill) if you are guilty.

Have you heard that I have any witchcraft?

I know that you lead a wicked life.

Let her make it out.

Doth he ever pray in his family?

Not unless by himself.

Why do you not pray in your family? I cannot read.

Well you may pray for all that. Can you say the Lord's prayer? Let us hear you.

He might [missed] in several parts of it and could not repeat it right after many trials.

Sarah Churchill, when you wrote in the book you was showed your master's name you said. Yes sir.

Well, burn me or hang me I will stand in the truth of Christ. I know nothing of it.

Sarah Churchill gave positive evidence against Mr. Jacobs, and subsequently Sarah Ingersoll deposed that Sarah Churchill came to her, crying and wringing her hands, seemingly much troubled in spirit. She asked her what the matter was. She answered that she had undone herself. Miss Ingersoll asked what was it about, and she answered, that it was in belying herself and others in saying that she believed that she had set her hand to the book. She answered, and said, "No, no, no; I never did." She was asked then what made her say she did. She answered that it was because they threatened her, and told her they would put her into the dungeon along with Mr. Burroughs, and thus at several times she followed Miss Ingersoll, telling her that she had

undone herself. Miss Ingersoll asked her why she did not deny she wrote it, and she said it was because she had stood so long in it that now she did not dare to. She said, also, that if she told Mr. Noyes but once she had set her hand to the book, he would believe her, but if she told the truth and said she had not set her hand to the book a hundred times he would not believe her.

May 14th, warrants were issued for the arrest of George Jacobs, jr., and his wife Rebecca. Mr. Jacobs escaped, but his wife was arrested, and as she was taken away by the officers, her four little children followed her, but they could not go far, as the youngest was but two years old. They were left behind, and were cared for by neighbors. She was kept in irons eight months, then indicted, and set to trial Jan. 3, 1692-3, being promptly acquitted. Many features of the witchcraft regime equalled in cruelty and a spirit of persecution similar to that shown to the Quakers.

Their daughter Margaret Jacobs testified against her grandfather, and the day following his execution, she wrote from Salem jail a letter to her father, as follows:—

Honored father,—After my humble duty remembered to you, hoping in the Lord of your good health, as blessed be God I enjoy, though in abundance of affliction, being close confined here in a loathsome dungeon, the Lord look down in mercy upon me, not knowing how soon I shall be put to death, by means of the afflicted persons. My grandfather having suffered already and all his estate seized for the king. The reason of my confinement is this, I having, through the magistrates threatenings, and my own vile and wretched heart, confessed several things contrary to my own conscience and knowledge, though to the wounding of my own soul, the Lord pardon me for it. But O, the terrors of a wounded conscience, who can bear? But blessed be the Lord, he would not let me go on in my sins, but in mercy, I hope, to my soul, would not suffer me to keep it in any longer, but I was forced to confess the truth of all before the magistrates who would not believe me, but tis their pleasure to put me here, and God knows how soon I shall be put to death. Dear father, let me beg your prayers to the Lord on my behalf, and send me a joyful and happy meeting in Heaven. My mother, poor woman, is very crazy, and remembers her kind love to you, and to uncle, viz. d—A—, so leaving you to the protection of the Lord, I rest your dutiful daughter.

MARGARET JACOBS.

From the dungeon
in Salem prison,
Aug. 20, 1692.

Margaret Jacobs was then only sixteen. At the next session of the court, she confessed that she had done wrong, as follows:—

The Lord above knows I know nothing in the least measure, how or who afflicted them, they told me without doubt I did, or else they would not fall down at me, they told me if I would not confess I should be put down into the dungeon and would be hanged, but if I would confess I should have my life. The which did so affright me with my own vile heart, to save my life made me make the like confession I did, which confession, may it please the honored court is altogether false and untrue . . . Whatever I said was altogether false against my grandfather and Mr. Burroughs, which I did to save my life and to have my liberty, but the Lord, charging it to my conscience, made me in so much horror that I could not contain myself before I had denied the confession, which I did, though I saw nothing but death before me, choosing rather death with a quiet conscience than to live in such horror, which I could not suffer. Whereupon my denying my confession I was committed to close prison.

When she was brought to trial, she was troubled with "a disorder in her head," and her case was continued. She remained in confinement after the jail delivery because she could not pay the fees and charges of the jailer.

John Willard of Salem Village, who is said to have been a grandson of Bray Wilkins, early assisted in arresting the accused, but he had expressed sympathy with those under condemnation, and said, "Hang them, they are all witches." On election day, Bray Wilkins and his wife and Rev. Deodat Lawson were at Lt. Richard Way's house for dinner, and Willard and Henry Wilkins came in later. The old man Wilkins said that he thought Willard did not look on him kindly, as he said, he looked after such a sort upon him as he never before discerned in any one. Wilkins was taken very sick that afternoon and remained so for several days. He was carried home, and found Daniel Wilkins, who had advised his father not to go to Boston with Willard, also very ill. The old man himself became sick again, and Mercy Lewis and Mary Walcott were sent for to come and solve the mystery of so much sickness in the family. They "saw the apparitions of Sarah Buckley and John Willard upon the throat and breast of Henry Wilkins," and saw them press and choke him until he died. Mercy Lewis then went to the room where old Bray Wilkins lay, and she was asked if she saw anything. She replied, "Yes, they are looking for John Willard." A little later she exclaimed, "There he is upon his grandfather's belly."

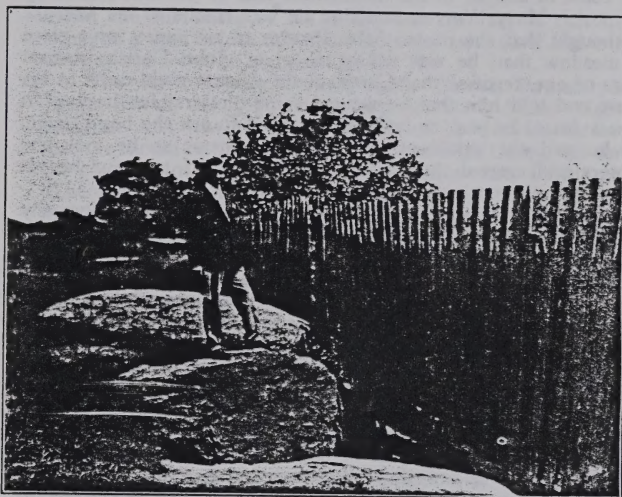
A warrant for the arrest of Willard was issued May 10th, on complaint of Thomas Fuller and others; but he could not be located until the eighteenth, when he was produced in court, having been found in Groton. He was given a preliminary examination at Beadle's Tavern, in Salem, at which the following deposition of Mrs. Ann Putnam was probably put in evidence:—

The shape of Samuel Fuller and Lydia Wilkins this day told me at my house by the bedside, who appeared in winding sheets, that if I did go and tell Mr. Hathorne that John Willard had murdered them they would tear me to pieces . . . At the same time the apparition of John Willard told me that he had killed Samuel Fuller, Lydia Wilkins, Goody Shaw and Fuller's second wife, and Aaron Way's child, and Ben Fuller's child and this deponent's child, Sarah, six weeks old, and Philip Knight's child with the help of William Hobbs, and Jonathan Knight's child and two of Ezekiel Cheever's children with the help of William Hobbs; and Elliott and Isaac Nichols with the help of William Hobbs . . . Joseph Fuller's apparition also the same day came to me and told me that Goody Corey had killed him.

Willard was tried at the August sitting of the court, when the others were tried. Susan Sheldon, who was eighteen years old, testified that, at Nathaniel Ingersoll's house, May 9th, she saw the apparitions of four persons, William Shaw's first wife, the widow Cook, Goodman Jones and his child, and among them came the apparition of Willard, to whom these four said, "You have murdered us." These four having so stated, they turned as red as blood, and turning round to look at Sarah they became as pale as death. These four desired her to tell Mr. Hathorne. Willard heard them speak, and he pulled out a knife, saying that if she did he would cut her throat. . . . On another occasion there came to her a shining man and told her to go and tell Hathorne. She told him she would if he would hunt Willard away. The shining man held up his hands and Willard vanished. About two hours later, the same appeared to her again and Willard with them. She asked them where their wounds were, and they said there would come an angel from Heaven who would show them, and forthwith an angel came. The angel lifted his winding sheet, and out of his left side he pulled a pitchfork tine and put it in again. He likewise opened all the winding sheets and showed all the wounds. The white man told me to tell Mr. Hathorne of it, and Susan told him to hunt Willard away, and she would. He held up his hand, and Willard vanished. She also said that she saw Willard suckle the apparition of two black pigs on his breasts.

Willard was also found guilty, and was sentenced to be hanged. Martha Carrier of Andover was also tried and convicted at this sitting of the court. All five,—Burroughs, Procter, Jacobs, Willard and Carrier,—were executed on Friday, August 19th. Another procession formed at the jail on St. Peter's Street on that day, and with the victims in a cart, proceeded to the place of the former hangings. All of them protested their innocence; but Cotton Mather, who was there told them that they all died by a righteous sentence. When Mr. Burroughs was upon the ladder, he made a statement of his innocence so solemnly and seriously

that the people, who were present in large numbers, admired him for it; and it seemed to some that the spectators would hinder the execution. He closed his prayer by repeating the Lord's



THE CREVICE.

prayer so composedly and fervently that it was very affecting and drew tears from many. The accusers, who were there to see the culmination of their work, said that the black man stood and dictated to him. It seemed to make no difference whether the accused could repeat the Lord's prayer or not, to them it was evidence of guilt of witchcraft either way, as they pleased. As soon as the hangings ceased, Cotton Mather, who was on horseback, spoke to the people, and declared that Mr. Burroughs was not an ordained minister and that Devil was often transformed into an angel of light. This somewhat appeased the people. When Mr. Burroughs was cut down, he was dragged by the halter to a hole or grave between the rocks, about two feet deep, his shirt and breeches being pulled off, and an old pair of trousers of one of the other men who was executed, put on. He was put into the hole with the bodies of Willard and Mrs. Carrier. One of his hands and his chin and a foot of one of the others were left

Hathorne. Who doth? Pray give me leave to go to prayer. (This request was made at sundry times.)

Hathorne. We do not send for you to go to prayer, but tell me why you hurt these. I am an innocent person. I never had to do with witchcraft since I was born. I am a gospel woman.

Hathorne. How could you tell, then, that the child was bid to observe what clothes you wore when some one came to speak with you? (Cheever interrupted her and bid her not begin with a lie, and so Edward Putnam declared the matter.)

Hathorne. Who told you that? He said the child said.

Cheever. You speak falsely. (Then Edward Putnam read again.)

Hathorne. Why did you ask if the child asked what clothes you wore? My husband told me the others told.

Hathorne. Goodman Corey, did you tell her? (The old man denied that he told her so.)

Hathorne. Did you not say your husband told you so? No answer . . .

Hathorne. You dare thus lie in all this assembly. You are now before authority. I expect the truth. You promised it. Speak now and tell who told you what clothes. Nobody.

Once, the children cried, "A man is whispering in her ear." Hathorne asked her, "What did he say to you?" She replied, "We must not believe all that these distracted children say."

In his report of this trial, Mr. Parris said: When she bit her lip, several of the afflicted were bitten; when her hands were at liberty, they were pinched; etc., etc. Mrs. Corey was badgered by Hathorne, badgered by Corwin, badgered by Rev. Mr. Noyes, badgered by the marshal and others. Her own husband testified against her, and said that in the evening, sitting by the fire, she asked him to go to bed; he told her that he would go to prayer, and when he went to prayer he could not utter his desires with any sense nor open his mouth to speak; she perceived it and came toward him. In a little while, he prayed. Sometime in the previous week, he brought an ox well out of the woods about noon and the ox lay down in the yard. When he went to yoke him, he could not rise, but dragged his hinder parts as if he had been hip shot, but afterward rose. Corey had a cat the same week which was strangely and suddenly taken sick and he thought she would die. Mrs. Corey asked him to knock her in the head, but he did not, and she recovered. Mrs. Corey was wont to sit up after he had gone to bed, and he had seen her kneel on the hearth, as if she was at prayer, but heard nothing.

During her examination, Mrs. Pope threw a shoe at her and it struck on her head. The trial of Mrs. Corey occurred September 10th, and she was convicted and sentenced on the same day.

The accusers were not satiated yet. The next victim was Giles Corey, of eighty years of age. He was infatuated by the storm of witchcraft, and attended the hearings. At last the girls

did not think that he was as strong as he ought to be in some of his evidence in a case, and cried out upon him, declaring that he afflicted them with fits and pinches. The court ordered Corey's hands to be tied, and they asked him if it were not enough to "act witchcraft at other times, but must you do it now in face of authority?" He replied, "I am a poor creature and cannot help it." Again, a magistrate exclaimed, "Why do you tell such wicked lies against witnesses?" One of his hands was loosed and the girls were afflicted. He held his head on one side, and the heads of the afflicted were held on one side. He drew in his cheeks, and the cheeks of the afflicted were sucked in.

Alice Parker, wife of John Parker of Salem, was arrested on a warrant, dated May 12th, and tried at this sitting of the court, in September. The girls were her accusers; but a new witness appeared against her. This was Jonathan Westgate, who testified that Mr. Parker came to Beadle's tavern one night, and his wife came after him and scolded him for drinking so much there. Upon Westgate taking sides with Mr. Parker, Mrs. Parker called him a rogue, and told him he had better mind his business. Some time afterward, as he was going home one night, a black hog appeared to him and ran at him with open mouth. He endeavored to get away from it, but fell down on his hip and his knife ran into his hip. When he got home his knife was in its sheaf, and when he took it out the sheaf fell to pieces. His stockings and shoes were full of blood. Going home he had to crawl along by holding to the fence. He believed the hog to be the devil or some evil thing, not a real animal. He "did then really judge or determine in his mind that it was either Goody Parker or by her means and procuring, fearing that she is a witch."

Ann Pudeator, widow of Jacob Pudeator, who lived on the southwestern corner of Winter Street and Washington Square, seventy years old, was arrested May 12th, and tried and condemned at the September sitting of the court. She was once discharged, and re-arrested. The principal witnesses against her were John Best, father and son, and Samuel Pickworth.

Again, for the fourth and last time, the procession left Salem jail for the place of execution of those persons condemned for witchcraft, on Thursday, September 22d. There were eight victims this time. Samuel Wardwell of Andover was the only man to thus suffer, the women were Mrs. Martha Corey, wife of Giles Corey, Alice Parker, wife of John Parker, and Ann Pudeator, widow of Jacob Pudeator, all of Salem, Mary (Towne) Easty, sister of Rebecca Nurse and wife of Isaac Easty of Topsfield, Margaret Scott, widow of Benjamin Scott of Rowley, aged about seventy-five, Wilmot Reed ("Mammy Red"), wife of Samuel Reed, of Marblehead, and widow Mary Parker of Andover. Upon

the ladder, Mrs. Corey,¹ protesting her innocence, concluded her life with an earnest prayer. After the sheriff had done his part in the affair, Rev. Nicholas Noyes, of Salem, turned toward the suspended bodies of the victims, and said: "What a sad thing it is to see eight firebrands of hell hanging there."

Some of the bodies of the executed were carried away, at least, that is true of the Salem victims. Under the ridge where the execution occurred was the North River, between which and the ridge was the ancient highway. It was easy to pass the bodies to a boat in the stream, and from thence up North and Danvers rivers to the Great Cove, near George Jacob's home, up North River to John Procter's home, and up North, Danvers, and Crane rivers to the home of Mrs. Nurse. Those bodies which had not been taken away were buried near the line of the fence, northwesterly from the crevice. About 1750, some locust trees were set out to mark the place of their burial. One tree stood in the crevice and another about forty feet northwesterly on the line of the present fence. About 1860, the crevice was cleared of the loam and dirt within it by scraping it down to improve the garden of Mr. Stephens. The writer has a piece of the stump of one of the trees which were dug up at that time.²

As has been manifest, jurors were becoming unwilling to convict in these cases upon the evidence offered to them; and when the wife of Rev. John Hale of Beverly was accused, the ministers knew of the falsity of the claim, and that fact changed their attitude toward the accused. The return of Governor Phips from a protracted absence proved a chill to further proceedings of this sort. This was practically the end of the prosecutions.

Sarah Cloyes, wife of Peter Cloyes and sister of Rebecca Nurse, was condemned, but not executed. She lived in Putnamville, in Danvers. Philip English and his wife, Mary English, the wealthy family who lived on the easterly corner of Essex and English streets, in Salem, were accused of witchcraft, and she was in bed when the sheriff came to arrest her. The servants admitted him to her chamber, where he read the warrant. Guards were placed about the house until morning, April 22d, when she was taken away for her examination. It is said that she attended to her family devotions as usual that morning, kissed her children good-bye, and calmly discussed their future in case she never returned to them. She then told the officer she was ready to die. After her examination, she was committed to jail. The warrant

¹Mrs. Martha Corey was a white woman from England. She spoke English well and was supposed to be English. She had a son, a mulatto, named Benjamin or Benoni, who was living in 1699, at the age of twenty-two. She married Giles Corey after the boy was born.

²See Essex Institute Historical Collections, volume LVII, page 1.

against her husband was issued April 30th, but the sheriff could not find him. He was finally arrested May 30th, and was examined, being committed to jail with his wife. They soon escaped from jail and went to New York, returning after the storm.

Dorcas Hoar of Beverly, Abigail Faulkner, Mary Lacy, Ann Foster, Sarah Wardwell and Elizabeth Johnson, all of Andover, Abigail Hobbs of Topsfield, Rebecca Eames of Boxford and Mary Post of Rowley were condemned, but not executed.

Among the accused from Salem, not already mentioned, were Candy, an Indian slave, Thomas Hardy, Sarah Pease, Mary de Riels, Mrs. White, Daniel Andrews, Edward Bishop, Sarah Bishop, John Buxton, Sarah Bibber and Benjamin Procter.

One hundred and twenty-five persons were accused in all.

In 1703, the general court repaid to the heirs of persons executed and condemned and not executed the pecuniary damages they severally sustained. In Salem, on account of George Jacobs, seventy-nine pounds, George Burroughs, fifty pounds, Giles Corey and his wife, twenty-one pounds, Rebecca Nurse, twenty-five pounds, John Willard, twenty pounds, Sarah Good, thirty pounds, John Procter and his wife, one hundred and fifty pounds. Some six hundred pounds were thus paid out to the estates of the several persons.

Several of the executed were members of the church, and were excommunicated as they were about to suffer. This made the executions doubly terrible, as many believed that the church membership was almost the very key to heaven.

John Alden, son of John and Priscilla (Mullins) Alden, of Boston, was accused. He was seventy years of age and wealthy. He was sent for May 28th, and went to Salem Village on the thirty-first. Gedney, Hathorne and Corwin conducted his examination. When the accusing girls discovered that it was John Alden, of Plymouth fame, they cried out against him, "there stands Alden, a bold fellow, with his hat on before the judges, he sells powder and shot to the Indians and French, and lies with the Indian squaws, and has Indian papooses." The magistrates "bid Alden look upon the accusers, which he did, and they fell down. Alden asked Mr. Gedney what reason there was why his looking at Mr. Gedney did not strike him down as well, but no answer was forthcoming. Alden was sent to jail, but escaped therefrom.

Of the after life of the accusing girls, nothing is known. Ann Putnam is said to have died in 1716, at the age of thirty-seven. They seemed to have vanished.

The return of Governor Phips from the Eastward, in October, caused a stop of the proceedings of the court of Oyer and Terminer. He wrote to the home government under date of Feb. 21, 1692-3, the following communication:—

May it please yo^r Lords^{ps}.

By the Cap^t of ye Samuell & Henry I gave an account that att my arrivall here I found ye Prisons full of people comitted upon suspicion of witchcraft & that continuall complaints were made to me that many persons were grievously tormented by witches & that they cryed out upon severall persons by name, as ye cause of their torments ye number of these complaints increasing every day, by advice of ye Lieut. Gov^r & ye Councill I gave a Comission of Oyer and Terminer to try ye suspected witches & at that time the generality of ye People represented ye matter to me as reall witchcraft & gave very strange instances of the same. The first in Comission was ye Lieut. Gov^r & ye rest persons of ye best prudence & figure that could then be pitched upon & I depended upon ye Court for a right method of proceeding in cases of witchcraft; at that time I went to comand the army at ye Eastern part of the Province of ye French and Indians had made an attack upon some of our Frontier Towns, I continued there for some time but when I returned I found people much dissatisfied at ye Court for about Twenty persons were condemned and executed of which number some were thought by many persons to be innocent. The Court still proceeded in ye same method of trying them, which was by ye evidence of ye afflicted persons who when they were brought into ye Court as soon as the suspected witches looked upon them instantly fell to ye ground in strange agonies & grievous torments, but when touched by them upon ye arme or some other part of their flesh they immediately revived & came to themselves, upon which they made oath that ye Prisoner at ye Bar did afflict them & that they saw their shape or spectre from their bodies which put them to such paines & torments: When I enquired into ye matter I was enformed by ye Judges that they begun with this, but had humane testimony against such as were condemned & undoubted proof of their being witches, but at length I found that the Devill did take upon him ye shape of innocent persons & some were accused of whose innocency I was well assured & many considerable persons of unblameable life & conversation were cried out upon as witches & wizards the Deputy Gov^r notwithstanding persisted vigorously in ye same method to ye great dissatisfaction & disturbance of ye people untill I put an end to ye Court & stopped ye proceedings which I did because I saw many innocent persons might otherwise perish & at that time I thought it my duty to give an account thereof that their Ma^{ty}s pleasure might be signified hoping that for the better ordering thereof ye judges learned in ye law in England might give such rules & directions as have been practiced in England for proceedings in so difficult & so nice a point; When I put an end to ye Court there were at least fifty persons in prison in great misery by reason of the extreme cold & their poverty most of them having only spectre evidence against them & their mittimusses being defective I caused some of them to be lett out upon bayle & put ye judges upon considering of a way to reliefe others & prevent them from perishing in prison, upon which some of them were convinced & acknowledged that their former proceedings were too violent & not grounded upon a right foundation but that if they might sit againe they would proceed after another method & whereas Mr. Increase Mather & severall other

Divines did give it as their Judgement that ye Devill might afflict in ye shape of an innocent person & that ye look & ye touch of ye suspected persons was not sufficient prooffe against them, these things had not ye same stress layd upon them as before & upon this consideration I permitted a speciall Superior Court to be held at Salem in ye County of Essex on ye third day of January ye Lieut. Gov^r being Chief Judge their method of proceeding being altered, all that were brought to tryall to ye number of fifty-two, were cleared saving three & I was informed by the Kings Attorney Generall that some of ye cleared and ye condemned were under ye same circumstances or that there was ye same reason to clear ye three condemned as ye rest according to his Judgement. The Deputy Gov^r signed a Warrant for their execution & also of five others who were condemned at ye former Court of Oyer and terminer but considering how ye matter had been managed I sent a reprieve whereby ye execution was stopped until their Maj^{ties} pleasure be signified & declared the Lieut. Gov^r upon this occasion was enraged & filled with passionate anger & refused to sitt on ye bench in a Superior Court then held [Tuesday, January 31, 1693] at Charlestowne & indeed hath from the beginning hurried on these matters with great precipitancy & by his warrant hath caused the estates, goods and chatties of ye executed to be seized & disposed of without my knowledge or consent, the stop put to ye first method of proceedings hath dissipated ye blak cloud that threatened this Province with destruction; for whereas this delusion of ye Devill did spread & its dismall effects touched ye lives & estates of many of their Ma^{ties} Subjects of ye reputation of some of ye principall persons here & indeed unhappily clogged and interrupted their Mates. affaires which hath been a great vexation to me! I have no new complaints but peoples minds before divided and distracted by differing opinions concerning this matter are now well composed.

I am Yo^r Lordships most faithfull humble Servant,

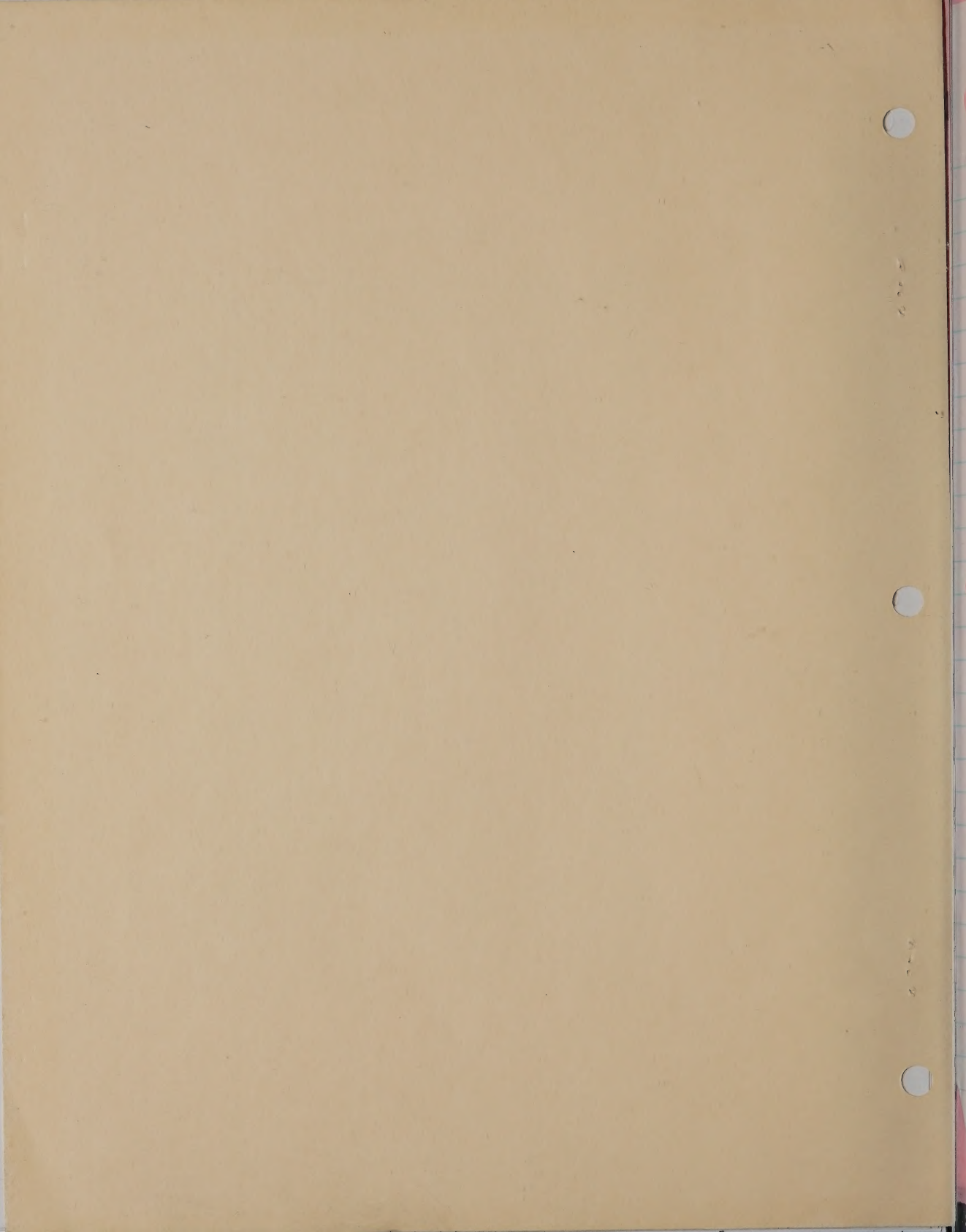
WILLIAM PHIPS.

To the Rt. Hon^{ble} the Earle of Nottingham, att Whitehall, London.

THE WITCH TREE.

A superstition prevailed in England in ancient times that a baby or young child would be immune from witchcraft if he were passed through a hole in a rock or something else where the symbolism would be similar. A tree stood sometime after the witchcraft episode between the crevice and what is now Proctor Street which had a peculiarity of having the trunk divided just above the ground. About two or three feet higher the two parts grew together again, and became apparently a single body. How prevalent this ancient practice was in New England is unknown, but babies were passed through this tree for that purpose for a long time, the last child being Henry Safford, who was born at 60 Boston Street, July 9, 1793.¹

¹Essex Institute Historical Collections, volume LVII, page 17.



Emerson, John 37n 377n ✓ } relatives
Esty - 347, 366-9

Ann Foster - who is she? 418-20 - not copied

John Alden 170-1, 352-5 - pilgrim - victim - not relative
145 Nurse 153 - 159 } relative
344-5
357-360

Thos, John Perkins - 388 - not copied
John Perkins 366 ancestor of last of } victim - not related
Rebecca Perkins 237 - no - in Eng } ancestor
Puddester - 366-7 } another victim - not relative
Proctor 147, 347, 360-69 - neighbor
Wild, 347, 357-8 - relative
Willard 177, 261 - in-law
Clayse 161, 346-347 - relative

Only a few pages from "Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases"
were copied - mainly having reference to the above,
most of them relatives of our family

322-101
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 322-103

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Viz. Mrs. Pope, Mrs. Putman, Goodwife Bibber, and Goodwife Goodall, Mary Wolcott, Mercy Lewis (at Thomas Putmans), and Dr. Griggs Maid, and three Girls. Viz. Elizabeth Parris, Daughter to the Minister, Abigail Williams his Neice, and Ann Putman, which last three were not only the best men, but were also the best in these Accusations. These Ten were most of them present at the Examination, and did vehemently accuse her of Afflicting them by Biting, Pinching, Strangling, &c. And they said, they did in their Fits see her likeness coming to them, and bringing a Book for them to Sign; Mr. Hathorn, a Magistrate of Salem, asked her, why she Afflicted those Children? she said, she did not Afflict them; he asked her, who did then? she said, "I do not know, how should I know?" she said, they were Poor Distracted Creatures, and no heed to be given to what they said; Mr. Hathorn and Mr. Noyes replied that it was the Judgment of all that were there present, that they were bewitched, and only she (the Accused) said they were Distracted: She was Accused by them, that the Black Man Whispered to her in her Ear now (while she was upon Examination) and that she had a Yellow Bird that did use to Suck between her Fingers, and that the said Bird did Suck now in the Assembly; order being given to look in that place to see if there were any sign, the Girl that pretended to see it said, that it was too late now, for she had removed a Pin, and put it on her Head, it was upon search found, that a Pin was there sticking upright. When the Accused had any motion of their Body, Hands or Mouth, the Accusers would cry out, as when she bit her Lip, they would cry out of being bitten, if she grasped one hand with the other, they would cry out of being Pinched by her, and would produce marks, so of the other motions of her Body, as complaining of being Prest, when she lean'd to the seat next her, if she stirred her Feet, they would stamp and cry out of Pain there. After the hearing the said Cory was committed to Salem Prison, and then their crying out of her abated.

March 3. 24th. Goodwife Nurse was brought before Mr. Hathorn and Mr. Carwin (Magistrates) in the Meeting House. Mr. Hale, Minister of Beverly, began with Prayer, after which she being Accused of much the same Crimes made the like an-

swers, asserting her own Innocence with earnestness. The Accusers were mostly the same. Tho. Putmans Wife, &c. complaining much. The dreadful Shrieking from her and others, was very alarming, which was heard at a great distance; she was also Committed to Prison.

A Child of Sarah Good was likewise apprehended, being between 4 and 5 years Old. The Accusers said this Child bit them, and would shew such like marks, as those of a small Sett of Teeth upon their Arms; as many of the Afflicted as the Child cast its Eye upon, would complain they were in Torment; which Child they also Committed.

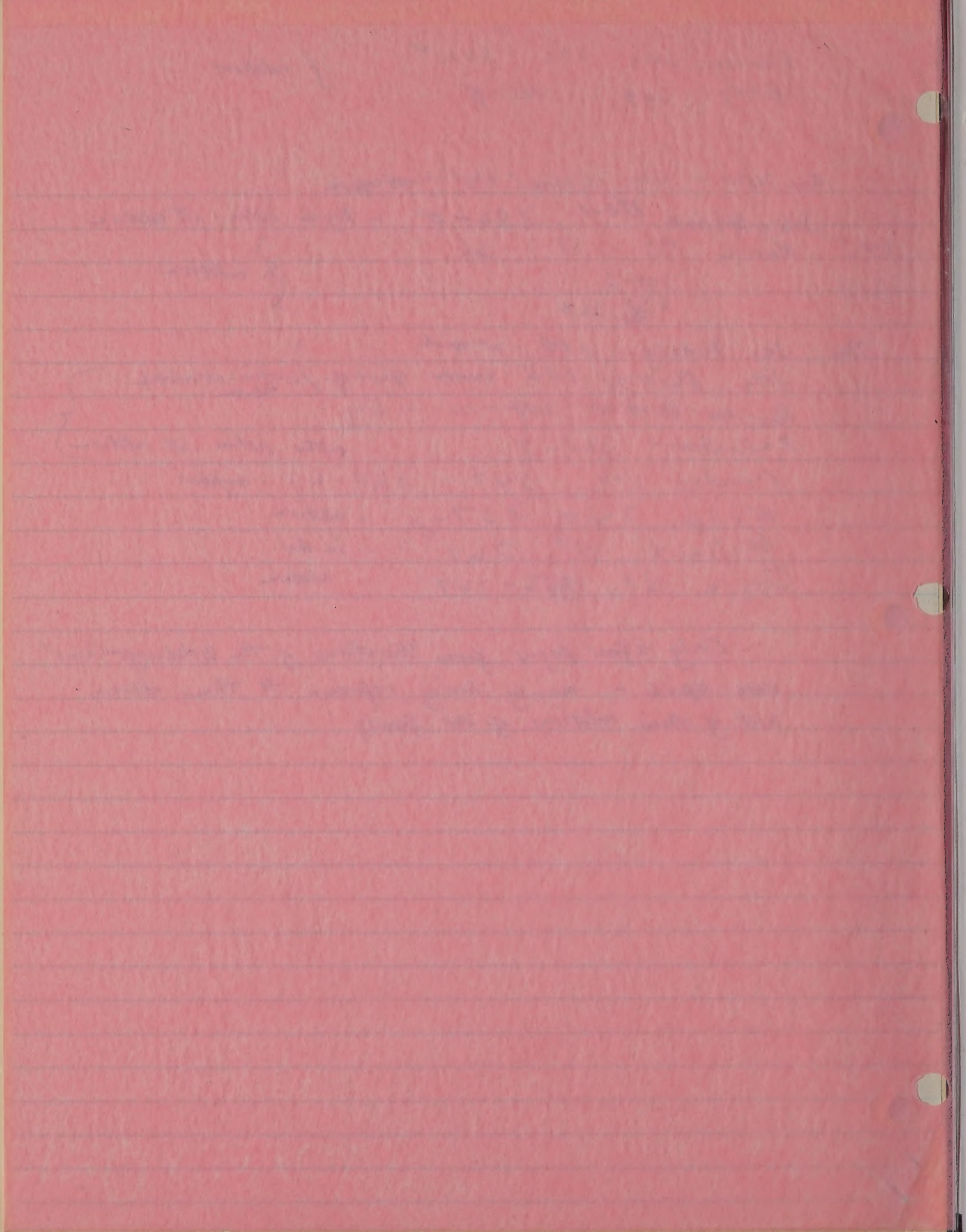
Concerning these that had been hitherto Examined and Committed, it is among other things observed by Mr. Lawson (in Print) that they were by the Accusers charged to belong to a Company that did muster in Arms, and were reported by them to keep Days of Fast, Thanksgiving and Sacraments; and that those Afflicted (or Accusers) did in the Assembly Cure each others, even with a touch of their Hand, when strangled and otherways tortured, and would endeavour to get to the Afflicted to relieve them thereby (for hitherto they had not used the Experiment of bringing the Accused to touch the Afflicted, in order to their Cure) and could forestal one anothers Fits to be coming, and would say, look to such a one, she will have a Fit presently and so it happened, and that at the same time when the Accused person was present, the Afflicted said they saw her Spectre or likeness in other places of the Meeting House Suckling² of their Familiars.

The said Mr. Lawson being to Preach at the Village, after the Psalm sung, Abigail Williams said, "Now stand up and name your Text"; after it was read, she said, "It is a long Text." Mrs. Pope in the beginning of Sermon said to him, "Now there is enough of that." In Sermon, he referring to his Doctrine, Abigail Williams said to him, "I know no Doctrine you had, if you did name one I have forgot it." Ann Putman, an afflicted Girl, said, There was a Yellow Bird sate on his Hat as it hung on the Pin in the Pulpit.

March 31, 1692. Was set apart as a day of Solemn Humiliation at Salem, upon the Account of this Business, on which day Abigail Williams said, That she saw a great number

² "Suckling" in original; corrected in *Errata*.

¹ See above, pp. 162-164



1648-1706
 Viz. Mrs. Pope, Mrs. Putnam, Goodwife Bibber, and Goodwife Goodall, Mary Wolcott, Mercy Lewes (at Thomas Putmans) and Dr. Griggs Maid, and three Girls, Viz. Elizabeth Parris, Daughter to the Minister, Abigail Williams his Neice, and Ann Putnam, which last three were not only the beginners, but were also the chief in these Accusations. These Ten were most of them present at the Examination, and did vehemently accuse her of Afflicting them, by Biting, Pinching, Strangling, etc. And they said, they did in their Fits see her likeness coming to them, and bringing a Book for them to Sign; Mr. Hathorn, a Magistrate of Salem, asked her, why she Afflicted those Children? she said, she did not Afflict them; he asked her, who did then? she said, "I do not know, how should I know?" she said, they were Poor Distracted Creatures, and no need to be given to what they said; Mr. Hathorn and Mr. Noyes replied that it was the Judgment of all that were there present, that they were bewitched, and only she (the Accused) said they were Distracted: She was Accused by them, that the Black Man Whispered to her in her Ear now (while she was upon Examination) and that she had a Yellow Bird, that did use to Suck between her Fingers, and that the said Bird did Suck now in the Assembly: order being given to look in that place to see if there were any sign, the Girl that pretended to see it said, that it was too late now, for she had removed a Pin, and put it on her Head, it was upon search found, that a Pin was there sticking upright. When the Accused had any motion of their Body, Hands or Mouth, the Accusers would cry out, as when she bit her Lip, they would cry out of being bitten, if she grasped one hand with the other, they would cry out of being Pinched by her, and would produce marks, so of the other motions of her Body, as complaining of being Prest, when she lean'd to the seat next her, if she stirred her Feet, they would stamp and cry out of Pain there. After the hearing the said Cory was committed to Salem Prison, and then their crying out of her abated.

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swers, asserting her own Innocence with earnestness. The Accusers were mostly the same, Tho. Putmans Wife, etc. complaining much. The dreadful Shreiking from her and others, was very amazing, which was heard at a great distance; she was also Committed to Prison.

A Child of Sarah Goods was likewise apprehended, being between 4 and 5 years Old. The Accusers said this Child bit them, and would shew such like marks, as those of a small Sett of Teeth upon their Arms; as many of the Afflicted as the Child cast its Eye upon, would complain they were in Torment; which Child they also Committed.

Concerning these that had been hitherto Examined and Committed, it is among other things observed by Mr. Lawson (in Print) that they were by the Accusers charged to belong to a Company that did muster in Arms, and were reported by them to keep Days of Fast, Thanksgiving and Sacraments; and that those Afflicted (or Accusers) did in the Assembly Cure each others, even with a touch of their Hand, when strangled and otherways tortured, and would endeavour to get to the Afflicted to relieve them thereby (for hitherto they had not used the Experiment of bringing the Accused to touch the Afflicted, in order to their Cure) and could foretel one anothers Fits to be coming, and would say, look to such a one, she will have a Fit presently and so it happened, and that at the same time when the Accused person was present, the Afflicted said they saw her Spectre or likeness in other places of the Meeting House Suckling² of their Familiars.

The said Mr. Lawson being to Preach at the Village, after the Psalm was Sung, Abigail Williams said, "Now stand up and name your Text"; after it was read, she said, "It is a long Text." Mrs. Pope in the beginning of Sermon said to him, "Now there is enough of that." In Sermon, he referring to his Doctrine, Abigail Williams said to him, "I know no Doctrine you had, if you did name one I have forgot it." Ann Putman, an afflicted Girl, said, There was a Yellow Bird sate on his Hat as it hung on the Pin in the Pulpit.

March 31, 1692. Was set apart as a day of Solemn Humiliation at Salem, upon the Account of this Business, on which day Abigail Williams said, That she saw a great number

¹ See above, pp. 162-164.

² "Sucking" in original; corrected in *Errata*.

of Persons in the Village at the Administration of a Mock Sacrament, where they had Bread as read as raw Flesh, and red Drink.

April 1. Mercy Lewis affirmed, That she saw a man in white, with whom she went into a Glorious Place, *viz.* In her fits, where was no Light of the Sun, much less of Candles, yet was full of Light and Brightness, with a great Multitude in White Glittering Robes, who Sang the Song in 5. Rev. 9. and the 110 and 149 Psalms; And was grieved that she might tarry no longer in this place. This White Man is said to have appeared several times to others of them, and to have given them notice how long it should be before they should have another Fit.

April the 3d. Being Sacrament Day at the Village, Sarah Cloyes, Sister to Goodwife Nurse, a Member to one of the Churches, was (tho' it seems with difficulty prevail'd with to be) present; but being entred the place, and Mr. Parris naming his Text, 6 John. 70. *Have not I chosen you Twelve, and one of you is a Devil* (for what cause may rest as a doubt whether upon the account of her Sisters being Committed, or because of the choice of that Text) she rose up and went out, the wind shutting the Door forcibly, gave occasion to some to suppose she went out in Anger, and might occasion a suspicion of her; however she was soon after complain'd of, examin'd and Committed.

April the 11th. By this time the number of the Accused and Accusers being much increased, was a Publick Examination at Salem, Six of the Magistrates with several Ministers being present;¹ there appeared several who complain'd against others with hideous clamors and Screechings. Goodwife Proctor was brought thither, being Accused or cryed out against; her Husband coming to attend and assist her, as there might

¹ Among them was Samuel Sewall, who wrote in his diary for that day: "Went to Salem, where, in the Meeting-Assembly, the persons accused of Witchcraft were examined; was a very great Assembly; 'twas awful to see how the afflicted persons were agitated. Mr. Noyes pray'd at the beginning, and Mr. Higginson concluded." In the margin he has later added: "*Vae, Vae, Vae, Witchcraft!*"—*i. e.*, "woe, woe, woe!" So many (seven) of the magistrates were present that the court took the form of a "council" (the highest of colonial tribunals), under the presidency of Deputy-governor Danforth (*Records of Salem Witchcraft*, I. 101; Hutchinson, *Massachusetts*, second ed., II. 27-30).

be need, the Accusers cryed out of him also, and that with so much earnestness, that he was Committed with his Wife. About this time besides the Experiment of the Afflicted falling at the sight, etc., they put the Accused upon saying the Lords Prayer, which one among them performed, except in that petition, *Deliver us from Evil*, she exprest it thus, *Deliver us from all Evil*. This was lookt upon as if she Prayed against what she was now justly under, and being put upon it again, and repeating those words, *Hallowed be thy name*, she exprest it, *Hollowed be thy Name*, this was counted a depraving the words, as signifying to make void, and so a Curse rather than a Prayer, upon the whole it was concluded that she also could not say it, etc. Proceeding in this work of examination and Commitment, many were sent to Prison. As an Instance, see the following Mitimus:

To their Majesties Goal-keeper² in Salem.

You are in Their Majesties Names hereby required to take into your care, and safe custody, the Bodies of William Hobbs, and Deborah,³ his Wife, Mary Easty, the Wife of Isaac Easty, and Sarah Wild, the Wife of John Wild, all of Topsfield; and Edward Bishop of Salem-Village, Husbandman, and Sarah his Wife, and Mary Black, a Negro of Lieutenant Nathaniel Putmans of Salem-Village; also Mary English the Wife of Philip English, Merchant in Salem,⁴ who stand charged with High Suspicion of Sundry Acts of Witchcraft, Mercy Lewis⁵ and Abigail Williams, of Salem-Village, whereby great Hurt and Damage hath been done to the Bodies of the said Persons, [as] according to the complaint of Thomas Putman and John Buxton of Salem-Village, Exhibited Salem, Apr 21, 1692, appears, whom you are to secure in order to their further Examination. Fail not.

JOHN HATHORN, }
JONA. CURWIN, }

Dated SALEM, April 22, 1692.

¹ *I. e.*, than. This spelling was then usual. ² Jail-keeper. ³ Deliverance.

⁴ Mary Easty, aged 56, was a sister of Rebecca Nurse and Sarah Cloyse. We shall meet her again. As to these Topsfield cases, see above, p. 237, note 1. Edward Bishop, aged 44, was probably a step-son of Bridget Bishop (see above, pp. 223-229, and below, p. 356), and his wife was a daughter of John Wilds. On Mary Black, see Chandler, *American Criminal Trials*, I. 427, and Upham, *Salem Witchcraft*, II. 136-137. As for Mary English, see below, p. 371.

⁵ "Mary" in original; corrected in *Errata*.

dlessex. Having been there one Night, next Morning the Jaylor put Irons on her legs (having received such a command) the weight of them was about eight pounds; these Irons and her other Afflictions, soon brought her into Convulsion Fits, so that I thought she would have died that Night. I sent to intreat that the Irons might be taken off, but all intreaties were in vain, if it would have saved her Life, so that in this condition she must continue. The Tryals at Salem coming on, I went thither, to see how things were there managed; and finding that the Spectre-Evidence was there received, together with Idle, if not malicious Stories, against Peoples Lives, I did easily perceive which way the rest would go; for the same Evidence that served for one, would serve for all the rest. I acquainted her with her danger; and that if she were carried to Salem to be tried, I feared she would never return. I did my utmost that she might have her Tryal in our own County, I with several others Petitioning the Judge for it, and were put in hopes of it; but I soon saw so much, that I understood thereby it was not intended, which put me upon consulting the means of her escape; which thro the goodness of God was effected, and she got to Road Island;¹ but soon found her self not safe when there, by reason of the pursuit after her; from thence she went to New-York, along with some others that had escaped their cruel hands; where we found his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, Esq; Governour, who was very courteous to us. After this some of my Goods were seized in a Friends hands, with whom I had left them, and my self imprisoned by the Sheriff, and kept in Custody half a day, and then dismissed; but to speak of their usage of the Prisoners, and their Inhumanity shewn to them, at the time of their Execution, no sober Christian could bear; they had also tryals of cruel mockings; which is the more, considering what a People for Religion, I mean the profession of it, we have been; those that suffered being many of them Church-Members, and most of them unspotted in their Conversation, till their Adversary the Devil took up this Method for accusing them.

Per NATHANIEL² CARY.

May 31. Captain John Aldin³ was Examined at Salem, and Committed to Boston Prison. The Prison-Keeper seeing

¹ Rhode Island. "July 30, 1692. Mrs. Cary makes her escape out of Cambridge-Prison, who was Committed for Witchcraft." (Sewall, *Diary*, I. 362.)

² "Jonathan" in original: corrected to "Nathaniel" in *Errata*.

³ See above, pp. 170, note 2, and 178, note 6. Captain Alden, Indian fighter, naval commander, now at seventy a man of wealth, was one of the leading figures of New England.

such a Man Committed, of whom he had a good esteem, was after this the more Compassionate to those that were in Prison on the like account; and did refrain from such hard things to the Prisoners, as before he had used. Mr. Aldin himself has given account of his Examination, in these Words.

An Account how John Aldin, Senior, was dealt with at Salem-Village.

John Aldin Senior, of Boston, in the County of Suffolk, Mariner, on the 28th Day of May, 1692, was sent for by the Magistrates of Salem, in the County of Essex, upon the Accusation of a company of poor distracted, or possessed Creatures or Witches; and being sent by Mr. Stoughton,¹ arrived there the 31st of May, and appeared at Salem-Village, before Mr. Gidney,² Mr. Hathorn, and Mr. Curwin.

Those Wenchies being present, who plaid their juggling tricks, falling down, crying out, and staring in Peoples Faces; the Magistrates demanded of them several times, who it was of all the People in the Room that hurt them? one of these Accusers pointed several times at one Captain Hill, there present, but spake nothing; the same Accuser had a Man standing at her back to hold her up; he stooped down to her Ear, then she cried out, Aldin, Aldin afflicted her; one of the Magistrates asked her if she had ever seen Aldin, she answered no, he asked her how she knew it was Aldin? She said, the Man told her so.

Then all were ordered to go down into the Street, where a Ring was made; and the same Accuser cried out, "there stands Aldin, a bold fellow with his Hat on before the Judges, he sells Powder and Shot to the Indians and French, and lies with the Indian Squaes, and has Indian Papooses." Then was Aldin committed to the Marshal's Custody, and his Sword taken from him; for they said he afflicted them with his Sword. After some hours Aldin was sent for to the Meeting-house in the Village before the Magistrates; who required Aldin to stand upon a Chair, to the open view of all the People.

The Accusers cried out that Aldin did pinch them, then, when he stood upon the Chair, in the sight of all the People, a good way distant from them, one of the Magistrates bid the Marshal to hold open Aldin's hands, that he might not pinch those Creatures. Aldin asked

¹ The lieutenant-governor—soon to be head of the special court for the trial of the witches. See above, p. 183, note 2, and p. 199.

² Bartholomew Gedney, of Salem, the third magistrate, was, like his colleagues, an assistant of the province.

them why they should think, that he should come to that Village to afflict those persons that he never knew or saw before? Mr. Gidney bid Aldin confess, and give glory to God; Aldin said he hoped he should give glory to God, and hoped he should never gratify the Devil; but appealed to all that ever knew him, if they ever suspected him to be such a person, and challenged any one, that could bring in any thing upon their own knowledge, that might give suspicion of his being such an one. Mr. Gidney said he had known Aldin many Years, and had been at Sea with him, and always look'd upon him to be an honest Man, but now he did see cause to alter his judgment: Aldin answered, he was sorry for that, but he hoped God would clear up his Innocency, that he would recall that judgment again, and added that he hoped that he should with Job maintain his Integrity till he died. They bid Aldin look upon the Accusers, which he did, and then they fell down. Aldin asked Mr. Gidney, what Reason there could be given, why Aldin's looking upon *him* did not strike *him* down as well; but no reason was given that I heard. But the Accusers were brought to Aldin to touch them, and this touch they said made them well. Aldin began to speak of the Providence of God in suffering these Creatures to accuse Innocent persons. Mr. Noyes asked Aldin why he would offer to speak of the Providence of God. God by his Providence (said Mr. Noyes) governs the World, and keeps it in peace; and so went on with Discourse, and stopt Aldin's mouth, as to that. Aldin told Mr. Gidney, that he could assure him that there was a lying Spirit in them, for I can assure you that there is not a word of truth in all these say of me. But Aldin was again committed to the Marshal, and his Mirtimus written, which was as follows.

To Mr. John Arnold, Keeper of the Prison in Boston, in the County of Suffolk.

Whereas Captain John Aldin of Boston, Marriner, and Sarah Rice, Wife of Nicholas Rice of Reding, Husbandman, have been this day brought before us, John Hathorn and Jonathan Curwin, Esquires; being accused and suspected of perpetrating divers acts of Witchcraft, contrary to the form of the Statute, in that Case made and provided: These are therefore in Their Majesties, King William and Queen Marys Names, to Will and require you, to take into your Custody, the bodies of the said John Aldin, and Sarah Rice, and them safely keep, until they shall thence be delivered by due course of Law; as you will answer the contrary at your peril; and this shall be your sufficient Warrant. Given under our hands at Salem Village, the 31st of May, in the Fourth Year of the Reign of our

Sovereign Lord and Lady, William and Mary, now King and Queen over England, etc., Anno Dom. 1692.

JOHN HATHORN,
JONATHAN CURWIN, } *Assistants.*

To Boston Aldin was carried by a Constable, no Bail would be taken for him; but was delivered to the Prison-keeper, where he remained Fifteen Weeks;¹ and then observing the manner of Tryals, and Evidence then taken, was at length prevailed with to make his Escape, and being returned, was bound over to Answer at the Superior Court at Boston, the last Tuesday in April, Anno 1693. And was there cleared by Proclamation, none appearing against him.

Per JOHN ALDIN.

At Examination, and at other times, 'twas usual for the Accusers to tell of the black Man, or of a Spectre, as being then on the Table, etc. The People about would strike with Swords, or sticks at those places. One Justice broke his Cane at this Exercise, and sometimes the Accusers would say, they struck the Spectre, and it is reported several of the accused were hurt and wounded thereby, though at home at the same time.

The Justices proceeding in these works of Examination, and Commitment, to the end of May, there was by that time about a Hundred persons Imprisoned upon that Account.

June 2. A special Commission of Oyer and Terminer having been Issued out, to Mr. Stoughton, the New Lieutenant Governor, Major Saltonstall, Major Richards, Major Gidney, Mr. Wait Winthrop, Captain Sewall, and Mr. Sergeant;² These (a Quorum of them) sat at Salem this day; where the

¹ Captain Alden's case seems to have made a great stir. On July 20 there was held a special "Fast at the house of Capt. Alden, upon his account." Judge Sewall read a sermon, and Willard, Allen, and Cotton Mather prayed, then Captain Hill and Captain Scottow: "concluded about 5. a'clock." (Sewall, *Diary*, I. 361-362.) A year later, on June 12, 1693, Sewall records: "I visit Capt. Alden and his wife, and tell them I was sorry for their Sorrow and Temptations by reason of his Imprisonment, and that I was glad of his Restoration."

² See above, pp. 183-185, 196-198. These gentlemen were all members of the new Council of the province. Saltonstall, out of dissatisfaction with the proceedings, early withdrew (see above, p. 184), and was later himself accused (Sewall's *Diary*, I. 373). Jonathan Corwin took his place. A quorum was five. All the judges had had experience in the colony's Court of Assistants; but none had had a legal training.

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most that was done this Week, was the Tryal of one Bishop, *alias* Oliver, of Salem; who having long undergone the repute of a Witch, occasioned by the Accusations of one Samuel Gray: he about 20 Years since, having charged her with such Crimes, and though upon his Death-bed he testified his sorrow and repentance for such Accusations, as being wholly groundless; yet the report taken up by his means continued, and she being accused by those afflicted, and upon search a Tet, as they call it, being found, she was brought in guilty by the Jury; she received her Sentence of Death, and was Executed, June 10, but made not the least Confession of any thing relating to Witchcraft.¹

June 15. Several Ministers in and near Boston, having been to that end consulted by his Excellency,² express their minds to this effect, *viz.*

That they were affected with the deplorable state of the afflicted; That they were thankful for the diligent care of the Rulers, to detect the abominable Witchcrafts, which have been committed in the Country, praying for a perfect discovery thereof. But advised to a cautious proceeding, least many Evils ensue, etc. And that tenderness be used towards those accused, relating to matters presumptive and convictive, and also to privacy in Examinations, and to consult Mr. Perkins and Mr. Bernard,³ what tests to make use of in the Scrutiny: That Presumptions and Convictions ought to have better grounds, than the Accusers affirming that they see such persons Spectres afflicting them: And that the Devil may afflict in the shape of good Men; and that falling at the sight, and rising at the touch of the Accused, is no infallible proof of guilt; That seeing the Devils strength consists in such Accusations, our disbelieving them may be a means to put a period to the dreadful Calamities; Nevertheless they humbly recommend to the Government, the speedy and vigorous prosecu-

¹ As to the trial of Bridget Bishop see above, pp. 223-229. Before her last marriage she had been a widow Oliver. The testimony against her includes the deposition of a Samuel Gray (*Records of Salem Witchcraft*, I. 152-153) as to her bewitching to death his child some fourteen years before. Of his repentance at his death, which must have been recent when Calef wrote, the writer doubtless speaks from personal knowledge.

² See above, p. 194.

³ See above, p. 304, notes 3, 5.

tion of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious, according to the direction given in the Laws of God, and the wholesome Statutes of the English Nation, for the Detection of Witchcraft.

This is briefly the substance of what may be seen more at large in *Cases of Conscience*, (*ult.*)¹ And one of them² since taking occasion to repeat some part of this advice, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 83, declares, (notwithstanding the Dissatisfaction of others) that if his said Book may conduce to promote thankfulness to God for such Executions, he shall rejoice, etc.

The 30th of June, the Court according to Adjournment again sat; five more were tried, *viz.* Sarah Good and Rebecca Nurse, of Salem-Village; Susanna Martin of Ansbury; Elizabeth How of Ipswich; and Sarah Wildes of Topsfield; these were all condemned that Sessions, and were all Executed on the 19th of July.³

At the Tryal of Sarah Good, one of the afflicted fell in a Fit, and after coming out of it, she cried out of the Prisoner, for stabbing her in the breast with a Knife, and that she had broken the Knife in stabbing of her, accordingly a piece of the blade of a Knife was found about her. Immediately information being given to the Court, a young Man was called, who produced a Haft and part of the Blade, which the Court having viewed and compared, saw it to be the same. And upon inquiry the young Man affirmed, that yesterday he happened to break that Knife, and that he cast away the upper part, this afflicted person being then present. The young Man was

¹ The full text of the document, that is, may be found at the end of Increase Mather's *Cases of Conscience* (London, 1693). With that book, or from it, it has been often reprinted. In his life of Phips (and in its reprint in his *Magnalia*) Cotton Mather tells us that it was drawn up by himself; but it doubtless embodied a compromise. Increase Mather calls it "the humble Advice which twelve Ministers concurreingly presented before his Excellency and Council," and it entitles itself "The Return of several Ministers consulted by his Excellency, and the Honourable Council, upon the present Witchcrafts in Salem Village."

² Cotton Mather, of course.

³ As to the trials of Susanna Martin and Elizabeth How see above, pp. 229-240, and records there cited. The documents for those of Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse, Sarah Wildes, may be found in *Records of Salem Witchcraft* (I. 11-34, 76-90, 180-189), but for the two last more fully in the *Historical Collections of the Topsfield Historical Society* (XIII. 80-92).

dismist, and she was bidden by the Court not to tell lyes; and was improved (after as she had been before) to give Evidence against the Prisoners.

At Execution, Mr. Noyes urged Sarah Good to Confess, and told her she was a Witch, and she knew she was a Witch, to which she replied, "you are a lyer; I am no more a Witch than you are a Wizard, and if you take away my Life, God will give you Blood to drink."

At the Tryal of Rebecca Nurse, this was remarkable that the Jury brought in their Verdict not Guilty, immediately all the accusers in the Court, and suddenly after all the afflicted out of Court, made an hideous out-cry, to the amazement, not only of the Spectators, but the Court also seemed strangely surprized; one of the Judges exprest himself not satisfied, another of them as he was going off the Bench, said they would have her Indicted anew. The chief Judge said he would not impose upon the Jury; but intimated, as if they had not well considered one Expression of the Prisoners, when she was upon Tryal, *viz.* That when one Hobbs, who had confessed her self to be a Witch, was brought into the Court to witness against her, the Prisoner turning her head to her, said, "What, do you bring her? she is one of us," or to that effect; this together with the Clamours of the Accusers, induced the Jury to go out again, after their Verdict, not Guilty. But not agreeing, they came into the Court, and she being then at the Bar, her words were repeated to her, in order to have had her explanation of them, and she making no Reply to them, they found the Bill, and brought her in Guilty; these words being the Inducement to it, as the Foreman has signified in writing, as follows.

July 4, 1692. I Thomas Fisk, the Subscriber hereof, being one of them that were of the Jury the last week at Salem-Court, upon the Tryal of Rebecca Nurse, etc., being desired by some of the Relations to give a Reason why the Jury brought her in Guilty, after her Verdict not Guilty; I do hereby give my Reasons to be as follows, *viz.*

When the Verdict not Guilty was, the honoured Court was pleased to object against it, saying to them, that they think they let slip the words, which the Prisoner at the Bar spake against her self, which were spoken in reply to Goodwife Hobbs and her Daughter, who had been faulty in setting their hands to the Devils Book, as they have confessed formerly; the words were "What, do these per-

sons give in Evidence against me now, they used to come among us." After the honoured Court had manifested their dissatisfaction of the Verdict, several of the Jury declared themselves desirous to go out again, and thereupon the honoured Court gave leave; but when we came to consider of the Case, I could not tell how to take her words, as an Evidence against her, till she had a further opportunity to put her Sense upon them, if she would take it; and then going into Court, I mentioned the words aforesaid, which by one of the Court were affirmed to have been spoken by her, she being then at the Bar, but made no reply, nor interpretation of them; whereupon these words were to me a principal Evidence against her.

THOMAS FISK.

When Goodwife Nurse was informed what use was made of these words, she put in this following Declaration into the Court.

These presents do humbly shew, to the honoured Court and Jury, that I being informed, that the Jury brought me in Guilty, upon my saying that Goodwife Hobbs and her Daughter were of our Company; but I intended no otherways, then as¹ they were Prisoners with us, and therefore did then, and yet do judge them not legal Evidence against their fellow Prisoners. And I being something hard of hearing, and full of grief, none informing me how the Court took up my words, and therefore had not opportunity to declare what I intended, when I said they were of our Company.

REBECCA NURSE.

After her Condemnation she was by one of the Ministers of Salem excommunicated;² yet the Governour saw cause to grant a Reprieve, which when known (and some say immediately upon granting) the Accusers renewed their dismal outcries against her, insomuch that the Governour was by some Salem Gentleman prevailed with to recall the Reprieve, and she was Executed with the rest.

¹ *I. e.*, than that.

² By Mr. Noyes, of whose church in Salem Town she was a member. Says the church record: "1692, July 3.—After sacrament, the elders propounded to the church,—and it was, by an unanimous vote, consented to,—that our sister Nurse, being a convicted witch by the Court, and condemned to die, should be excommunicated; which was accordingly done in the afternoon, she being present." (Upham, *Salem Witchcraft*, II. 290.) Upham, himself long pastor of this church, has drawn a powerful picture of the probable scene.

The Testimonials of her Christian behaviour, both in the course of her Life, and at her Death, and her extraordinary care in educating her Children, and setting them good Examples, etc., under the hands of so many, are so numerous, that for brevity they are here omitted.¹

It was at the Trial of these that one of the Accusers cried out publicly of Mr. Willard Minister in Boston,² as afflicting of her; she was sent out of the Court, and it was told about she was mistaken in the person.

August 5. The Court again sitting, six more were tried on the same Account, viz. Mr. George Burroughs, sometime minister of Wells, John Procter, and Elizabeth Procter his Wife, with John Willard of Salem-Village, George Jacobs Senior, of Salem, and Martha Carrier of Andover;³ these were all brought in Guilty and Condemned; and were all Executed Aug. 19, except Procter's Wife, who pleaded Pregnancy.⁴

Mr. Burroughs was carried in a Cart with the others, through the streets of Salem to Execution; when he was upon the Ladder, he made a Speech for the clearing of his Innocency, with such Solemn and Serious Expressions, as were to the Admiration of all present; his Prayer (which he concluded by repeating the Lord's Prayer,) was so well worded, and uttered with such composedness, and such (at least seeming) fervency of Spirit, as was very affecting, and drew Tears from many (so that it seemed to some, that the Spectators would hinder

¹ Two of these testimonials, one of them signed by thirty-eight of her neighbors, are printed by Upham (*Salem Witchcraft*, II. 271-272), and more exactly from the still extant MSS., in the *Historical Collections* of the Topsfield Historical Society (XIII. 57-58)—and with them the touching evidence of the neighbors who first bore her the news of her accusation.

² See above, pp. 22, 184, and 186, note 3.

³ As to the trials of Burroughs and Goodwife Carrier see above, pp. 215-222, 241-244, and records there cited. Those relating to Procter and his wife, to Willard, and to Jacobs may be found in *Records of Salem Witchcraft* (I. 60-74, 99-117, 266-279, 253-265). The testimonials on behalf of the Procters are reprinted (with corrections) by Upham (*Salem Witchcraft*, II. 305-307). As to Willard other papers will be found in Dr. S. A. Green's *Groton in the Witchcraft Times* (Groton, 1883), pp. 23-29. The documents relating to Jacobs are to be found also in the *Collections* of the Essex Institute (II. 49-57), where (and in I. 52-56) are further details as to him and his household.

⁴ For Brattle's account of their execution see above, p. 177.

the Execution). The accusers said the black Man stood and dictated to him; as soon as he was turned off, Mr. Cotton Mather, being mounted upon a Horse, addressed himself to the People, partly to declare, that he was no ordained Minister, and partly to possess the People of his guilt; saying, That the Devil has often been transfigured into an Angel of Light; and this did somewhat appease the People, and the Executions went on; when he was cut down, he was dragged by the Halter to a Hole, or Grave, between the Rocks, about two foot deep, his Shirt and Breeches being pulled off, and an old pair of Trousers of one Executed, put on his lower parts, he was so put in, together with Willard and Carrier, one of his Hands and his Chin, and a Foot of one [of] them being left uncovered.¹

John Willard had been employed to fetch in several that were accused; but taking dissatisfaction from his being sent, to fetch up some that he had better thoughts of, he declined the Service, and presently after he himself was accused of the same Crime, and that with such vehemency, that they sent after him to apprehend him; he had made his Escape as far as Nashawag,² about 40 Miles from Salem; yet 'tis said those Accusers did then presently tell the exact time, saying, now Willard is taken.

John Procter and his Wife being in Prison, the Sheriff came to his House and seized all the Goods, Provisions, and Cattle that he could come at, and sold some of the Cattle at half price, and killed others, and put them up for the West-Indies; threw out the Beer out of a Barrel, and carried away the Barrel; emptied a Pot of Broath, and took away the Pot, and left nothing in the House for the support of the Children: No part of the said Goods are known to be returned. Procter earnestly requested Mr. Noyes to pray with and for him, but

¹ "This day," writes Judge Sewall in his diary, "George Burrough, John Willard, Jno. Procter, Martha Carrier and George Jacobs were executed at Salem, a very great number of Spectators being present. Mr. Cotton Mather was there, Mr. Sims, Hale, Noyes, Chievers, etc. All of them said they were innocent, Carrier and all. Mr. Mather says they all died by a Righteous Sentence. Mr. Burrough by his Speech, Prayer, protestation of his Innocence, did much move unthinking persons, which occasions their speaking hardly concerning his being executed." In the margin he later added "Dolefull Witchcraft!"

² Nashawag, an old name of Lancaster.

it was wholly denied, because he would not own himself to be a Witch.

During his Imprisonment he sent the following Letter, in behalf of himself and others.

SALEM-PRISON, July 23, 1692.

Mr. Mather, Mr. Allen,
Mr. Moody, Mr. Willard, and
Mr. Bailey;

Reverend Gentlemen.

The innocency of our Case with the Enmity of our Accusers and our Judges, and Jury, whom nothing but our Innocent Blood will serve their turn, having Condemned us already before our Tryals, being so much incensed and engaged against us by the Devil, makes us bold to Beg and Implore your Favourable Assistance of this our Humble Petition to his Excellency, That if it be possible our Innocent Blood may be spared, which undoubtedly otherwise will be shed, if the Lord doth not mercifully step in. The Magistrates, Ministers, Jewries,¹ and all the People in general, being so much enraged and incensed against us by the Delusion of the Devil, which we can term no other, by reason we know in our own Consciences, we are all Innocent Persons. Here are five Persons who have lately

¹ By "Mr. Mather" is unquestionably meant Increase Mather. He alone, as the senior in age and in dignity, could with propriety be thus given the place; and his son, if named at all, would have been identified as "Mr. Cotton Mather." That he is not named at all needs no explanation to those who have read his own words as to accusers and accused and his complaints as to the blame heaped upon himself. Of Moody, Willard, Bailey, we have perhaps seen enough in earlier pages to guess why such an appeal might with hope be addressed to them. The Boston Tory Joshua Broadbent, writing on June 21 from New York, reported that "Mrs. Moody, Parson Moody's wife, is said to be one" of the witches. (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1689-1692, p. 653.) Of Allen, the well-to-do minister of the First Church, who seems to have been a man of much caution, it may be well to remember that prior to 1678 he had owned the estate at Salem Village since occupied, but not yet in full ownership, by the Nurses, Procter's near neighbors, and that he was doubtless personally known to the petitioner. Bailey, who had come to America in 1683, had at first assisted Willard at the South Church, and, after a pastorate at Watertown, was now Allen's assistant at the First.

² Juries. It should not be overlooked that in these trials of 1692 the jurors were chosen from among church-members only, not, as later, from all who had the property to make them voters under the new charter. The act establishing this qualification for the jurors was not passed till November 25. (See Goodell in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, second series, I. 67-68.)

confessed themselves to be Witches, and do accuse some of us, of being along with them at a Sacrament, since we were committed into close Prison, which we know to be Lies. Two of the 5 are (Carriers Sons¹) Young-men, who would not confess any thing till they tied them Neck and Heels² till the Blood was ready to come out of their Noses, and 'tis credibly believed and reported this was the occasion of making them confess that³ they never did, by reason they said one had been a Witch a Month, and another five Weeks, and that their Mother had made them so, who has been confined here this nine Weeks. My son William Procter, when he was examin'd, because he would not confess that he was Guilty, when he was Innocent, they tied him Neck and Heels till the Blood gushed out at his Nose, and would have kept him so 24 Hours, if one more Merciful than the rest, had not taken pity on him, and caused him to be unbound. These actions are very like the Popish Cruelties. They have already undone us in our Estates, and that will not serve their turns, without our Innocent Bloods. If it cannot be granted that we can have our

¹ Richard and Andrew, sons of Martha Carrier, of Andover. (See above, pp. 241-244.) Richard was 18.

² As to this form of torture see above, p. 102 and note 1. For some of the evidence extorted by it in this case see *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, p. 198. The use of torture in cases of witchcraft had been recommended by Perkins, the Puritan oracle, and yet more warmly by King James; and despite protesting jurists it came into use. Even Coke, who maintains that "there is no Law to warrant tortures in this land, nor can they be justified by any prescription," has to add "being so lately brought in" (*Institutes*, III., cap. 2). As to its actual use in English witch-trials see Notestein, *Witchcraft in England*, index, s. v. "Torture." But Massachusetts law, from 1641 on, had straitly forbidden it except, after conviction, to extort the names of accomplices; and even then forbade "such tortures as be barbarous and inhumane" (see *Body of Liberties*, par. 45; ed. of 1660, p. 67; ed. of 1672, p. 129). If in 1648 the highest court of the colony, learning with admiration of the achievements of Matthew Hopkins in England, was "desirous that the same course which hath been taken in England for the discovery of witches, by watchings, may also be taken here," and ordered, in the case of a witch, that "a strict watch be set about her every night, and that her husband be confined to a private room, and watched also" (*Records of Massachusetts*, III. 126), their phrasing betrays how little they understood the rigor of the English method. In 1692 even Cotton Mather declared himself "farr from urging the un-English method of torture" (*Mather Papers*, p. 394), though he likened the judges "whatever hath a tendency to put the witches into confusion," such as "Crosse and Swift Questions." But the procedure of that day, like our own, drew a line between what might be used in the courts and what might be permitted to extra-judicial inquiry, and we shall see yet more of methods used at Salem to extort confession.

³ That which.

Trials at Boston, we humbly beg that you would endeavour to have these Magistrates changed, and others in their rooms, begging also and beseeching you would be pleased to be here, if not all, some of you at our Trials, hoping thereby you may be the means of saving the shedding our Innocent Bloods, desiring your Prayers to the Lord in our behalf, we rest your Poor Afflicted Servants,

JOHN PROCTER, etc.

He pleaded very hard at Execution, for a little respite of time, saying that he was not fit to Die; but it was not granted. Old Jacobs being Condemned, the Sheriff and Officers came and seized all he had, his Wife had her Wedding Ring taken from her, but with great difficulty obtained it again. She was forced to buy Provisions of the Sheriff, such as he had taken, towards her own support, which not being sufficient, the Neighbourhood of Charity relieved her.¹

Margaret Jacobs being one that had confessed her own Guilt, and testified against her Grand-Father Jacobs, Mr. Burroughs, and John Willard, She the day before Executions, came to Mr. Burroughs, acknowledging that she had belied them,² and begged Mr. Burroughs Forgiveness, who not only

¹ *I. e.*, out of charity the neighbors relieved her.

² How she was brought to confess she herself told in a brave paper:

"The humble declaration of Margaret Jacobs unto the honoured court now sitting at Salem, sheweth

"That whereas your poor and humble declarant being closely confined here in Salem jail for the crime of witchcraft, which crime, thanks be to the Lord, I am altogether ignorant of, as will appear at the great day of judgment. May it please the honoured court, I was cried out upon by some of the possessed persons, as afflicting of them; whereupon I was brought to my examination, which The Lord above knows I knew nothing, in the least measure, how or who afflicted them; they told me, without doubt I did, or else they would not fall down at me; they told me if I would not confess, I should be put down into the dungeon and would be hanged, but if I would confess I should have my life; the which did so affright me, with my own vile wicked heart, to save my life made me make the confession I did, which confession, may it please the honoured court, is altogether false and untrue. The very first night after I had made my confession, I was in such horror of conscience that I could not sleep, for fear the Devil should carry me away for telling such horrid lies. I was, may it please the honoured court, sworn to my confession, as I understand since, but then, at that time, was ignorant of it, not knowing what an oath did mean. The Lord, I hope, in whom I trust, out of the abundance of his mercy, will forgive me my false for-

forgave her, but also Prayed with and for her. She wrote the following Letter to her Father.

From the Dungeon in Salem-Prison, August 20, 92.

Honoured Father,

After my Humble Duty Remembered to you, hoping in the Lord of your good Health, as Blessed be God I enjoy, tho in abundance of Affliction, being close confined here in a loathsome Dungeon, the Lord look down in mercy upon me, not knowing how soon I shall be put to Death, by means of the Afflicted Persons; my Grand-Father having Suffered already, and all his Estate Seized for the King. The reason of my Confinement is this, I having, through the Magistrates Threatnings; and my own Vile and Wretched Heart, confessed several things contrary to my Conscience and Knowledge, tho to the Wounding of my own Soul, the Lord pardon me for it; but Oh! the terrors of a wounded Conscience who can bear. But blessed be the Lord, he would not let me go on in my Sins, but in mercy I hope so my Soul would not suffer me to keep it in any longer, but I was forced to confess the truth of all before the Magistrates, who would not believe me, but tis their pleasure to put me in here, and God knows how soon I shall be put to death. Dear Father, let me beg your Prayers to the Lord on my behalf, and send us a Joyful and Happy meeting in Heaven. My Mother poor Woman is very Crazy, and swearing myself. What I said was altogether false, against my grandfather, and Mr. Burroughs, which I did to save my life and to have my liberty; but the Lord, charging it to my conscience, made me in so much horror, that I could not contain myself before I had denied my confession, which I did, though I saw nothing but death before me, choosing rather death with a quiet conscience, than to live in such horror, which I could not suffer. Whereupon my denying my confession, I was committed to close prison, where I have enjoyed more felicity in spirit a thousand times than I did before in my enlargement.

"And now, may it please your honours, your poor and humble declarant having, in part, given your honours a description of my condition, do leave it to your honours pious and judicious discretions to take pity and compassion on my young and tender years; to act and do with me as the Lord above and your honours shall see good, having no friend but the Lord to plead my cause for me; not being guilty in the least measure of the crime of witchcraft, nor any other sin that deserves death from man; and your poor and humble declarant shall forever pray, as she is bound in duty, for your honours' happiness in this life, and eternal felicity in the world to come. So prays your honours declarant.

"MARGARET JACOBS."

The document is preserved by Hutchinson, and may be found in the first chapter of his second volume (or in Poole's reprint of an earlier draft, *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, XXIV. 402-403).

remembers her kind Love to you, and to Uncle, viz. D. A.¹ So leaving you to the protection of the Lord, I rest your Dutiful Daughter,
MARGARET JACOBS.

At the time appointed for her Tryal, she had an Impos-
thume in her head, which was her Escape.²

September 9. Six more were tried, and received Sentence of Death, viz. Martha Cory of Salem-Village, Mary Easty of Topsfield, Alice Parker and Ann Pudeater of Salem, Dorcas Hoar of Beverly, and Mary Bradberry of Salisbury.³ September 16, Giles Cory was prest to Death.

September 17. Nine more received Sentence of Death, viz. Margaret Scot of Rowly, Goodwife Redd of Marblehead, Samuel Wardwell, and Mary Parker of Andover, also Abigail Falkner of Andover, who pleaded Pregnancy, Rebecca Eames of Boxford, Mary Lacy, and Ann Foster of Andover, and Abigail Hobbs of Topsfield.⁴ Of these Eight were Executed,

¹ Daniel Andrew, the kinsman and neighbor who had fled with her father. He had been a leading man, a teacher, a deputy to the General Court, and apparently a staunch opponent of the panic. As to the crazed mother, and, apparently, and the grandmother's petition in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, V. 79 (or in Chandler's *American Criminal Trials*, I. 431-432).

² For a little more of her story see below, p. 371. She was acquitted in January, but had to remain in jail, even after the governor by proclamation had freed the prisoners (May, 1693), for want of means to pay her prison fees. A stranger, touched with compassion on hearing of her case, advanced the money—and was in time repaid. (Upham, *Salem Witchcraft*, II. 353-354.)

³ The papers relating to Ann Pudeater (*Records of Salem Witchcraft*, II. 12-22) have been embodied in a study of her case by G. F. Chever in the *Collections* of the Essex Institute (II. 37-42, 49-54). The widow Dorcas Hoar seems to have earned some suspicion by an interest in fortune-telling (*Records of Salem Witchcraft*, I. 235-253), and, though she confessed, she was condemned; but she had potent friends. "A petition is sent to Town," says Sewall in his *Diary* on September 21, "in behalf of Dorcas Hoar, who now confesses. Accordingly an order is sent to the Sheriff to forbear her Execution." "This is," he adds, "the first condemned person who has confessed." The aged Mrs. Bradbury, daughter of John Perkins of Ipswich and wife of Captain Thomas Bradbury of Salisbury, was not only one of the most socially eminent but one of the most venerated women of her region, and her arrest enlisted in her defence the public sentiment of all the district (see *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, II. 160-174). She was sentenced to escape from prison, and so from death.

⁴ For the Andover and Topsfield cases reference may again be made to Mrs. Bailey's *Historical Sketches of Andover* and to vol. XIII. of the *Collections* of the Topsfield Historical Society as well as to the *Records of Salem Witchcraft*. The

September 22, viz. Martha Cory, Mary Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeater, Margaret Scot, Willmet Redd, Samuel Wardwell, and Mary Parker.

Giles Cory pleaded not Guilty to his Indictment, but would not put himself upon Tryal by the Jury (they having cleared none upon Tryal) and knowing there would be the same Witness against him, rather chose to undergo what Death they would put him to. In pressing his Tongue being prest out of his Mouth, the Sheriff with his Cane forced it in again, when he was dying. He was the first in New-England, that was ever prest to Death.¹

The Cart going up the Hill with these Eight to Execution, was for some time at a sett; the afflicted and others said, that the Devil hindred it, etc.

Martha Cory, Wife to Giles Cory, protesting her Innocency, concluded her Life with an Eminent Prayer upon the Ladder.

Wardwell having formerly confessed himself Guilty, and after denied it, was soon brought upon his Tryal; his former Confession and Spectre Testimony was all that appeared against him. At Execution while he was speaking to the People, protesting his Innocency, the Executioner being at the same time smocking Tobacco, the smoak coming in his Face, interrupted his Discourse, those Accusers said, the Devil hindred him with smoak.

Mary Easty, Sister also to Rebecka Nurse, when she took papers as to Wilmot Redd, or Reed, are in the *Records* (II. 97-106); Margaret Scot's seem lost. The examinations of Mary Lacy and Ann Foster should be studied in Hutchinson's chapter as well as in the *Records* (II. 135-142), and see also p. 244, above, and pp. 418-419, below.

¹ This was, of course, the old English "peine forte et dure" for those who, in cases of petty treason or of felony, will not "put themselves upon the country," or, as Coke has it, "when the offender standeth mute, and refuseth to be tried by the common law of the land." (See Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, second ed., II. 650-652.) Whether in Giles Cory's case this was mere proud protest or had some ulterior end is not yet clear. The theory that he hoped thereby to save himself from attainder and preserve his right to bequeath his property has been learnedly contested by G. H. Moore (see especially his *Final Notes on Witchcraft in Massachusetts*, New York, 1885, pp. 40-59). As to Giles Cory see also p. 250, above, and *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, II. 175-180. The missing report of his examination is printed at the end of Calef's book in the editions of 1823, 1861, and 1866.

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her last farewell of her Husband, Children and Friends, was, as is reported by them present, as Serious, Religious, Distinct, and Affectionate as could well be exprest, drawing Tears from the Eyes of almost all present. It seems besides the Testimony of the Accusers and Confessors, another proof, as it was counted, appeared against her, it having been usual to search the Accused for Tets; upon some parts of her Body, not here to be named, was found an Excrecence, which they called a Tet. Before her Death she put up the following Petition:

To the Honorable Judge and Bench now sitting in Judicature in Salem and the Reverend Ministers, humbly sheweth, That whereas your humble poor Petitioner being Condemned to die, doth humbly beg of you, to take it into your Judicious and Pious Consideration, that your poor and humble Petitioner knowing my own Innocency (blessed be the Lord for it) and seeing plainly the Wiles and Subtily of my Accusers, by my self, cannot but judge charitably of others, that are going the same way with my self, if the Lord step not mightily in. I was confined a whole Month on the same account that I am now condemned for, and then cleared by the Afflicted persons, as some of your Honours know, and in two days time I was cried out upon by them, and have been confined, and now am condemned to die. The Lord above knows my Innocency then, and likewise doth now, as at the great day will be known to Men and Angels. I Petition to your Honours not for my own Life, for I know I must die, and my appointed time is set; but the Lord he knows it is, if it be possible, that no more Innocent Blood be shed, which undoubtedly cannot be avoided in the way and course you go in. I question not, but your Honours do to the utmost of your powers, in the discovery and detecting of Witchcraft and Witches, and would not be guilty of Innocent Blood for the World; but by my own Innocency I know you are in the wrong way. The Lord in his infinite Mercy direct you in this great work, if it be his blessed will, that Innocent Blood be not shed; I would humbly beg of you, that your Honours would be pleased to Examine some of those confessing Witches, I being confident there are several of them have belyed themselves and others, as will appear, if not in this World, I am sure in the World to come, whither I am going; and I question not, but your selves will see an alteration in these things: They say, my self and others have made a league with the Devil, we cannot confess. I know and the Lord he knows (as will shortly appear) they belve me, and so I question not but they do others; the Lord alone, who is the searcher of all hearts, knows that as I shall answer it at the

Tribunal Seat, that I know not the least thing of Witchcraft, therefore I cannot, I durst not belye my own Soul. I beg your Honours not to deny this my humble Petition, from a poor dying Innocent person, and I question not but the Lord will give a blessing to your Endeavours.

MARY EASTY.

After Execution Mr. Noyes turning him to the Bodies, said, what a sad thing it is to see Eight Firebrands of Hell hanging there.

In October 1692, One of Wenham¹ complained of Mrs. Hale, whose Husband, the Minister of Beverly, had been very forward in these Prosecutions, but being fully satisfied of his Wives sincere Christianity, caused him to alter his Judgment; for it was come to a stated Controversie, among the New-England Divines, whether the Devil could Afflict in a good Man's shape; it seems nothing else could convince him: yet when it came so near to himself, he was soon convinc'd that the Devil might so Afflict.² Which same reason did after-

¹ Mary Herrick. At least the following remarkable tale of hers (first published in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, XXVII. 55) must have had to do with Mr. Hale's change of view:

"An Account Received from the mouth of Mary Herrick aged about 17 years having been Afflicted [by] the Devil or some of his instruments, about 2 month. She saith she had oft been Afflicted and that the shape of Mrs. Hayle had been represented to her, One amongst others, but she knew not what hand Afflicted her then, but on the 5th of the 9th [i. e., November] She Appeared again with the Ghost of Gooddee Easty, and that then Mrs. Hayle did sorely Afflict her by pinching, pricking and Choaking her. On the 12th of the 9th she Came again and Gooddee Easty with her and then Mrs. Hayle did Afflict her as formerly. Sd Easty made as if she would speake but did not, but on the same night they Came again and Mrs. Hayle did sorely Afflict her, and asked her if she thought she was a Witch. The Girl answered no, You be the Devil. Then said Easty sd and speake, She Came to tell her She had been put to Death wrongfully and was Innocent of Witchcraft, and she Came to Vindicate her Cause and she Cryed Vengeance, Vengeance, and bid her reveal this to Mr. Hayle and Gerish, and then she would rise no more, nor should Mrs. Hayle Afflict her any more. Memorand: that Just before sd Easty was executed, She Appeared to sd Girl, and said I am going upon the Ladder to be hanged for a Witch, but I am innocent, and before a 12 Month be past you shall believe it. Sd Girl sd she speake not of this before because she believed she was Guilty. Till Mrs. Hayle appeared to her and Afflicted her, but now she believeth it is all a Delusion of the Devil.

"This before Mr. Hayle and Gerish 14th of the 9th 1692."

"Gerish" means the Rev. Joseph Gerrish, of Wenham, who is doubtless here the scribe.

² But see (at pp. 404, 405, below) Hale's own account of this change of view.

freedom from hardships and Irons not only promised, but also performed to all that owned their guilt). There are numerous Instances, too many to be here inserted, of the tedious Examinations before private persons, many hours together; they all that time urging them to Confess (and taking turns to persuade them) till the accused were wearied out by being forced to stand so long, or for want of Sleep, etc. and so brought to give an Assent to what they said; they then asking them, Were you at such a Witch-meeting, or have you signed the Devil's Book, etc. upon their replying, yes, the whole was drawn into form as their Confession.

But that which did mightily further such Confessions, was their nearest and dearest Relations urging them to it. These seeing no other way of escape for them, thought it the best advice that could be given; hence it was that the Husbands of some, by counsel often urging, and utmost earnestness, and Children upon their Knees entreating, have at length prevailed with them, to say they were guilty.¹

As to the manner of Tryals, and the Evidence taken for Convictions at Salem, it is already set forth in Print, by the

¹ The best commentary on these words is a remarkable paper which more than a century ago came into the hands of the Massachusetts Historical Society and was published in its *Collections* (second series, III. 221-225). As Dr. Belknap, who prepared it for publication, labelled it "Remainder of the account of the Salem Witchcraft" and seems to have meant it to be printed with Brattle's letter (see pp. 169-190, above), it is not improbable that, with that document, it had come from the family of Brattle and that it was originally his. In that case it is by no means impossible that in his hands Calef may have seen it and that from him he may have received the recantation printed just above. The added paper runs:

"Salem, Oct. 19, '92. The Rev. Mr. I. Mather went to Salem [to visit] the confessours (so called): He conferred with several of them, and they spake as follows:—"

[Then are narrated the explanations given by eleven of the women, the most suggestive being this:] "Goodwife Tyler did say, that when she was first apprehended, she had no fears upon her, and did think that nothing could have made her confesse against herself; but since, she had found to her great grief, that she had wronged the truth, and falsely accused herself: she said, that when she was brought to Salem, her brother Bridges rode with her, and that all along the way from Andover to Salem, her brother kept telling her that she must needs be a witch, since the afflicted accused her, and at her touch were raised out of their fits, and urging her to confess herself a witch; she as constantly told him,

Reverend Mr. Cotton Mather, in his *Wonders of the Invisible World*, at the Command of his Excellency, Sir William Phips; with not only the Recommendation, but thanks of the Lieutenant Governour;¹ and with the Approbation of the Reverend Mr. J. M.² in his Postscript to his *Cases of Conscience*;

that she was no witch, that she knew nothing of witchcraft, and begg'd of him not to urge her to confesse; however when she came to Salem, she was carried to a room, where her brother on one side and Mr. John Emerson on the other side did tell her that she was certainly a witch, and that she saw the devil before her eyes at that time (and accordingly the said Emerson would attempt with his hand to beat him away from her eyes) and they so urged her to confesse, that she wished herself in any dungeon, rather than be so treated: Mr. Emerson told her once and again, Well! I see you will not confesse! Well! I will now leave you, and then you are undone, body and soul forever: Her brother urged her to confesse, and told her that in so doing she could not lye; to which she answered, Good brother, do not say so, for I shall lye if I confesse, and then who shall answer unto God for my lye? He still asserted it, and said that God would not suffer so many good men to be in such an error about it, and that she would be hang'd, if she did not confesse, and continued so long and so violently to urge and presse her to confesse, that she thought verily her life would have gone from her, and became so terrified in her mind, that she own'd at length almost any thing that they propounded to her; but she had wronged her conscience in so doing, she was guilty of a great sin in belying of herself, and desired to mourn for it as long as she lived: This she said and a great deal more of the like nature, and all of it with such affection, sorrow, relenting, grief, and mourning as that it exceeds any pen for to describe and expresse the same."

The "Mr. John Emerson" of this episode was that clerical schoolmaster whom we have already met in New Hampshire (see p. 37, note 3), but who was now a teacher at Charlestown. (Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, II. 471-474.) If so personal an activity of President Mather surprise, let it be remembered how widely the persecution was now striking. His parishioner Lady Phips was among the accused, and the Quaker John Whiting has a yet more startling suggestion: commented in 1702 on the account just printed in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, he mentions the "two Hundred more accused, some of which great Estates in Boston," and in the margin adds, "Query, Was not the Governour's Wife, and C. M.'s Mother, some of them?" (*Truth and Innocency Defended*, p. 140.)

Yet not all dared to retract. "More than one or two of those now in Prison," writes Increase Mather (*Cases of Conscience*, Postscript), "have freely and credibly acknowledged their Communion and Familiarity with the Spirits of Darkness; and have also declared unto me the Time and Occasion, with the particular Circumstances of their Hellish Obligations and Abominations."

¹ For Cotton Mather's *Wonders*, with its *imprimatur* by Phips and its preface by Stoughton, see above, pp. 205 ff.

² Increase Mather: the printer seems unable to distinguish Calef's I from his J.

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1. The first part of the document is a title page. It contains the title of the document, the author's name, and the date of the document. The title is "The first part of the document is a title page. It contains the title of the document, the author's name, and the date of the document." The author's name is "The author's name is the name of the person who wrote the document." The date of the document is "The date of the document is the date when the document was written." The title page is the first page of the document and it is used to provide information about the document to the reader.

remembers her kind Love to you, and to Uncle, viz. D. A.¹ So leaving you to the protection of the Lord, I rest your Dutiful Daughter,
MARGARET JACOBS.

At the time appointed for her Tryal, she had an Impostume in her head, which was her Escape.²

September 9. Six more were tried, and received Sentence of Death, viz. Martha Cory of Salem-Village, Mary Easty of Topsfield, Alice Parker and Ann Pudeater of Salem, Dorcas Hoar of Beverly, and Mary Bradberry of Salisbury.³ September 16, Giles Cory was prest to Death.

September 17. Nine more received Sentence of Death, viz. Margaret Scot of Rowly, Goodwife Redd of Marblehead, Samuel Wardwell, and Mary Parker of Andover, also Abigail Falkner of Andover, who pleaded Pregnancy, Rebecka Eames of Boxford, Mary Lacy, and Ann Foster of Andover, and Abigail Hobbs of Topsfield.⁴ Of these Eight were Executed,

¹ Daniel Andrew, the kinsman and neighbor who had fled with her father. He had been a leading man, a teacher, a deputy to the General Court, and apparently a staunch opponent of the panic. As to the crazed mother, see p. 371, below, and the grandmother's petition in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, V. 79 (or in Chandler's *American Criminal Trials*, I. 431-432).

² For a little more of her story see below, p. 371. She was acquitted in January, but had to remain in jail, even after the governor by proclamation had freed the prisoners (May, 1693), for want of means to pay her prison fees. A stranger, touched with compassion on hearing of her case, advanced the money—and was in time repaid. (Upham, *Salem Witchcraft*, II. 353-354.)

³ The papers relating to Ann Pudeater (*Records of Salem Witchcraft*, II. 12-22) have been embodied in a study of her case by G. F. Chever in the *Collections of the Essex Institute* (II. 37-42, 49-54). The widow Dorcas Hoar seems to have earned some suspicion by an interest in fortune-telling (*Records of Salem Witchcraft*, I. 235-253), and, though she confessed, she was condemned; but she had potent friends. "A petition is sent to Town," says Sewall in his *Diary* on September 21, "in behalf of Dorcas Hoar, who now confesses. Accordingly an order is sent to the Sheriff to forbear her Execution." "This is," he adds, "the first condemned person who has confessed." The aged Mrs. Bradbury, daughter of John Perkins of Ipswich and wife of Captain Thomas Bradbury of Salisbury, was not only one of the most socially eminent but one of the most venerated women of her region, and her arrest enlisted in her defence the public sentiment of all the district (see *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, II. 160-174). She was aided to escape from prison, and so from death.

⁴ For the Andover and Topsfield cases reference may again be made to Mrs. Bailey's *Historical Sketches of Andover* and to vol. XIII. of the *Collections of the Topsheld Historical Society* as well as to the *Records of Salem Witchcraft*. The

September 22, viz. Martha Cory, Mary Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeater, Margaret Scot, Wilmet Redd, Samuel Wardwell, and Mary Parker.

Giles Cory pleaded not guilty to his Indictment, but would not put himself upon Tryal by the Jury (they having cleared none upon Tryal) and knowing there would be the same Witnesses against him, rather chose to undergo what Death they would put him to. In pressing his Tongue being prest out of his Mouth, the Sheriff with his Cane forced it in again, when he was dying. He was the first in New-England, that was ever prest to Death.¹

The Cart going up the Hill with these Eight to Execution, was for some time at a set; the afflicted and others said, that the Devil hindered it, etc.

Martha Cory, Wife to Giles Cory, protesting her Innocency, concluded her Life with an Eminent Prayer upon the Ladder.

Wardwell having formerly confessed himself Guilty, and after denied it, was soon brought upon his Tryal; his former Confession and Spectre Testimony was all that appeared against him. At Execution while he was speaking to the People, protesting his Innocency, the Executioner being at the same time smoking Tobacco, the smoak coming in his Face, interrupted his Discourse, those Accusers said, the Devil hindered him with smoak.

Mary Easty, Sister also to Rebecka Nurse, when she took papers as to Wilmet Redd, or Reed, are in the *Records* (II. 97-106); Margaret Scot's seem lost. The examinations of Mary Lacy and Ann Foster should be studied in Hutchinson's chapter as well as in the *Records* (II. 135-142), and see also p. 244, above, and pp. 418-419, below.

¹ This was, of course, the old English "peine forte et dure" for those who, in cases of petty treason or of felony, will not "put themselves upon the country," or, as Coke has it, "when the offender standeth mute, and refuseth to be tried by the common law of the land." (See Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, second ed., II. 630-632.) Whether in Giles Corey's case this was mere proud protest or had some ulterior end is not yet clear. The theory that he hoped thereby to save himself from attainder and preserve his right to bequeath his property has been learnedly contested by G. H. Moore (see especially his *Final Notes on Witchcraft in Massachusetts*, New York, 1885, pp. 40-59). As to Giles Corey see also p. 250, above, and *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, II. 175-180. The missing report of his examination is printed at the end of Calef's book in the editions of 1823, 1861, and 1866.

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Towne

CHAPTER VI

"WHAT SIN UNREPENTED OF?"

A day or so before Martha Cory's examination, Israel and Elizabeth Porter, man and wife, both comfortably well along in middle age, saddled a horse at their home at the head of Frost Fish River and plodded down the muddy lanes to call on an ailing neighbour.

The Porters were of the local gentry; at least Elizabeth was, since she was the sister of Magistrate Hathorne. They were also connected with the Putnam family; young Joseph Putnam, the same who had the audacity to intimate that common gossip was playing a large part in the witch-hunt, was their son-in-law.

The couple rode south on the Ipswich Road as far as Orchard Farm, and then turned sharp right into an inter-section. There was something symbolic about the sharpness of this turn. It carried them away from the old gentry as represented by Orchard Farm, still in the hands of the distinguished Endicott family, into what might be called the new gentry, the four sons and four daughters of old Francis and Rebecca Nurse, who among them were cultivating a farm of three hundred fine rolling acres which had been cut off from Orchard Farm, and who had established there so self-sufficient a little community as to constitute almost a village within the village.

Not that anyone in Salem Village was likely to refer to the Nurses as "gentry." Old Francis had been a simple yeoman like any other—he was a traymaker by trade—and some felt that he had gone beyond himself in attaining to such estate. Indeed he had not yet really attained it. He and

"WHAT SIN UNREPENTED OF?"

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his sons and his sons-in-law were in the process of buying it in twenty yearly instalments from the Reverend James Allen. They had begun in 1678 and now in 1692 they had six more years to go before the title was theirs. The family, working together like soldiers, had prospered, had never defaulted on a payment; there was no doubt of their eventual ownership. Yet villagers could not bring themselves to speak of the "Nurse place." It was always, even in court records, "the Allen property." Though social mobility upward, to adopt the ponderous modern phrase, had been going on in Massachusetts since its settlement, as a concept it was not yet fully recognized. On the contrary the Puritan tendency was to support old English tradition by a belief that God had ordained the class structure and meant that people should stay at approximately the level where He placed them at birth. Accordingly, though no one could deny that the Nurses were decent, God-fearing people, their conspicuous prosperity had something questionable about it; their cheerful self-sufficiency could be and was resented.

Their progress had not been without its difficulties. Orchard Farm, flanking the creek called Cow House River, was still occupied by old Zerubel Endicott, and the latter intensely objected to the presence of a community of *aristocrats* established within sight of his own home. What was particularly galling was that the land was by right Endicott property. Allen had got possession of it by marrying an Endicott woman who died soon after. A decent man, so felt old Endicott, would have found a way of getting the land back to the family instead of opening it to strangers. He found a chance to express himself on the subject when he discovered that a wood-lot in the north-west corner of Orchard Farm was also included in the Allen claim. When he caught the Nurses cutting wood in the overlapping land, he sent his men to drive them off and brought suit against Allen. The Nurses could leave the suit to their landlord, but the right to cut wood they defended in their own way. There had been at least one brawl in the wood-lot, and though it was of no great consequence, it caused talk and

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was that the seventeen-year-old Elizabeth Hubbard, who

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was that the seventeen-year-old Elizabeth Hubbard, who worked for her aunt and her aunt's husband, Dr William Griggs, was initiated. Two older girls, both twenty, presently joined the unacknowledged sorority, Sarah Churchill, who worked for the family of that salty-tongued patriarch, George Jacobs, and Mary Warren, maidservant to John and Elizabeth Procter.

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By far the most important of the newcomers, in the light of future events, was the youngest girl of all. She was Ann, daughter of Thomas and Ann Putnam, a sickly, highly strung twelve-year-old, who presently found her way to the household in company with the Putnams' maidservant, Mercy Lewis, a sly wench of nineteen.

Ann was what Abigail and Betty were not, something of a prodigy. She had the advantage of association with a mother who was not only literate but well-read, and through her mother she had been exposed to tragedy in a way that gave her a most unchildlike knowledge of the world.

The tragedy had its roots in events of two decades ago when Ann's mother, a girl herself at the time, had come to the village with her sister Mary, young bride of James Bayley. The latter, the first minister of the parish, having been called by a slim majority, was hampered and hectorred by a minority of malcontents. The dissension gave small cheer to his wife, who during this period dragged herself through one pregnancy after another, bearing her children only to lose them, until at last she died herself. To her young sister's way of thinking, Mary had been deliberately done to death by the spite of Bayley's enemies, and by the humiliation of being constantly spied on at the parsonage.

Ann had nevertheless remained in the village. At sixteen she married into one of its most prosperous and widely ramified families; she became Sergeant Thomas Putnam's wife. But though she got thereby an affectionate and forbearing husband, she did not find peace. Obviously the

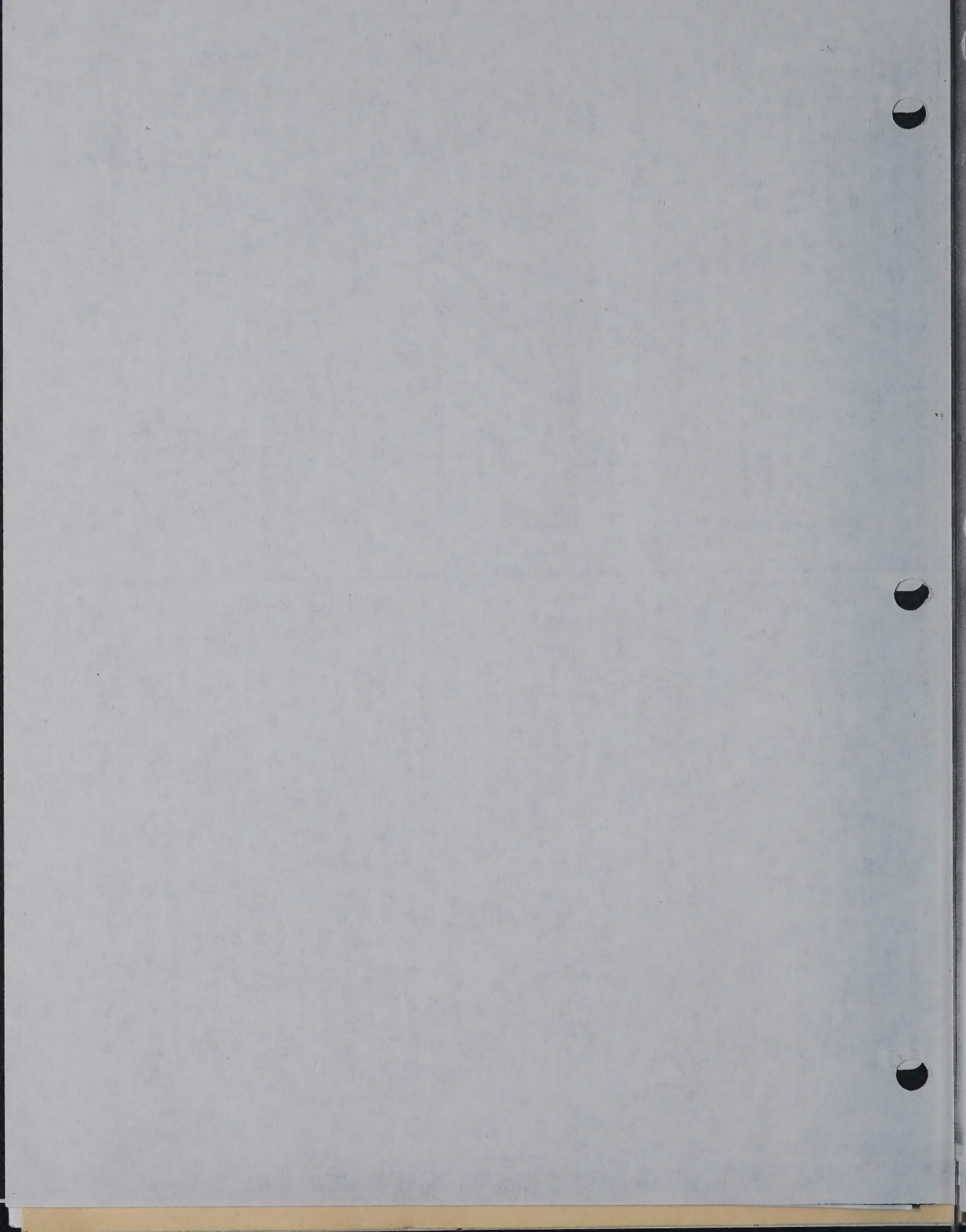
malignance that had destroyed her sister was now pursuing her. She too bore babies only to bury them, and suffered so much in body and spirit that even when a living child was born to her in 1680, the younger Ann, and others after, she remained inconsolable. She was a Rachel crying for her children which were not, an Esther calling for vengeance.

Lately the elder Ann had felt herself close to uncovering the mysterious cause of her wrongs. The dead had walked before her. In dreams so vivid that they were more real than reality she had seen her sister Bayley, her sister's children, and her own standing before her in their winding-sheets, piteously stretching out their hands. It was as if they, cold these many years in their graves, had some urgent request to make of her, but though they spoke, she had never been able to make out the words.

Under these circumstances she judged it no sin to try to get more directly in touch with these importunate dead. Mr Parris, had she consulted him, could have told her differently. Just so had Saul reasoned in seeking out the Witch of Endor to raise the reluctant spirit of the prophet Samuel, and Saul was no sanctified character. But the woman saw no reason to go to Mr Parris about so private a matter. Instead she went to his kitchenmaid, to the local Witch of Endor, who was Tituba; or rather she sent her daughter and Mercy.

Ann, initiated to the mysteries of the Parris kitchen, speedily became in spite of her youth the aptest of Tituba's pupils, the natural leader in the unhallowed enterprises of the older girls. Her intelligence was quicker, her imagination livelier than any of the others, and thanks to her mother's obsessions she had already had some experience with arcana. With her mother she had pored over the Book of Revelation, puzzling her keen young mind to find local applications for its symbolism, for its red dragons, its beast that was and is not, Babylon mother of harlots, the star called Wormwood.

Another subject of study had of course been Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom*, that most characteristic of early Massachusetts best-sellers. From it Ann had absorbed a fierce,



confirmed people in their opinion that the Nurses were getting above themselves.

The battle of the wood-lot, the lawsuit itself, were old history by March 1692. The Porters had not come to discuss land claims; they had come to discuss the welfare of Rebecca Nurse, seventy-one-year-old matriarch of the Nurse family.

Rebecca was in the eyes of those who knew her well the very essence of what a Puritan mother should be. Deeply pious, she was so steeped in Scripture that the country roughness of her speech—she had a Chaucerian fondness for triple negatives—was often shot through with a poetical Scriptural quality. It was not merely a matter of lugging in texts, but a deep, instinctive poetry of feeling that overflowed into her simple, pregnant speech. When Rebecca spoke it was as if one of the grand women of the Old Testament were speaking, Naomi or Ruth amid alien company (Rebecca herself remembered her birthplace, Yarmouth, England), or the beloved Rachel, or indeed her own namesake.

In her home life she had resembled the wise woman of Proverbs, and her children she had reared with loving devotion to both their spiritual and temporal welfare. Now in her old age they rose up and called her blessed, not only her four sons and four daughters, but what was perhaps the supremest tribute, her three sons-in-law and four daughters-in-law.

This is not to say that she was altogether a saint. Even the Bible women, as anyone can discover by examining Scripture closely, had their off-days. The years had made Rebecca hard of hearing and infirm; when she was ill and did not clearly understand what was said to her, she could sometimes lose her temper. It happened rarely, but the Porters could remember a fairly recent occasion when a neighbour's hogs had got into her precious flax garden and Rebecca had flown out at the neighbourhood in terms not distinguished for their charity. Uneasily the Porters remembered also that the neighbour had died soon after and that his wife had never stopped talking about the coincidence,

as if there were some sort of cause and effect involved. Yet what was really remarkable about the event was its rarity with Rebecca. What man or woman had not sometimes flown out at an irritating neighbour?

2

A row of lilacs grew tall by the side of the fine old house where Francis and Rebecca lived. So early in the spring there were no blossoms, but the buds already showed green, and on the brown lawn by the tall well-sweep a robin bobbed and chuckled.

The visitors dismounted at the front of the house. They paused to admire the fine old oak door, studded with nail heads, and the sundial carved into the wall above it. The dial bore the initials T.B. and the date 1636; this was the Townsend Bishop house, one of the oldest and nearly the finest in the parish. God had blessed Rebecca and Francis when He gave them so manorial a shelter in their old age. Or had He? The Porters remembered their errand and almost dreaded the opening of the door by Sarah, the unmarried daughter.

Usually at this hour Rebecca would be astir by the enormous fireplace in the broad kitchen. She would be bending over her pots or winding the flax she raised herself, or rocking a cradle. There was always a new baby in her family, and in old age Rebecca's arms still craved the soft feel of baby bodies, so she was always finding an excuse to borrow a grandchild for the day.

But to-day none of this activity was in progress. Mother lay ill upstairs, Sarah told them softly. She looked at them keenly; she knew why they had come, for the Nurses were not so self-sufficient as to be ignorant of gossip; but she knew also that they had come in charity. She waited only until Rebecca's brother-in-law, Peter Cloyce, and a friend, Daniel Andrews, could be fetched to serve as witnesses in the forthcoming interview—the clan would not under present circumstances permit even a friend to speak to Rebecca

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without their protection—and guided the party up the narrow, twisting hall stairs into Rebecca's chamber.

Rebecca lay flat in bed, her eyes fixed on the little fireplace in the inside wall. It was built into the same great chimney as the kitchen hearth beneath her, and since her room was just under the eaves, on bright days when the sun stood exactly right, sunlight fell through the chimney upon the firedogs. This was a day of shifting sun and shadow. Rebecca, her eyes upon the hearth, watched the sunbeams come and go.

Deaf as she was, intent as she was, she did not hear the approach of her guests. They looked down at her a moment unobserved. She had been ill several days with a stomach complaint; her hands laid on the patchwork quilt in unwanted idleness were waxy white and wasted; so was her soft, crumpled old face. "Weak and low" as she was, had they done right to come on such an errand? Might it not be better to go away with nothing said and leave Rebecca to the vigilant care of her children?

But when Rebecca saw them her face lighted up. She let Elizabeth prop her up on the pillows and eagerly inquired for the news of the day. How was it now with the afflicted children, she asked, and sighed when they guardedly told her. Poor little girls; she blamed herself for not having been to them in their distress, but besides the fact that she had been ill these "seven-eight" days she was a little afraid to do so "by reason of fits that I formerly used to have."

Her visitors were watching her closely. Did she know why they had come? Was there in her any of that fatal prescience that Martha Cory had shown in a similar interview? No, there was not the least sign. Whenever two or three were gathered together in Salem Village nowadays, the subject always turned to the afflicted girls. Rebecca spoke as anyone might speak.

"I go to God for them," she said softly. Then she stared into the little fireplace where the sunlight flickered again.

"But I am troubled, oh I am troubled at some of their crying out. Some of the persons they have spoken of are, as I believe, as innocent as I."

The Porters looked quickly at each other, then at Rebecca's kin. The time had come to speak plainly. Rebecca herself had been "cried out" on; Ann Putnam had named her first, but hesitantly, as if not quite sure; then another had picked up the scent until now the pack was in full cry. When Abigail Williams had in Deodat Lawson's presence thrust the "devil's book" from her, it was the Shape of Rebecca whom the child saw holding it out to her.

All this they explained to Rebecca, but not without difficulty, for it was hard to keep their voices steady, and besides Rebecca not alone from deafness but from amazement found it hard to grasp what they were trying to tell her.

"Well, if it be so, the will of the Lord be done," said the old woman, and from her tone and the look in her eyes, they knew she understood at last.

She sat a moment stricken beyond speech, staring ahead of her almost as if she were tranced. Then words welled up from the heart of her simplicity, piety and grief.

"As to this thing I am innocent as the child unborn," said Rebecca, "but surely, what sin hath God found in me unrepented of that He could lay such an affliction on me in my old age?"

The Porters were too deeply moved to reply. It was with them as with Pilate with Christ; they could find no fault in her. But they would not like Pilate wash their hands of her; as they went back to the horse, their hearts sore with pity for what lay ahead for one so gentle, they agreed to make a record of their impression and present it to court as testimony for Rebecca.

They did so, and Daniel Andrews and Peter Cloyce witnessed it for them. There were good and brave people in Salem Village still. It was beginning to take courage to gain-say any statement made by the delirious Ann Putnam, junior or senior.

During Martha Cory's examination, Rebecca Nurse's name had been banded about before two or three hundred witnesses as freely as if she were already at the bar. Accordingly no one was surprised when the following day, 23 March, a warrant was issued for her arrest. What was surprising was that one outwardly so harmless should be accused of such multifarious criminal activities. All the time that Rebecca's physical part had lain helpless in bed, her Shape had flown about the country abusing nearly every girl on the roster of affliction, and adding for good measure one Sarah Bibber, a scandalmongering matron who had been hovering at the edge of "the circle" from the first, watching for her chance to be admitted as a practising seeress.

Even this was not all. What the elder Ann Putnam had lately seen was truly dreadful; if she could prove her charges, Rebecca would be convicted not alone of sorcery but of murder.

Yet when this culprit took her stand at the bar on the morning of 24 March, there was that about her which moved even Magistrate Hathorne to compassion—and to doubt. She was, poor witch, so very old and so frail, hardly able to stand after her illness, and yet so patient as she strained her ears to grasp what was required of her. Besides, the magistrate's sister had been talking to him.

Tremulously Rebecca made her plea.

"I can say before my eternal father that I am innocent, and God will clear my innocence."

"Here is never a one in the assembly but desires it," said Hathorne, and not before had he addressed a witch so kindly. "But if you be guilty, I pray God discover you."

The testimony began. Goodman Kenny reported that once when she came to his house he had been seized with "an amazed condition"; Edward Putnam that she had tortured his niece in his presence.

"I am innocent and clear and have not been able to get

out of doors these eight-nine days," said Rebecca to this. "I never afflicted no child, no, never in my life."

Who could look at Rebecca and not believe her? Hathorne gave way to his misgivings. Could not these children have made a mistake? As late as Monday Ann Putnam had not been sure that it was Rebecca whom she saw.

"Are you," he asked, "an innocent person relating to this witchcraft?"

He was answered immediately, unmistakably, and not by Rebecca. One of the girls fell into convulsions, and then another, and then all the girls together set up such a "hideous screech and noise" that Deodat Lawson, who had left the meeting-house after the preliminaries to work on the Lecture Day sermon he was to deliver that afternoon, heard it at a distance and was amazed. Within the meeting-house among the spectators there was more than amazement; there was panic. An infection of demonism was running across the whole assembly; people shrank back from the touch and look of neighbours, no longer sure who was witch and who bewitched.

Above the clamour shrilled the voice of the elder Ann Putnam. "Did you not bring the Black Man with you? Did you not bid me tempt God and die? How often have you eat and drunk to your own damnation?"

It took some time for the uproar to subside enough for Hathorne to proceed, and it was ample time for him to repent his moment of weakness.

"What do you say to them?" he demanded.

It was doubtful if Rebecca heard him. Even Parris, who had taken the office of secretary to-day, was finding it impossible to distinguish among the manifold cries and accusations and to set them down in order.

"Oh, Lord help me!" cried poor Rebecca and spread her hands helplessly. Her very gestures became an accusation against her, for the girls immediately spread theirs, and thereafter whatever move Rebecca made they duplicated. Watching the devil's choreography, the most impartial spectator could no longer credit Rebecca's plea of innocence. Words may lie, but deeds cannot. Before the very

eyes of the court, she was demonstrating her witchcraft.

Hathorne, looking at her closely, saw further evidence of guilt. Would not an innocent woman weep before such a scene, as many women were weeping throughout the auditorium? Yet Rebecca was not; there was a reason for this; tears are not possible to a witch.

"It is awful for all to see these agonies," said the magistrate very slowly and distinctly to arrest the woman's dazed attention, "and you an old professor thus charged with the devil by the effects of it, and yet to see you stand with dry eyes when there are so many wet."

"You do not know my heart," whispered Rebecca.

"You would do well if you were guilty to confess. Give glory to God."

But Rebecca, frail as she was, wavering at the stand, yet possessed the Puritan's steadfastness. She would not seek the solution already discovered by Tituba; she would not confess. She was "clear as the child unborn." She had no wounds, "none but old age"; she had no familiar spirit, "none but God alone."

"Would you have me belie myself?" she asked.

Hathorne read her the most serious charge, that which the elder Ann had sworn to. It was no matter of pinching and biting; it was murder. Little children in their winding sheets had been appearing to Ann, calling her aunt, telling her dreadful things; it was Witch Nurse who had done them to death.

"What think you of this?"

"I cannot tell what to think." But the intelligence as well as the courage of Rebecca was asserting itself; she gave voice to a hypothesis which would not in the end be forgotten. "The devil may appear in my shape."

"They accuse you of hurting them, and if you think it is . . . by design, you must look on them as murderers."

But nothing could shake the denial of Rebecca. Towards noon Hathorne ordered her led away, for the meeting-house had to be made ready for the Lecture Day sermon that Lawson was to preach in the afternoon. Parris gathered up his notes and in the peace of his study began to put them

together. It was a thankless task; he was an able and diligent secretary, but there had been so many interruptions in this examination, and above all such uncontrolled commotion, that he despaired of ever getting them complete or in the right order.

4

Ploughing was getting off to a slow start in Salem Village; there was too much else to do. On Monday most of the community had neglected work to listen to Martha Cory's defence. Now on Thursday they had returned to hear the examination of Rebecca Nurse. When court adjourned at noon many flocked to Ingersoll's ordinary to gossip over cider and cakes; others spread picnic lunches in Parris's pasture, but almost none went back to work. The Lecture Day sermon would be too solemn an event to miss. The magistrates were staying over to attend it. Several ministers had come from neighbouring towns, and of course the afflicted girls would be present. The drama of the previous Sabbath raised high expectations of the part they would play in the service. A few villagers, unable to bear more, decided on second thought to go home; some of these, mostly Rebecca's kin, even resented the pastor's failure to control manifestations of diabolism in the House of God. But the majority stayed and took their places in meeting in a blend of dread and anticipation.

Yet after all, the service was quiet and seemly. The girls, at peace again now that the newest witch had been carted off to Salem Prison, and not visibly the worse from their painful experience of the morning, sat as decently as any. If there was any drama at all it came from the pulpit.

Lawson had chosen a thundering text, Zechariah iii, 2: "And the Lord said unto Satan, the Lord rebuke thee, O Satan. Even the Lord that hath chosen Jerusalem rebuke thee. Is not this a brand plucked from the burning?"

It was a stirring text and consoling. Salem itself, first of the cities of the wilderness, was the Jerusalem which the Lord had chosen; the Lord would not abandon His own

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to Satan; He would rebuke and destroy the terrible adversary.

Lawson reminded them of the nature of Satan, who, though a spirit, was still fortified by the power he retained from his late angelic estate, and could torture the body. In carrying out this purpose, however, he needed human mediums; these he sought among "the adopted children of God . . . for it is certain that he never works more like the Prince of Darkness than when he looks most like an angel of light."

He saw heads nod in agreement throughout the congregation. Lawson had hit on the answer to the question that had most troubled the devout: how was it that those who had been considered true professors of the faith, Martha Cory and Rebecca Nurse, could be guilty of this thing? It became perfectly clear when one thought it over; what could Satan hope to accomplish with slaves and tramps whom no one respected? If his aim was to undermine the whole community he would naturally work with his whole force upon the respectable and outwardly devout. What pressure he must have exerted to seduce these poor women, and what a pity that he had so hardened their hearts that not even Rebecca could be induced to confess!

"You are therefore to be deeply humbled and set down in the dust, considering the signal hand of God in singling out this place, this poor village, for the first scene of Satan's tyranny, and to make it (as 'twere) the rendezvous of devils. . . ."

"I thus am commanded to call and cry . . . to you. Arm! Arm! Arm! Let us admit no parley, give no quarter. Prayer is the most proper and potent antidote against the old Serpent's venomous operations. . . . What therefore I say unto one I say unto all—Pray! Pray! Pray!"

The sermon made so deep an impression and Lawson thought so well of it that, taking a leaf from the book of the print-hungry Cotton Mather, he sent it out for publication along with a "brief and true narrative" of the witch case which he had been compiling during his visit.

Yet not everyone was converted to Lawson's view. John Procter, coming to town Friday morning to pick up his

"jade," Mary Warren, whom he had again been forced to let attend an examination, gave voice to some very strong and very public remarks about the girls.

"They should be at the whipping-post!" he said. "If they are let alone we should all be devils and witches."

In his eyes the wrong people were being called to the stand. If one must have witches forsooth, look for them not among decent women of good reputations but among the obviously bedevilled, the girls themselves.

"Hang them! Hang them!" shouted honest John Procter.

You can't say things like that. Not in public, not in Salem Village of 1692.

and prayed for her, but always to one end, that she acknowledge her witchcraft.

To Rebecca's family was not given the grace to understand this solicitude. To them the ministers' attitude was brutal. Never again would they willingly listen to such men; they would, for thanks to Rebecca's rearing they were devout and now craved more than ever the comfort of the word of the Lord, journey miles afield rather than sit under a pulpit which contained Parris.

Yet 3 April was Sacrament Sunday; Beverly and Topsfield were hard to get to. Sarah Cloyce, deeply afflicted in her sister's affliction, hungering and thirsting after righteousness, let her neighbours persuade her to come to receive the sacrament in the village church.

The congregation assembled quietly that day; the Lord had laid His hand on the demons of the girls and they were still. There might indeed have been no disorder at all had not Goody Cloyce created it. But when Parris named his text, Sarah did what was unthinkable; she got up, stalked down the aisle and went out, slamming the door behind her.

"Have I not chosen you twelve and one of you is a devil?" Parris had read. In the quiet meeting-house the words had rung out with terrible clarity. But Sarah's exit and the manner of her going gave an even more ominous significance to his next words, his proposition, which he read as soon as the reverberations of the crashing of the door had died down.

"Christ knows how many devils there are in his church and who they are."

After service few could speak of anything but Sarah's behaviour and what it portended. Her friends defended her. She had become suddenly ill. She had not slammed the door purposely; the high wind had wrenched it from her hand. But others regarded such explanations as mere naïveté; there was a darker meaning which would be revealed in God's good time.

It was revealed very promptly, before they had done talking about it. The girls had fallen into their fits again and now pointed out a horrid sight, invisible to all others:

CHAPTER VII

JOHN PROCTER'S JADE

Rebecca Nurse was the eldest of three sisters who were still sometimes referred to in the aggregate as the "Towne girls." The other two sisters, considerably Rebecca's junior, were both matrons of vigorous character. Mary, wife of Isaac Esty, lived in Topsfield, and Sarah, wife of Peter Cloyce, was a villager and attended the village church.

The church had, however, seen little of Sarah or any of Rebecca's other kinsmen since her arrest. The attitude of both Parris and Noyes had alienated the family of the accused. Both pastors had an interest in the case. Noyes because she was nominally still a member of his congregation, Parris because since Rebecca's removal from Salem Town she had found it more convenient to attend meeting at the village church.

Rebecca's family had been stunned by the failure of either pastor to show any charity to the old woman in her hour of need; they had been less merciful than Hathorne, who at least had had his moment of pity and doubt. There was no doubt in these men, much less pity; at a word from the girls they had dismissed Rebecca's whole life of faith and good works as irrelevant at best, and at worst mere hypocrisy. For them no examination or trial was needed to prove her guilt. Parris believed that with his own eyes he had seen her torture his niece for refusing to contract with the devil. After catching the woman red-handed, how could he deal with her but severely? There would be a time for pity and comfort when Rebecca had cleansed her soul by confessing her crime. Parris and Noyes visited her in prison

a company of witches gathered nearby to receive the unholy sacrament of red bread and bloody wine.

"Oh Goody Cloyce, I did not think to see you here," cried one. "Is this a time to receive the sacrament? You ran away on the Lord's Day and scorned to receive it in the meeting-house. Is this a time to receive it?"

It was enough. A complaint against Sarah was sworn out on Monday, a warrant on Friday, and on the following Monday, 11 April, Sarah herself was facing the magistrates. She faced them at first, before her energy ran out, with such spirit that there were moments when it was she rather than the magistrates who conducted the examination.

"When did I hurt thee?" she demanded of John Indian.

"A great many times."

"Oh, you are a grievous liar!" cried Sarah.

But to make such a reply is only to drive a nail in one's coffin. John Indian at once fell to the floor and tumbled about there bellowing with pain. It was obvious to the dull-est that the devil of Sarah's own spite was at work on him.

Presently Sarah asked for water and sat down. Her move was a ruse and promptly exposed as such; she had merely gained time to listen to something the Black Man was whispering in her ear; the girls saw him bend over her, and also saw Sarah's familiar, a yellow bird, flutter about her head.

There could be no defence in the light of such evidence. Sarah was held for trial and sent to join her sister Rebecca in Salem Prison.

"It's no wonder that they are witches; their mother was a witch before them," remarked young John Putnam of this reunion.

He was paid for that remark. The shapes of Rebecca and Sarah issued one midnight soon after from prison, fell upon his eight weeks' child and tortured it "enough to pierce a stony heart" until it died.

2

Sarah Cloyce was not alone at the bar on 11 April, nor was the place Salem Village. The hearing had been trans-

ferred to the larger meeting-house in Salem Town to suit the convenience of several Very Important Persons who had come, mostly from Boston, to study the situation at first hand. These included Deputy Governor Thomas Danforth, Samuel Sewall, his brother Stephen, and three other members of the General Council.

Their presence here was proof that authorities in Massachusetts were by no means disposed to look on the outbreak as a parochial affair and purely the business of Salem Village. It was local only as the first appearance of a malignant contagion is local until it spreads and becomes epidemic. That this plague was spreading was already disturbingly obvious. Respectable church members had been caught in the act of witchcraft; a wizard was known to be practising in Boston. The existence of "the tall man of Boston" had now been corroborated by other evidence than Tituba's. At the witches' sabbath where Sarah Cloyce had been unmasked, one of the girls had caught sight of "a fine grave man," though who he was she couldn't say. The failure to identify this malefactor was one of the magistrates' most nagging problems.

Such villagers as may have hoped that the visitors had come in a spirit of sceptical inquiry were doomed to disappointment. If anything, the distinguished members of the Council watched the girls less critically than did villagers who had the advantage of acquaintance with these girls before they became so famous. Certainly Samuel Sewall did not want either for critical intelligence or for a generous measure of warm humanity; the diary in which he was keeping his account with God and which would one day be to theocratic Boston what that of his contemporary, Samuel Pepys, would be to Restoration London, was characterized by a gift for shrewd observation. But to-day his shrewdness was directed to one end—to catching the witches at their crimes—and his sympathy was all for the girls, those innocents whom the forces of hell were so cruelly abusing. Neither he nor his associates had any innovations to suggest in the procedure initiated by Hathorne and Corwin, who

of course were also present. How else could you conduct a witch-hunt but in this way?

The examination opened, to be sure, more tamely than most. The girls, apparently awed by their new surroundings and the extreme dignity of the assembly, contained themselves warily at first. In fact they left the initiative in the examinations of both Sarah Cloyce and the next witch to John Indian. But once it was borne in on them that the dignitaries responded exactly as did the farm folk they knew, they were off and into such a hullabaloo that Parriss got hopelessly behind in his note-taking. Only Mary Walcott was calm; she had brought her knitting with her, and became so intent on it that she clicked her needles no matter what devils rioted about her. Every so often she glanced up to confirm someone else's story; she corroborated Abigail's announcement that two witches were sitting in the laps of unnamed magistrates, and John Indian's warning to a dog under the table that the wizard Procter was astride him.

For by now the law had caught up to John Procter.

3

Initially it had caught up with his wife only. The first crying out had occurred on Monday, 28 March, a few days after Rebecca Nurse's examination and John Procter's outburst against the girls.

"There's Goody Procter!" one of the latter had cried in Ingersoll's ordinary. "Old witch! I'll have her hang."

For all John Procter's recent reckless talk about the girls, he and his family held a high place in the esteem of the community. Accordingly the several witnesses to this crying out responded with unwonted scepticism. They looked about them, remarked that there was nothing to see, and told the girl who had spoken that they believed she was lying.

Had the girl run true to form she would have reacted to this reproof by going into convulsions. Instead she sheepishly came out of her trance. "It was for sport," she ad-

mitted. "I must have some sport." Later when Elizabeth Procter was taken anyway, Goody Ingersoll, Daniel Elliot, and William Raymond put the episode on record to present as testimony for the defence. They might have spared themselves the pains. The magistrates, committed to "spectral evidence," would waive as irrelevant and even frivolous any testimony based on the fact that other people could not see what the girls saw. One might as well in a modern court testify that water is free from bacilli on the grounds that it looks clear to the eye; the girls were the microscopes which God Himself had provided for the laboratory work of detecting witches.

But though the magistrates would not honour such testimony, the fact that it had been offered did seem to have a chastening effect on the girls. When Elizabeth Procter took the stand they eyed her in silence. But for John Indian, Elizabeth might have left the place without a count against her.

"There is the woman who came in her shift and choked me!" he yelled suddenly.

The ice was broken. The girls began to mutter and moan and to go into the preliminary stages of their mediumistic trance, and then to produce the din that Sewall called "awful." Elizabeth was sighted on what was now the classic perch for a witch, the beam, and half a dozen said that she had been after them to sign the Book.

"Did you not tell me that your maid had written?" cried little Abigail. The "maid" was Mary Warren, who significantly was not present.

"Dear child, it is not so," said Elizabeth. "There is another judgment, dear child."

It was as if she, the mother and stepmother of John Procter's brood, thought she could reason with one so young and tender. But there had never been anything tender about Abigail; to-day her demon was rampant; even after court it set her in a poltergeist frenzy in pursuit of her uncle, still labouring at his notes over the long table, until finally the poor man could only record that the demons loosed

to see the glaring whites of so many eyes; even among the spectators some sensitive people found themselves to their horror yielding to the same irresistible compulsion. No one who saw the providence could doubt that a devil was about working for Bridget.

Yet when Hathorne asked her if it did not trouble her to see the girls tormented, her reply was an insolent "No!" Bridget was taken to Salem Prison, and there took the first opportunity to cross-examine the still vacillating Mary Warren and record a deposition of the conversation.

If Giles Cory and Bridget Bishop were firm in their fashion, their companion was not, or rather she was firm in an opposite direction. She was Abigail Hobbs, a wild creature who had long shocked people in Topsfield, her home, by her ramblings about the woods at night. One of the accusers reported that she was unafraid because "she had could herself body and soule to ye old boy." Her own mother, Deliverance, decent wife of William, had once said of Abigail that "she little thought to be mother of such a dafter."

The disorder of the courtroom had no terror for this Abigail; it was her element, and she entered into the spirit of things by plunging at once into headlong confession. She described with gusto, as if it had been a kind of distinction to be present, the unholy meetings in Parris's pasture, named nine witches who had attended with her, and identified the Boston woman in a silk mantle whom Tituba had seen.

The other girls fell silent when the confession began, just as they had done when Tituba had set this precedent. Presently they gave Abigail their active support by nodding their heads, and afterward several went out of their way to assure the magistrates that this witch was a pitiful creature, that they were intensely sorry for her. They might have accepted her as a recruit to their ranks, but the judges did not see it that way. She was, for all her docility on the stand, too outlandish a personality; even in their credulous ears some of her exuberant confessions rang false. Besides,

when they interviewed her privately in prison she cheerfully confessed to real abominations, among them murder.

"Were they men or women you killed?" they asked her. "They were both boys and girls."

"Was you angry with them yourself?"

"Yes, though I do not know why now."

What could any society do with a girl like that but lock her up? The magistrates declined to augment the circle of accusing girls by the addition of this specimen, and sent the girl to prison with the rest.

3

The day after Abigail Hobbs's great moment in court nine warrants, an unprecedented number, were sworn out, and by ten in the morning of 22 April all but one of these (Mary English could not at the time be found) had been fetched to Ingersoll's ordinary, and the examination began.

The records of the hearing of two of these, notably Edward Bishop, stepson of Bridget, and his wife Sarah, have somehow been lost. However, it is plain that Edward was just such another as John Procter; he had recently had the temerity to whip John Indian out of his fits, and with such success that he had publicly recommended that a similar cure be tried on the girls. Now the law had him and would keep him, along with his wife.

Deliverance and William Hobbs, parents of wild Abigail, were sent for as a result of their daughter's fantasies. Deliverance looked about the courtroom in panic. The shrilling that the children set up the moment she came in unnerved her, and so did their cry that her Shape had been sighted on the beam just above her head.

"I am amazed! I am amazed!" whispered poor Deliverance when asked what she thought of this.

She made an effort to give the information required of her. "Last Lord's Day in the meeting-house I saw a great many birds and cats and dogs, and heard a voice say 'Come away.' " Again she heard "a kind of thundering." From this excursion into natural history Deliverance lapsed by almost

"Gladly, if you wish to give up and become a good mother," she said, "I will give you a hundred pounds of gold and silver." "Thank you, but I am not a good mother," she said.

"Why not?" she asked.

"Because I am not a good mother," she said.

"Why not?" she asked.

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"Because I am not a good mother," she said.

"Why not?" she asked.

"Because I am not a good mother," she said.

"Why not?" she asked.

and the other two were gone. "You are to be a good mother," she said, "and you are to be a good mother." "Thank you, but I am not a good mother," she said.

"Why not?" she asked.

"Because I am not a good mother," she said.

"Why not?" she asked.

"Because I am not a good mother," she said.

"Why not?" she asked.

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imperceptible degrees into confession; that is, she began to agree to any statement put to her by the judges.

"Have you signed any books?"

"It is very lately then—the night before last."

Goody Wild had brought her the book, she said, apparently almost at random, and her helpless testimony rambled on in this fashion, both in court and later in prison. She agreed to every previous witch's witchhood and once made a brief sensation by reporting that she had seen the Shape of Mercy Lewis as well. But then she remembered the honored position of Mercy and caught herself; Mercy's Shape had never hurt her. With more conviction she reported on the misconduct of her daughter Abigail; the girl had long ago thrown over parental control and had been much in the disreputable society of Sarah Good.

Thus Deliverance. Her husband William was of sterner stuff.

"Can you now deny it?" demanded the magistrates, having confronted him with his wife's confession and the lamentable state of the afflicted.

"I can deny it to my dying day!" roared William, and he did.

The matron Sarah Wild had little chance to defend herself after the implication of Deliverance Hobbs's confession. Mary Black, a negro slave attached to the household of Nathaniel Putnam, missed her chance to follow in Tituba's footsteps by her bewildered incomprehension of what people wanted of her.

"Do you prick others?" she was asked.

"No, I pin my neckcloth."

When the girls came running up to show their hands all bloody from malefaction, Mary Black still did not grasp just what it had to do with her. But being led away to prison was no more baffling than many other incidents in her life of servitude; it was unpleasant in prison, but at least she had there the rare luxury of sitting with her hands folded in her lap.

With the seventh prisoner something unprecedented happened. The girls looked at him—he was Nehemiah Abbott,

nearly one hundred years old by his reckoning, a "hilly faced man" with strands of white hair falling over his eyes—and admitted that they had made a mistake.

"It is not the man," said Mercy Lewis positively.

The other girls were less sure. They asked that he be led to a window and there crowded about him, pawing over his scalp in search of a wen some of them distinctly remembered. There was no wen. The man was discharged. A wave of relief went over the spectators in the courtroom. It was not that anyone cared much about old Nehemiah, but the painstaking care taken by girls and justices was very reassuring. Innocent people might be taken in the witchcraft; but when by God's providence their innocence was discovered, they were sent their way unmolested.

4

The last witch of the day was Mary Esty, fifty-eight-year-old sister of Sarah Cloyce and Rebecca Nurse, youngest of "the Towne girls." In court she displayed neither the tremulousness of Rebecca nor the explosive temper of Sarah, but carried herself with such grace, courage and good sense that Hathorne gave way to one of those moments of doubt which were his saving grace.

"Are you certain this is the woman?" he asked the girls. After all, they had made one mistake with old Abbott, and since Mary had come to the stand they had fallen into one of their moods of quiescence; they were eyeing her in silence.

Such a question, however, never failed to act as a signal to release the full dynamic of demoniac energy. The girls quivered and whispered as it entered into them, and then howled with pain. The court saw the familiar, damning choreography; Mary Esty was standing with her head a bit to one side; a spirit forcibly twisted the girls' heads into this position, thrusting them sometimes at so unnatural an angle that it seemed as if their necks would break.

"Oh, Goody Esty, Goody Esty!" shrielled Ann Putnam

above the gibbering. "You are the woman! You are the woman!"

What, asked the magistrates, did Mary think of all this. "It is an evil spirit," replied Mary judiciously. "But whether it be witchcraft I do not know."

She was imprisoned with the rest, but her quiet self-possession and her gentle manner continued to make their impression. Her very jailers spoke up for her, and the magistrates were impelled to interview the girls again, asking them one by one, "Are you certain this is the woman?"

The girls were no longer certain. Though their fits continued apace and they had in them sensational revelations which were resulting in half a dozen arrests a week, most of them admitted to the magistrates that they were no longer visited by Mary Esty.

On 18 May, at a most wonderful season when the trees are in full young leaf, that tender, immaculate leaf that they know only in May, Mary was released from prison and allowed to go home to Topsfield. It was a deeply satisfying homecoming. There was never a neighbour but was happy with her and as convinced as she that the same good sense and courage that had won her release would also win that of her sisters, and of such improbable witches as the John Proctors.

It is not on record just what Mary did with her time when she got home; but she would not have been a true Puritan housewife had she not addressed herself to the business of housecleaning and baking. For more than this she did not have time; she was given just three days.

She had not been home two of these before Mercy Lewis was taken violently ill. From paroxysms of agony she would lapse into comas when she lay with her jaws locked. Again she would revive enough to make her pitiful prayers.

"Dear Lord, receive my soul," watchers would hear her murmur. And again, as the pains mounted, "Lord, let them not kill me quite."

Everyone who saw Mercy's affliction was sure the girl was dying. The news ran across the country and the magistrates heard it with peculiar misgivings. It had happened

that of all the girls Mercy alone had not cleared Mary Esty; they had disregarded that fact because Mercy had not expressed her dissent with impressive conviction, was in any case one among many, and the one whose presence some people deplored among the girls; there had always been something a little sly, a little mean about Mercy. If she said yes and Ann Putnam said no, it was young Ann whom people would believe.

Even now, though Mercy's incoherent outcries were plainly directed at Mary Esty, the authorities would not act on this girl's say-so alone. Ann Putnam and Abigail Williams, who as the youngest of the girls were also presumably the most innocent, were stationed at Mercy's bedside to see what they could descry, and when they made positive identification of Mary Esty, still other girls were brought in to check their accuracy. It fell to Mary Walcott to make the most complete diagnosis. Not only did she see Mary put chains about Mercy's neck and choke her, but she was able to question her and learn exactly what happened. She had, volunteered the Shape of Mary Esty, who plainly lacked the discretion of Mary in the corporeal state, blinded the eyes of all the other girls so that they, not seeing her, had supposed her innocent; but Mercy she had not been able to blind, so now, for obvious reasons, she had to kill the girl.

This disclosure was completed towards midnight. By now the strength of Mercy was at so low an ebb that it was clear she would not live until morning if she were not relieved. Accordingly the constables were sent after Mary. The Estys had long since blown out their candles and gone to bed when there came a pounding and shouting at the door. Mary accepted the situation with her usual calm. She dressed, let herself be lifted to the pillow behind the constable, and did not in prison resist the jailer when he trussed her up with irons. Exactly as this took place, or as exactly as one could figure with hour-glasses, Mercy came out of her convulsions and fell into deep, natural slumber.

The magistrates would not again be brought to risk the life of these poor girls by false sympathy for one accused.

God had opened the eyes of babes and sucklings (though that was an odd term to apply to the strapping Mercy Lewis) what he had hidden from them.

On the other hand the Shape of Mary Esty had not ✓ stirred abroad for the last time. It would appear again, long after, in a most dramatic and disturbing context.

CHAPTER IX

SMALL BLACK MINISTER

The fluent revelations of Abigail and Deliverance Hobbs and of a number of other confessing witches who appeared in court soon after were equipping the magistrates with material for a natural history of witchcraft as practised in Massachusetts.

For one thing the spot favoured by Essex County malefactors for their witches' sabbaths was now definitely established. Earlier there had been uncertainty. Tituba had never been sure where her wild rides had taken her. Twice the girls themselves had glimpsed the witches in session on the lawns of the church, but these must have been sporadic gestures of bravado, for after Abigail and her mother the place became unmistakably identified as Parris's pasture.

This, one gathers, was not the pasture attached to the parsonage grounds, for whose permanent possession Parris had bitterly and vainly contested, but another nearby which Deacon Ingersoll had more recently deeded to the minister in an effort to soothe the latter's outraged feelings.

The pasture itself, though rich in grazing and approved by cattle, had always had something unnerving about it. It was haunted by a plague of spade-foot frogs, which in spring and summer set up such a diabolical clamour that it was nerve-racking after dark to go within earshot of the place. Even before the present trouble began, honest people did not willingly go near it, for it is well known that frogs, like toads, are capable of diabolic affiliation. Does not the Book of Revelation, required reading now for anyone concerned with the awful providence of the witchcraft,

cruciform, and fell roaring and tumbling to the floor, "like a hog" thought Cary. To him it was incredible that any attention would be paid to so witless a lout except to order him out of the place, but Cary was wrong. The girls crowded around him and studied him with professional interest.

"Cary! Cary!" they shouted at last. It was the witch Cary who possessed him, the new, naïve witch, who had walked straight into the witch-hunt, supposing it best to be straightforward about such things.

John Indian could not be left in torment. The magistrates ordered the woman to relieve him by touching him. But when Mrs Cary put out her hand, he snatched it and hauled her down to the floor with him, and bellowing like a bull, tumbled her about. Cary might have had his rapier in the Indian but for the celerity with which attendants stepped forward. They caught one of Mrs Cary's hands, guided it properly to John Indian, and the man relaxed his hold, ceased howling, and fell into a stupor.

The evidence was in; Mrs Cary's witchhood had been demonstrated; she would now go to prison to await her trial.

"God will take vengeance!" cried out Cary, unable any longer to contain himself. "God will deliver us out of the hands of unmerciful men!"

But there was nothing he could do for his wife but try to settle her comfortably in prison. This was difficult. In Salem Village he found a room where he could stay with her until the transfer to Boston, but the room had no bed. When she was taken to Boston Prison, Cary managed to get her transferred to Cambridge, which was in his own Middlesex County, but even here he had to watch helplessly while the jailer fastened irons to her legs. It was too much; the woman became hysterical. Yet there was nothing he could do now but watch for the opening of the witch trials. The best minds of Massachusetts would be in charge; impossible to believe that they would permit such a travesty of justice as he had seen in Salem Village.

3

John Alden had never met what he was to call "the Salem wenches"—when nothing stronger—nor they him, but everyone had heard of John Alden. He was the firstborn of the John and Priscilla whose romance had sweetened the early days of the Plymouth Colony; his fame, however, rested less on that romance, which having not yet found its Longfellow was not now spoken of, than on his own attainments as sea captain and soldier; he had been much in the wars against the Indians and had thereby not only a reputation for valour but for a wide and intimate knowledge of Indian life.

He was also a tall man and from Boston. At long last the magistrates had succeeded in decoding that cryptic phrase of Tituba's. Or rather the girls, never allowed for long at a time to forget their duty of identifying this culprit, had at last hit upon a plausible suspect. Now that they had done so, the event was considered so significant that it was Deputy Governor Stoughton himself who had ordered John Alden to report to Salem Village.

Alden strode into the courtroom on 28 May, his hat on his head (or at least so the girls reported), his sword at his side, and like Cary before him, looked about and took stock of the situation.

The girls, the "afflicted children" so called, whose names were on the lips of everyone these days, were already in place and already in possession. Alden looked them over and was not impressed. "Juggling tricks" was the way he later put it; they were falling down "crying out and staring into people's faces." He was glad to note that a good friend of his was sitting on the bench to-day; Bartholomew Gedney had for the occasion joined Hathorne and Corwin, and Gedney, though of Salem, which seemed to have taken leave of its wits, was not one to be taken in by this sort of thing.

The stage was set when Alden entered. The magistrates,

noting where he stood, turned to the girls and asked them to point out the author of their present woes.

The girls rolled their eyes over the courtroom for some moments in silence. Their acquaintance with Alden had been exclusively spectral; they found his physical presence confusing. Indeed when one at last ventured to point a tentative finger, she pointed at quite the wrong man, one Captain Hill, who all blameless of witchcraft either then or thereafter, stood by the guilty Alden.

A man standing behind her quickly bent over the girl and whispered to her.

"Alden! Alden!" cried the girl, and redirected her finger.

"How do you know it is Alden?" asked a magistrate.

"The man told me so."

Much as the magistrates longed to clear up their long-standing account with the "tall man of Boston," they had to regard this identification as equivocal. Remembering the case of Nehemiah Abbott, they had the suspect led outside and told the girls to gather around him and get a good look by daylight. And now, beyond any possibility of doubt, the girls saw who Alden was.

"There stands Alden!" cried one. "A bold fellow with his hat on before the judges. He sells powder and shot to the Indians and French and lies with Indian squaws and has Indian papooses."

"There is not a word of truth in all they say of me!" exploded Alden, and indeed, these were not the charges on which he had been summoned. That he had been identified, however, was incontestable. He was put into the hands of a marshal, and his sword, with which he now heard he had been nicking the tender flesh of these maids, who had scars to prove it, was taken away from him. In the afternoon, swordless and hatless he was led into the meeting-house, stood on a chair, and put through his examination.

The afflicted girls stood all about him, wincing away from him and whimpering that in spite of all precautions he was pinching them. Alden, forbidden to so much as look at them, turned irascibly to the magistrates.

"Just why do your honours suppose I have no better

things to do than to come to Salem to afflict these persons that I never knew or saw before?"

The magistrates silenced him coldly. Facts interested them, not words. It was time for the demonstration. Let him look at the girls.

Alden looked; the girls fell in a heap at his feet.

"Set his hand to theirs," a magistrate called to the officer. It was done. The girls got up and dusted themselves off. The wizard on the chair had difficulty keeping his face straight. He turned to the magistrates and stared hard at his friend Gedney.

"What's the reason *you* don't fall down when I look at you?" he demanded. "Can you give me one?"

Gedney said nothing. His eyes were hard. He had come to court really anxious to help an old friend. Not for a moment had he believed Alden capable of such conduct until with his own eyes he saw him knock the girls down with a look and raise them again with a touch. Sophistries were of no use against such facts.

"Confess and give glory to God," said Gedney.

"I hope to give glory to God, but not to gratify the devil," retorted Alden. "I wonder at God in suffering these creatures to accuse innocent people."

He could not be permitted to go on. Ponderously the Reverend Nicholas Noyes arose and "stopped his mouth" with a prayer and a long discourse on God's providence. Alden managed just one more outburst before they led him away. Granted that it was a spirit these girls had, "it was a lying spirit!"

His own spirit subsided somewhat in captivity. He was, to be sure, being a personage, given special consideration; he was allowed to await trial under guard in his own home in Boston. Here during fifteen weeks of blistering heat he learned to take his predicament seriously, and was grateful when friends came to pray with him. Cotton Mather came, and Samuel Willard and Samuel Sewall, and they all prayed and wrestled with the spirit together. But when later in the season matters reached their crucial point, John

but when they started they talked freely. They too were witches; they gasped; their mother had made them so. A younger child volunteered some interesting revelation without such persuasion. Her mother was a black cat. How did she know? "The cat said so."

So the "rampant hag," Cotton Mather's phrase, was indicted and put away to await her trial.

5.

Of interest among recent arrests in Salem Village was that of John Willard. He had been a deputy constable and as such had in March brought in several of the witches. Then he turned against his own profession and cried out against the whole witch-hunt.

"Hang them, they're all witches!" he had cried.

This is no sane talk from a constable, and his behaviour, the extreme disinclination he now showed to attend any further to his sworn duties, was no better. His own family was aroused against him. When a young cousin fell ill, Willard's grandfather called in Mercy Lewis and Mary Walcott to diagnose the case. It was as he had suspected. The girls could see Willard crushing the boy's throat and chest. Nor could they stop him. The boy died in agony, "bewitched to death," as Parris wrote in his parish book, and the spirits of other victims of his began to appear to the mediumistic Mrs Ann Putnam; Willard had been involved in no less than twelve murders, one of them her own six weeks' daughter Sarah.

Willard knew better than to hang around Salem Village with such talk going on. He fled, but not far enough. On 18 May, ten days after a warrant had been issued, Constable John Putnam, Jun., picked him up in Lancaster and turned him in.

CHAPTER XII

VILLAGE CIRCE

By now every responsible person in Massachusetts was looking to the witch trials as the one measure that could bring the runaway inflation in witchcraft under control.

It was an unhappy providence that had allowed three months to lapse between the taking of the first witch and the trials. Thanks to this prolonged stress and uncertainty, the farmers in the communities most concerned were neglecting their work exactly when it needed their undivided attention; there would be real want if things kept on this way. Worse, the delay was giving the devil's evangelists time to canvass the entire country. It wrung the heart to hear how recently some of the confessors had fallen. "It was lately then—the night before last," poor Deliverance Hobbs had testified. It had not been enough merely to arrest and examine the witches. For one thing, many of them had the spectral agility to slip out of both bars and chains and enjoy their abominations with whetted appetites; for another, they supposed themselves immune to punishment under the devil's protection. Until the legend of the devil's invincibility was shattered by trial and hanging, there would be no real restraining the witches; no deterring of good-wives and goodmen from listening to their lies.

The devil's timing of his assault had been a stroke of genius. He had taken the one moment when the government was powerless to act. A provisional government of dubious legality, headed by a senile and incompetent governor, dared not initiate decisive action in a capital case of such magnitude.

So everyone now longed for the trials, even, oddly enough, many of the witches themselves.

This statement could not have held for all witches, however, particularly the confessors. Many of these were shamed, reluctant creatures, and some were actually nervous themselves to recant their confessions. Besides, though they were now treated considerably, with a mercy denied the unconfessing, none could know for sure what would happen when their cases came to court. All precedents from the old world indicated that a confessing witch would hang with her unregenerate sister. There was a feeling, which grew stronger as time went on, that the Massachusetts justices would be inclined to disregard precedent in this direction, that they would not inflict capital punishment on the repentant. No one, however, could be sure until the matter had been put to the test, and few were eager for such a test. It was only the likes of Abigail Hobbs who looked forward to the notoriety of further court appearances.

On the other hand, witches who had held to their plea of innocence looked forward to the trials as a chance to obtain a fair hearing. To the more intelligent of these it was posterous to suppose that the trials, conducted by the best minds in Massachusetts, would proceed on the same dream-like plane as the examinations, that men and women of sound mind and good repute would be condemned on the basis of the fancies of young girls. Massachusetts as they knew it was a saner place than that. Martha Cory still had her faith in her ability to reason with reasonable people; the "Towne girls," Rebecca Nurse, Sarah Cloyce, Mary Esty, brought intimately and how strangely together for the first time since their youth, had been comparing their experiences and discussing how not only hearings but examinations for witchmarks could be more rationally conducted; if the judges would not see these things for themselves when the matter came to a trial, they would point them out. John Procter had been collecting evidence on how "free confessions" were being extracted from the men. His own eldest son, brought in later in the spring, had been chained heel to neck in the form of torture that had wrung

"confessions" from the sons of Martha Carrier, a torture almost impossible to withstand. The chances were that the decent men appointed to preside over the trials were ignorant of this aspect of "confession." John Procter would instruct them, and his spirit unbowed by his prison experience, he looked forward to the trials as a fighter in training looks forward to the ring.

And all witches longed for a respite, however brief, from the weight of the chains on their limbs, the foulness of the quarters into which some of them had been packed for months, the indignities and worse to which they were periodically subjected by prison officials, especially by the jurists assigned to search them for witchmarks. The only alleviation of their lot was that they were not held *incommunicado*; they could entertain visitors. The daughters of Elizabeth How, one of the recruits brought in from Topsfield in May, took turns in making weekly trips to Boston to bring her country butter, clean linen and comfort; sometimes Elizabeth's blind husband rode with one of them.

But if access was not denied to friends, neither was it denied the idly curious who came to stare at the prisoners as if at a rare kind of zoological exhibit, in spite of the risk of such inquisitiveness. Sarah Good still had her pipe and begged tobacco of every comer. When seventeen-year-old Mercy Short replied by throwing a handful of shavings into her face, saying, "There's tobacco good enough for you!" Sarah, her witch fires unquenched, muttered to such effect that Mercy fell into sore affliction, and being of Boston, became a fruitful subject for one of Cotton Mather's psycho-analytic studies.

Sarah's little daughter Dorcas was in prison all this time, shut out of the sun, cooped up with ageing women in all degrees of piety, intelligence, iniquity and imbecility, listening to them scream out in their nightmares or under the stress of searches for witchmarks, living on meagre fare. She was no longer "hale and well looking." Her face was pinched and sullen, her hair wild and matted. No one looking at the little creature, now furtive and savage as any

dence, and to "humbly recommend the speedy and vigorous prosecution of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious."

It seems also to have been at the time a top secret document. Its effect released to the public at large might have been one thing; its effect as a confidential memorandum presented to the judges and juries alone, and to be used at their own discretion, was simply to confirm the former at least in the way the magistrates had already chosen. William Stoughton, presiding justice, probably played the decisive role in its interpretation. He himself, who had received at Harvard and Oxford as sound a theological training as any minister in Massachusetts, had no misgivings at all about the validity of spectral evidence. In his eyes the notion that the devil could take the shape of an innocent person was close to sacrilegious, a questioning of the omnipotence and benevolence of God Himself.

When the trials were resumed on 28 June not the closest observer could detect any deviation in procedure. Presently, however, there was one. Saltonstall, whose Haverhill home was far removed from the storm centre of witchcraft, could not bring himself to believe the pretensions of the afflicted girls or the evidence on which convictions were being obtained; nor on the other hand could he single-handed reform such proceedings. Accordingly he resigned from the bench and the experienced Corwin of Salem took his place.

Saltonstall did not retreat from such a battle unscathed. His nerves must have been sorely tried, for in Haverhill he took to drinking heavily, so heavily that Sewall, himself no teetotaler, felt obliged to write and reprove him. In the same letter he assured him that he still trusted him in spite of recent reports. For although Saltonstall had withdrawn so quietly that the general public probably supposed that he had no other reason than the necessity of giving his full attention to renewed raids on Haverhill by the Indians, his defection had not escaped the attention of the afflicted girls and their counsellors. Some of them were now crying out on him; they had plainly seen his Shape under incriminating circumstances.

CHAPTER XIII

DAMNED FOR THE GLORY OF GOD

One of the first cases tried by the court when it resumed its sittings late in June was that of Rebecca Nurse. A jury headed by Thomas Fisk heard the evidence, retired to Corwin's house to deliberate and returned to court with the verdict: not guilty.

Obviously these good men and true had read every word of the ministers' advice to the judges and had taken it to heart. In court, for instance, the Putnams had testified that Rebecca had murdered six children, and Sarah Holton that she had killed her husband for letting his hogs get into her garden. But all this was spectral evidence. The jury read over again the ministers' recommendations of "exquisite caution" and of convicting on something "more considerable than the accused persons being represented by a spectacle unto the afflicted" and decided that all this testimony could be disregarded.

The ministers had urged "an exceeding tenderness" towards "persons formerly of an unblemished reputation." What was Rebecca's reputation? The jury had before it a petition signed by more than a score of respectable citizens of Salem Village attesting to Rebecca's upright and witchlike character, to her piety, to the extraordinary care she had lavished on the Christian upbringing of her children. In addition they had the evidence of their own eyes; they had watched Rebecca on the stand and could well believe that this gentle woman, so patient in her adversity, so steadfast in her protestations of innocence, had indeed "never afflicted no child, no never" in her life.

There was one other significant testimony. As many of Rebecca's children as could manage it attended court and there kept a vigilant eye on the conduct of the accusers.

Sarah Nurse, greatly daring to save her mother, came forward with a deposition: "I saw Goody Bibber pull pins out of her close and held them between her fingers and clasp of her hands round her knees and then she cried out and said her hands round her. This I can testify."

Goody Nurse pinched her. This I can testify.

Having deliberated on all these matters, the jury had no great difficulty in coming to an agreement; they filed back into court and gave their verdict: not guilty.

They were at this stage an inexperienced jury, at least as regards the witchcraft. The trials were held in Salem Town instead of in the village, and probably few of these men had seen the tumult that had attended some of the examinations; though the girls had "cried out" during the trial of Bridget Bishop, nothing very sensational had happened then. There had been nothing in their experience to prepare them for what happened now.

Before their eyes the courtroom became a madhouse. Out of the throats of the girls issued a howling and roaring that was both more and less than human. Their bodies jerked and snapped in the unearthly choreography of their convulsions.

Some of the newer judges, as inexperienced as the jury in the ways of bedlam, stared about them and at each other. To all of them, with one probable exception, since Saltonstall was still of the court at this trial, the verdict was as unexpected and improper as it seemed to the girls. Through the tumult one was heard to express his displeasure and another, getting up to leave the bench, to say that he would have the prisoner indicted anew.

Only Chief Justice Stoughton, man of granite, was untouched by this disorder. He sat a fine figure of composure, his hair silver under his black skull cap, and fixed his dark eyes on the spokesman, Thomas Fisk.

"I will not impose on the jury," said Stoughton, and at his calm, judicial tone the din subsided somewhat, "but I must ask you if you considered one statement made by the

prisoner. When Deliverance Hobbs was brought into court to testify, the prisoner, turning her head to her said, 'What, do you bring her? She is one of us.' Has the jury weighed the implications of this statement?"

Fisk, faltering before the steady eye of the chief justice, troubled by the clamour of the girls which was rising again like an ill wind, found that for the life of him he could not remember. Neither, when he returned to it for consultation, could the jury. Some members had not even heard the original statement; others could not agree on just what form the words had taken, much less what they meant. There was nothing to do but send Fisk back to court to ask Rebecca to repeat and explain herself.

Rebecca had been left in peace for some time now. Relaxing her anxious straining to hear, she was at rest, staring fixedly ahead of her. In some ways deafness was a blessed providence; the racket of the girls was to her only a confused buzzing. In her abstraction she did not mark the man who stopped before her—so many came and went—and "something hard of hearing and full of grief" as she explained afterward, she did not know that he had spoken to her.

Fisk waited in embarrassed uncertainty. No one came to his assistance; no court official intervened to call Rebecca from her brown study, probably because, given the disorder of the courtroom, no one grasped the situation. At close range Fisk was discovering that there was indeed something unearthly, something witchlike about this woman. The glassy stare of her eyes passed over him unseeing; her mouth worked as if in prayer, but to whom? He returned at last to the jury his question unanswered.

The jury weighed the implications of the incident. There were two incriminating factors, one of them the renewed affliction of the girls. Long ago Hathorne and Corwin had discovered as a kind of unwritten rule of evidence that the girls could be used as a kind of judiciary barometer; let any degree of false pity creep into the administration of justice and the girls were tormented. What havoc their verdict had wrought the jurymen could see for themselves.

Then there was Rebecca's silence at such a moment on such a point. They bowed before the acuity of Justice Stoughton, so much more learned than any poor jurymen. Obviously Rebecca's "one of us" in reference to Goody Hobbs had been an involuntary admission of guilt. It was an allusion to the witches' sabbaths in which Deliverance had participated with her before she repented; Rebecca had seen her there, and now dared not deny it.

When the jury came back into court they brought the verdict expected of them: guilty.

2

Rebecca had no less than three pastors who should have known her piety, her charity—and her deafness. How often had not Parris seen the old woman leaning forward in meeting, cupping her ear to catch the word of God?

Technically, of course, Parris was not really her pastor, since though she regularly attended his services, she had never had her dismission from the First Church of Salem. The responsibility for her soul's welfare accordingly lay with John Higginson and Nicholas Noyes. The former should have remembered Rebecca, but he was far gone in years and infirmities and had of late left pastoral details to his second in command, Noyes. The latter, called to Salem Town three years after the Nurses had moved to the village, hardly knew the woman; in fact his acquaintance with her was almost wholly based on his sedulous attendance at examinations and trials. He must have asked Parris for further detail, but if he expected thereby to hear extenuating circumstances, he was expecting bread from stone. Not once had Parris questioned the guilt of any member of his parish, no matter what his past record, once the girls had accused him.

How then did these shepherds of souls minister to this lost sheep in her affliction? They haled her into meeting and had her publicly excommunicated.

Noyes lost no time in carrying out this wholesome measure; the ceremony took place on the first Sabbath after the

trial, at the afternoon meeting on 3 July. The fact that the prisoner had collapsed after the trial was not allowed to make any difference. Rebecca, unable to walk, was carried from Salem Prison in a chair, and that chair set down in the broad aisle of "the great and spacious meeting-house" so lately desecrated by the demon of Bridget Bishop. Then not only Noyes but his senior pastor, old John Higginson, mounted the pulpit, and two deacons and ruling elders took their seats before them. The auditorium was full; the congregation sat in deathly hush, for this was a deathly occasion.

The reading of the sentence was left to Noyes, and the congregation shuddered under its impact. There was something unearthly, something intolerable in the scene. It was as if Michael Wigglesworth's day of doom were being enacted not in the next world, but here in this plain and decent meeting-house. Before their eyes one of them was being judged, and not merely to the gallows, but to eternal damnation. God was relieved of any necessity for passing on the case in a later judgment; the visible congregation of God had respectfully taken over His function; the woman was damned here and now.

Rebecca alone heard nothing; again her deafness was merciful. Her trembling hands clutched at the arms of her chair, and before her strength had altogether given way, silent men carried her back to prison.

But though the church had renounced her, her children had not. They would not accept her sentence, either temporal or spiritual. Sons and sons-in-law dropped their work on the farm and made for Boston, where Phips was briefly in residence, and though they were simple folk, without friends of great estate to help them, they gained an audience. Before him they laid the dossier they had been collecting: the testimony of her character that the neighbours had signed; Fisk's explanation of why the jury had revised its original verdict; Rebecca's explanation of why she had not answered the unheard question and of what her remark had meant (knowing Deliverance Hobbs as a fellow prisoner, she had challenged her right to testify). They brought

also an appeal from Rebecca herself. A jury of women had found a "witchmark" on her; Rebecca asked that qualified midwives be allowed to examine the mark on the grounds that it was an injury of childbirth such as any woman might bear and any midwife would recognize.

For all his eminence, Phips was as simple at heart as most Salem Villagers. Gladly would he have kept himself clear of the whole affair; what did a plain ship's carpenter with no pretensions to learning know of such things as these? But he could not deny himself to people so honest and so distressed, and when he heard the story and saw the evidence they bore with them, he could not deny the plausibility of their claims. So he signed a reprieve for Rebecca Nurse.

But if Phips could not deny himself to the friends of the prisoner, neither could he deny himself to her enemies, who were also honest, distressed, and who brought evidence with them, and who, moreover, had the backing of some of the great ones of Massachusetts. They also brought frightening news. At the very moment the governor's hand had been put to the reprieve, Rebecca's devils had been unleashed and had gone into the girls again; some of them were dying. Was it really the will of the Governor that an old proved criminal be kept alive at the cost of the lives of young and innocent girls?

It was not; Governor Phips recalled his reprieve and fled again to the peace of the Indian wars in the north.

3

It was at this time that Parris began to note an unseemly falling away in attendance at meeting on the part of the Nurse family. The closer the day of the execution, the more conspicuous the absence of the sons and daughters of Rebecca, who had never stood in greater need of the church and its consolations. He spoke rather sharply on the subject from the pulpit, but even this did little good. If the children of Rebecca came at all they did not sit at his feet quite as they had of old. There was an indefinable difference,

something in their eyes that even this insensitive man found difficult to meet.

To the members of the Nurse clan was being revealed in these days a new concept of the strategy of the devil. Those who said that his assault was directed against the churches had told only half the truth; they now knew that the devil had not merely attacked the meeting-houses; he had taken them. It was he who looked out from the hard eyes of these black-coated ministers, who forgetful of every Biblical injunction toward charity preached only the doctrine of vengeance to their lost and desolate flock. They would never forgive the likes of Noyes and Parris; the Bible, which counsels forgiveness for men, does not suggest it for devils; a devil can only be cast out.

The kinsmen of Rebecca did not talk this way of course, not publicly, perhaps not yet even privately. There was nothing they could do now but bide their time and give what comfort they were permitted to give to that poor saint, their matriarch. As for Rebecca, a Puritan born and bred, unshakable in her faith, for the glory of God she would even suffer damnation. But ever again as she prayed, as she bent over psalmery and testament, that look of strained, listening puzzlement came over her soft crumpled face. What was her sin, still unrepented of, that in her old age God had sent her such affliction as this?

prosecution on that charge when sixteen-year-old Elizabeth Knapp of his parish in Groton had severe hysterical fits in which she accused not only a "very sincere and holy woman" but reviled her own pastor, Mr Willard. Owing to his intervention, the accused woman had never come to examination before the magistrates; instead he had brought her to the girl herself, and had allowed her to reason and pray with her accuser. Under these circumstances the latter began to contradict herself, and finally, coming out of her possession, withdrew her accusations.

Other pastors had done something similar from time to time, notably John Hale of Beverly. But where the latter now implied that his early lenience had been a dangerous error, Willard did not. In spite of the evidence of his own eyes, in spite of the virtual engulfing of Massachusetts by the uncontrolled forces of diabolism, Willard believed that his way had been the right way.

Now witchcraft had invaded his parish again, John Alden being of his congregation, and Willard was giving close and critical attention to the manner of the trials. Had he been in charge he would not for a moment have stood such a one as Rebecca Nurse before the bar to answer questions which were in their very nature unanswerable. In effect it was as if the judges were saying to the prisoner, "What was your spectral Shape doing on the night of Wednesday last?" It did not lie within human power to reply to such a question, for the frame of reference was beyond and above the world of demonstrable facts. Instead of so bedeviling a gentle old woman, he would have taken her aside with her principal accuser, Ann Putnam, and would have let accused and accuser talk it over. To a realistic eye, the most arresting quality of young Ann was her impressionability. Withdrawn from the atmosphere of malignant spite and of hysterical devotion to lost causes that prevailed in her home to the lovingkindness and understanding of a good old woman, who knew from large experience how the storms of oncoming puberty may beset and torment a little girl, who knew what miraculous cure God might not have wrought?

CHAPTER XIV

BLOOD TO DRINK

Fortunately for the future of the Church in New England, not all ministers showed themselves as hard of heart to the defendants in the witchcraft as did Noyes and Parris. There were more compassionate men. One of these was the Reverend Samuel Willard of the Old South Church of Boston. A member of the conference of ministers consulted by the judges, he had been one of those most responsible for the recommendation of "exquisite caution" in handling the whole programme, and would indeed, left to himself, have ruled out spectral evidence altogether.

Whether or not he attended the trial of Rebecca Nurse and heard the abortive acquittal, whether or not he made any public remarks on that occasion, he drew himself somehow to the attention of the afflicted girls, for one of these created a scandal by crying out on him.

To many the accusation must have seemed not implausible. Willard had not always been popular with his fellow ministers in Boston. Strict as he professed himself in doctrinal matters, he had sometimes given offence by admitting to his church applicants rejected by other congregations. In the present crisis his attitude seemed perilously close to that of what Cotton Mather called a "Sadducee." True, he had never gone so far as to deny the existence of witches, but he carried his distrust of spectral evidence to a point where it amounted to almost the same thing. Were his ideas put in practice there would and could be no successful prosecution.

Back in 1671 he had been instrumental in preventing

This approach had been tried recently with another who stood trial with Rebecca Nurse, Elizabeth How of Topsfield. Goody How's chief accusers were members of the Perley family of Ipswich, who claimed a ten-year-old daughter was being afflicted by her. One day the Reverend Samuel Phillips and a colleague named Payson of Rowley, undertook a test in the manner prescribed by Willard. They brought Goody How to the child just as she was coming out of a fit and remained on hand during the interview.

"Did I hurt you?" asked Goody How, taking the child's hand.

"No, never!" said the girl, and reflecting she added, "If I did complain of you in my fits I knew not that I did so."

The interview took place out of doors. A young brother listened from the window.

"Say Goody How is a witch!" he called. "Say she's a witch!"

But the child, her hand in Elizabeth's, smiled up at her confidently and said nothing. The ministers, convinced that the "witchcraft" was no more than name-calling incidental to an ordinary neighbourhood unpleasantness, made a formal deposition of their observations to present as testimony for Elizabeth How.

So and not otherwise would Willard have worked with witches. His views were well known and were a thorn in the side of some of the afflicted and their advisers; they multiplied the difficulty of convicting such a criminal as Rebecca Nurse. So one of the girls cried out on him in court, and common people quivered and thrilled at the audacity of the accusation. Now indeed were the mountains laid low.

But not this mountain. Willard was no obscure country parson like Burroughs; one of the most distinguished figures in Boston, he had been acting president of Harvard in the absence of Increase Mather. Every judge on the bench knew that the charge was preposterous and indecent, and unlike the friends of Rebecca Nurse and Elizabeth How, they were in a position to enforce their conviction.

"There will be no more of that; you are mistaken," one of them said in effect, and another kindly added that the girl

had doubtless confused the minister with his namesake, Constable Willard, who lay in jail awaiting trial. This semantic explanation satisfied everyone, and the girl subsided. The other girls did not, however, subside for long. Their demons, heady with success, were acquiring a taste for bandying the names of the great. The judges had not heard the last of improbable accusations, and since they came up unexpectedly the public could not be prevented from hearing them too. They were to become a source of serious embarrassment.

2

On trial with Rebecca Nurse on 29 June and the days following were Elizabeth How, Sarah Good, Sarah Wild and Susanna Martin. Goody How, like Bridget Bishop, was a victim of long-standing gossip connecting her with witchcraft. Because of such talk she had been denied membership in the Ipswich church, and even a friend who had defended her as a "precious saint," saying that "though she be condemned before men she is justified before God," recanted after a revelatory dream and proclaimed her a witch as loudly as any.

Aside from such talk there was nothing remarkable about the reported conduct of Goody How. Her two daughters and her blind husband were devoted to her, and she had many friends, among them the venerated Deacon Ingersoll of Salem Village, who were willing now to testify to her good character. To such testimony was added that of the ministers of Rowley who had gone out of their way to trace and expose the source of the gossip about her.

Such testimony, based on the conduct of the accused in the visible world, could not in the nature of things be of any relevance to what was the real crux of the matter, her activities in the invisible world. As usual, the friends of the witch were defeated by the fact that accusation and defence were conducted on two planes with no possible point of contact. They were, in the phrase of a latter-day philosopher, trying to set the polar bear against the whale; it

couldn't be done. Elizabeth How was convicted and sentenced.

No one seemed likely to come to the defence of Sarah Good, yet unexpectedly someone did. During the trial, one of the girls accused her of attacking her with a knife and produced a fragment of the blade as proof. Most of the spectators clucked their tongues with sympathy for the girl, but one young man straightened up and looked hard at the evidence. He recognized the blade; it had broken off his own knife the day before, and the accuser had been present at the time.

He got right up in meeting, asked to see the blade, and pulling out his own knife demonstrated that it was an exact fit. The girl, shrinking from the cold eyes of Stoughton, dared not deny his story.

She was, however, allowed to go on with hers. The judge merely told her to confine herself to the facts and let her go on. The vigilance of the young man did not save Sarah Good. She too was sentenced.

She went back to her prison, sucked on her pipe and mumbled to herself until the day should come. "It was my commandments. I may say my commandments, I hope."

Sarah Wild was a farmer's wife with a strong sense of property rights; if people borrowed a scythe without her approval she was capable of flying out at them and then sending a demon to plague them by overturning their hay-wagons. Or at least, some of her neighbours so reported. Others testified in quite a contrary direction. The reports of the first harmonized better with the visions of the girls and the present party line of theocracy, and the jury in any case was taking no more chances with acquittals. Sarah Wild too was condemned to death.

3

Susanna Martin was every inch a witch, bright of eye, salty of tongue, and the central figure of every marvellous event that had happened in Amesbury for going on three decades. She had established herself as community witch as

far back as 1669 when she had been presented at court for bewitching a neighbour, though not, as it happened, put on trial. Since then the wistful folk spirit of Essex County, denied its natural outlet in Robin Goodfellow and in fidling and dancing around the maypole, had focused itself on the neat, birdlike figure of Susanna Martin, and made her something of a Paula Bunyan among witches.

She had set the tone for her prosecution in early May when she came for her examination. An active body, she came in fresh and invigorated from the long ride up from Amesbury, and matrons looking over her dress could not see a pin out of place. No flashy dresser like Bridget Bishop, there was a trimness about Susanna which was somehow even more arresting. She wore her simple hood and scarf with an air, and carried herself pertly. She had emerged unscathed from this situation once before; she had been called a witch for so long that she had come to relish the distinction. So it happened that when the bewitched girls were brought in and went into their angular antics before her, she emitted a sound seldom heard in this grave court. She laughed out loud.

"Well may I laugh at such folly!" she said when the magistrates reproved her.

"What do you think ails them?" they asked.

Susanna shrugged.

"I don't desire to spend my judgment on it."

"Don't you think they are bewitched?"

"No, I do not think they are!" and being pressed further the woman insinuated, "If they be dealing with the black arts, you may know as well as I."

She let her hand be guided to the girls that her devil might be plucked from them, but was more diverted than impressed by the results of this exercise. Listening to the recital of her spectral misdeeds, however, she did make one serious comment.

"He that appeared in the shape of Samuel, a glorified saint, may appear in anyone's shape."

No good Puritan, searching the Bible for light on the witchcraft, had missed the episode of the Witch of Endor,

they know? And he traced the gossip to Susanna Martin, who could have had only one way of knowing. She herself had sent her devils in the form of puppies to torment him.

There was the legend of Susanna walking dryshod over watery ways. In wicked weather she had once taken a notation to call on Sarah Atkinson in Newbury, going on foot all the way. She entered the kitchen neat as ever; even the soles of her feet were dry.

"I'd be wet to my knees if I'd come so far," said Sarah. "I scorn to have a drabbled tail," said Susanna tartly, and the retort, which sounded somehow like a comment on Sarah's general appearance and her housekeeping, had rankled. It rankled so much that when Susanna was taken in the witchcraft, Sarah Atkinson went to a magistrate to enter the incident in the records.

Other wonder tales concerned the Shapes assumed by the protean Susanna. Once she showed as "a marvellous light about the bigness of a half bushel" to John Pressy in an open field at night. Once a goodwife saw her melt into empty space and then materialize again in the form of birds who "pecked and pinched." Once she came at night to Robert Downs as a cat and was like to kill him before he had the presence of mind to exorcize her by saying, "Avoid, thou she-devil! In the name of God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, avoid!"

Like Bridget Bishop she was fond of molesting honest men in their bedchambers. At night would come "a scabbling at the window" and there was Susanna, hopping down from the sill and boldly getting into bed. One man, Joseph Ring, she had enslaved. She and her fellows used to snatch him through the air and drag him to witch meetings. For more than two years they had struck him dumb so that when he returned from "feasting and dancing" in unknown places, he could report his adventures only by signs. Now his voice had by grace of God returned; he used it to make a damning deposition on Susanna's secret social life.

An attentive listener might note that in the bulk of Susanna's exploits there was no great harm done; her familiar could have ranked no higher than a common poltergeist, a

prankish fellow, related no doubt to Robin Goodfellow, but no murderer. In all of three decades no death had been laid to her door except for John Allen's oxen. There could be no doubt, however, that she was an unpleasant neighbour, a dangerous person to cross, and besides she had lately practised her arts on the girls of Salem Village. The judges condemned her with the rest, and if there were any in Amesbury who deplored the loss of their most picturesque character, they did not put their sentiments on record.

4

Now on Tuesday, 19 July, came the decisive event for which so many in Massachusetts had been praying, a mass execution of the witches. Five were hanged on Callows Hill, all women, the five whose trials had begun late in June: Rebecca Nurse, Goody Good, Elizabeth How, Sarah Wild, Susanna Martin.

The ceremony was carried out decently with only one discordant note. That was the snubbing Sarah Good gave the good Noyes when he made one last appeal to her to save her immortal soul by confessing; he reminded her that she well knew she was a witch.

"You're a liar!" said Sarah. "I am no more a witch than you are a wizard! If you take my life away, God will give you blood to drink."

They took away her life and Noyes did have blood to drink, years later, when he lay dying of a haemorrhage, though not so many years later that Sarah's words were not thought of.

The bodies of the witches were thrust into a shallow grave in a crevice of Callows Hill's outcropping of felsite. But the body of Rebecca did not remain there. Her children bided their time—or so the story goes—and at night when the crowds and the executioners had gone home again, they gathered up the body of their mother and took it home, just where they laid it none can know, for this was a secret thing and not even Parris, whose parsonage was not a quar-

ter of a mile up the road past the grove where the Nurses buried their dead, must see that a new grave had been opened and prayers said. This was the hour and the power of darkness when a son could not say where he had buried his mother. Yet the hour would pass. Under the trees a granite shaft would one day be raised to Rebecca, and beside it another honouring the names of the neighbours who spoke up for her in a day when it was dangerous to speak.

But now in July 1692 there were no shafts, there was only a secret grave, and across the fertile, but this year half-neglected, fields there were the children of Rebecca, silently going their way. Not even yet was their cup of sorrow full; their mother's sisters, Mary Esty and Sarah Cloyce, still lay in the hands of what Cary had called "unmerciful men." Yet the whole story had not been told; not for nothing had Elizabeth Procter said to little Abigail, "There is another judgment, dear child."

CHAPTER XV

THE DEVIL IN ANDOVER

The executions of 19 July had a profound effect upon the other witches awaiting their turn at trial. The earlier hanging of Bridget Bishop had made less impact because, guilty or not, she was too isolated and individual a case to set a precedent. But of these others, three were respectable women; their neighbours had attested to their decency; yet they had been hanged just as dead as that indubitable witch, Sarah Good.

Most frightening was the fate of Rebecca Nurse. Thanks to the devotion of her family and to her own intelligence and courage, her case had been defended with a skill that even more highly connected witches could not hope to surpass. But it had all been in vain; whatever was accomplished with the jury was immediately undone by the implacability of the judges; even when she was reprieved, the reprieve was revoked. What hope was there for any of them if all this that had been achieved for one had been brought to nothing by the steely purpose of William Stoughton and the clamours of the afflicted?

It was no accident that it was the day after the hanging that a day of fasting and prayer was held in the home of the now thoroughly unhappy John Alden. Not only were prayers offered by Willard and Cotton Mather, but one of the judges participated, Samuel Sewall. His contribution was the reading of a sermon, Dr Preston's "First and Second Uses of God's Allsufficiency," and the recording of the event in his diary. During the prayer the drought broke, at least momentarily, "in a brave shower of rain," but whether this

was a sign of God's providence in regard to the witchcraft none ventured to prophesy.

Some of the witches, especially those who had means, now began to lay plans which had no reference to the court of Oyer and Terminer. Nathaniel Cary's matured first, although this man, who had of his own accord brought his wife to court, abandoned the legal process with reluctance. After he had followed the Salem trials and had found them a "cruel mockery," he at first tried to have his wife brought to trial not in Salem but in Suffolk County. Only when that plan failed did he sound out the chances of breaking jail. On 30 July he succeeded in smuggling her out of prison and getting her to Rhode Island, and that proving a precarious sanctuary, with pursuers hot on the trail, to New York.

Edward Bishop and his wife Sarah, aware that little mercy was likely to be shown any connection of the notorious Bridget, made a break somewhat later, and managed to lie low until the storm had passed.

Philip and Mary English waited in Boston almost until the eve of their trial, and if tradition can be believed, then had to be coaxed into flight. Being people of influence, friends of Sir William and Lady Mary Phips, they were privileged characters even under restraint, and had to some extent the liberty of the town during the day; at least they were allowed to go to meeting and hear the Reverend Joshua Moody preach.

Moody had interested himself in witchcraft when Cotton Mather was still a stammering stripling; long experience had given him an outlook somewhat like that of Samuel Willard. At the very least, whatever his opinions on the common sort of witches, like Sarah Good and Susanna Martin, he had no patience with people who preferred such charges against people like Philip English. But he was also aware that the judges were little likely to encourage the acquittal of one who was not merely a suspected wizard but an outspoken critic of the children of the Covenant. His very emnity made it the more imperative to prosecute him, for some people were murmuring about their failure to prose-

cute other eminent suspects, for instance ex-Judge Saltonstall.

With all this in mind, Moody, selected his text with care one Sunday when he saw the Englishes taking their places before him. "If they persecute you in one city, flee to another." This he followed with a sermon which in Salem would have sounded like treason, its proposition being the wisdom of flying from injustice.

After the sermon Moody and his associate Willard visited the Englishes in prison and explicitly urged flight.

Philip demurred; he preferred to face the judges, not out of heroism—he had spent much of the spring dodging arrest—but because he knew that flight would be the legal equivalent of conviction and that his property would be forfeit. And Philip English had great possessions.

"God will not permit them to touch me," accordingly said Philip.

But his wife had endured several more weeks of prison than he, and had so many more weeks' experience of the magistrates' minds and of the character of those whom the magistrates had been hanging.

"Do you not think the sufferers innocent?" she asked. "Why may not we suffer also?"

Philip still hesitated. The ministers told him that if he could not carry his wife away, they would; she was ill, having fallen into a consumption during her months in prison.

So the Englishes fled, and it was a flight *de luxe*—again if tradition can be believed, for all this story about them except the mere fact of flight was recorded a generation or so after the event. The merchants in New York are supposed to have sent a carriage for them; Sir William is supposed to have smoothed their way; he who had thus far lacked the courage to interfere decisively and openly with his subordinate Stoughton's prosecution, was willing in private to lend a helping hand to friends. He arranged for them to leave prison at midnight and gave them letters of introduction to his colleague, Governor Benjamin Fletcher of New York. The latter was already showing Mrs Cary every courtesy and stood ready to protect many more. New

nothing against the world, and the world is not against him.

There is a great deal of poetry in the world, and the world is not against him. The world is not against him, and there is a great deal of poetry in the world.

The world is not against him, and there is a great deal of poetry in the world. The world is not against him, and there is a great deal of poetry in the world.

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York, a colony where, thanks to the influence of the rational Dutch, witchcraft was not taken very seriously, was in the way of acquiring a distinguished little colony of refugees.

John Alden held out until September. It was of a midnight that friends in Duxbury were awakened by a pounding on the door and the bursting in of a "tall man from Boston."

"The devil is after me!" cried John Alden, and his friends saw to it that the devil did not lay hands on him again.

All these escaped and in time many more; nor, so far as plain people could discover, did the judges make any serious attempt to pursue the fugitives if they were of the "better class" and got as far as New York. After a while this observation created a scandal. There was no democracy among witches after all. If you were poor and could run no farther than Lancaster, the law would overtake and hang you; if you were rich and well connected and were thus able to flee New England altogether, the judges would ignore the fact that extradition in capital cases is possible between colonies.

2

It was in this season, that is some time between the June trials and the hanging of 19 July, that the devil took over Andover.

He got in by the selfsame doors through which he had entered Salem Village, medicine and the ministry. But from the latter he did not get so warm a welcome as he had from the ministers of Salem, village and town. There were two ministers in Andover; it was apparently the younger, Thomas Bernard, who opened the door; the elder, Francis Dane, applied all his might to closing it, at least when he saw who was coming through. Dane was indeed to fight the plague with a heroism unequalled by any who had choice in the matter, risking not only his own life and reputation, but what must have come harder, the lives of nearly all the womenfolk in his family. And in this fight he was at first alone, deserted by his own deacons who regarded him

at best as an old and failing man, too far behind the times to appreciate the methods of modern science.

It began with the illness of the wife of Joseph Ballard. It had been going on for a long time and there was little satisfaction to be got from the doctor who attended her. About the time that the Queen of Hell, Martha Carrier, was uncovered in Andover, Ballard was making up his mind where the real difficulty lay and looking about him for a more expert diagnostician to confirm his belief. Such a one could not be found in Andover; it was not that the town lacked for people who dreamed dreams and saw visions, but the local mediumistic talent had never impressed anyone very much. To be sure of the facts, to avoid any suspicion of unfairness, it was necessary to import one of the young seeresses of Salem.

Once Ballard made up his mind to undertake the experiment, he won the support of many of the leading citizens who regarded his plan as a civic project of great virtue. Goody Ballard was by no means the only invalid in town. Any number of people had sickness in the family, and even when the doctor found a plain physical cause, it was foolhardy to deny that witchcraft might not have originated and aggravated it. Ballard's neighbours stood ready to share the expense. Accordingly man and horse were sent to Salem to fetch back the likeliest accusers that could be spared.

That was how the younger Ann Putnam found herself one summer's day riding up to Andover for an outing. Puny though she was, the little girl sat well on a horse, for all the Putnams, male or female, were famous riders, and on the rare occasions when Ann was thrown, she had always been able to spot the witch responsible. She did not on this occasion ride alone. Mary Walcott had been persuaded to come with her.

It was a quite wonderful experience for the simple village maids who until now had hardly been farther from home than Salem Town. They were received with utmost respect, even something like reverence. It had not always been so in Salem Village. For all their fame they had always been

plagued by the knowledge that there were sceptics about. Though magistrates and judges hung on Ann's every word, her Uncle Joseph Putnam did not; even that decent woman Sarah Ingersoll had never let her forget that for all her powers of divination she was only a little girl, as subject to discipline as any.

But here in Andover it was different. There were no sceptics—at least they did not meet any—and the deference accorded them could not have been greater had they been princesses.

What awaited them was touching. It was not only superstition but love and need that had summoned the girls. In a score of homes, sickrooms had been readied with pious care and the visitation was being awaited in the same prayerful faith that the lame, the halt and the blind had once waited on Christ and his disciples. Such faith should have made them whole, and indeed in some instances it did, but there was tragedy for Andover in that the healers were not themselves whole, but full of corruption, and that it was the corruption they imparted.

The girls, led from house to house, focused their tranced glare on the sickbed and almost always saw a variant of the same vision: one witch at the patient's head, the other at his feet. When they reported these things, very often young people in the house broke into howls, fell into convulsions, and had their own eyes opened to the horror. Ann and Mary could hardly enter a house without giving the gift of second sight to some of those within.

They had not gone far, however, before a serious difficulty arose. The girls were in a strange town where they were ill acquainted with names and knew almost nothing of the gossip which attaches itself to the witchlike, though in this they were probably receiving instruction. They could see a witch spectrally ply her trade but they could seldom positively identify her.

In justice to all it was necessary to conduct a scientific experiment. A conclave of public-spirited citizens, among them Bernard, most of the deacons of the church, and Justice of Peace Dudley Bradstreet, son of the venerable ex-

governor, arranged the details and appointed the meeting-house for the purpose. If the senior pastor, Francis Dane, disapproved at this stage, he did not succeed in making his disapproval effective against such impressive opposition. And anyway, the whole thing was an experiment which might come to nothing. At the meeting, however, he remained observantly in the background, leaving the public prayers to his eager colleague.

The experiment took the form of a kind of ghostly police line-up. The gifted girls were brought into the house in the throes of full possession, and one by one various men and women were led up blindfolded to touch them. Possibly not all of these so led had been originally suspected; in the interest of complete impartiality some people who should have been above suspicion were included with the others. But this impartiality produced unforeseen consequences. The test was that of touch. The hands of the suspects were guided to the hands of the girls, and if the latter then drew a sobbing breath and relaxed her struggles, the entire assembly was witness to the fact that yet another witch had been made to call off her devils.

What was unforeseen and horrible was that this phenomenon occurred nearly as often as the test was made. No one had supposed that more than half a dozen witches would be picked up in Andover. But before this business was done, Justice Bradstreet found he had made out forty warrants. Even that was not the end. Bradstreet quit at that figure not because Andover had run out of witches, but because he personally had declared himself done with signing any more warrants on such evidence.

3

On no one was the effect of the disaster more electric than on the men and women who so unexpectedly found themselves exposed as witches and wizards. "We were all exceedingly astonished and amazed and consternated and affrighted, even out of reason," testified six women in a joint deposition made much later. It was not uncommon for some

of them to agree after so dramatic a demonstration that they must indeed have been practising witchcraft; the difficulty was to remember how or when. Mary Osgood, whose husband was deacon, searching her conscience remembered a time twelve years back after the birth of her last child, a time when she had been ill and unhappy. Most likely the devil had got at her then. On further thought she connected this period somehow with a cat, a cat that must have had diabolical powers though at the time she "no whit suspected the cat to be the devil."

Samuel Wardwell, diligently searching out his memories under the psycho-analytic probing of the magistrates, remembered that he had sometimes said "the devil take it" when a creature got into his field; perhaps that had given the devil his opening. Then he recalled that at the time of his unrequited love for the "maid Barker" he had seen an assemblage of cats. Cross-examination induced him to remember that the Prince of the Air had been with the cats and had made him promises, had sworn him to a covenant for sixty years and had baptized him in the Shaw Shin River.

The most remarkable confession either at this time or at any other came from William Barker, probable kin of the "maid Barker," vainly beloved by Wardwell. Subtracting from his account the compulsory fantasy without which no confession could pass as *bona fide*, one finds a significant element of sincerity. That he had wearied of the Puritan's endless preoccupation with damnation was indicated by the fact that the devil seduced him by promising an end to resurrection and judgment, to punishment and shame. That he chafed at class restrictions was suggested by the fact that he found appealing the devil's promise that all men under his rule should be equal and "live bravely." Barker was plainly a homespun philosopher with advanced ideas. In the cold eyes of the judges, however, his admissions were only proof of a damning heterodoxy and dissatisfaction with God's providence.

It was Barker who described the business-like, go-getting nature of the witches' sabbaths and explained why Salem

Village had been chosen for attack; it was "by reason of the people being divided and their differing with ye minister." He also could and did give the exact number of witches now operating in Essex County, a dismaying figure far exceeding the present arrests—307, and this without counting some Connecticut witches who had ridden up during the spring to help start the campaign.

If one Andover witch faltered in his confession, a companion urged him on. The tormentors of Goody Ballard were early identified as Ann Foster, her daughter Mary Lacy, and her granddaughter, who bore her mother's name. The senior Mary Lacy sharply reproached her mother for pleading not guilty.

"Oh mother, how do you do? We have left Christ and the devil hath got hold of us. How shall I get rid of this evil one? I desire God to break my rocky heart that I may get the victory this time."

The younger Mary confessed glibly. "Where is my mother that made me a witch and I knew it not?" declaimed the girl, and went on with her disordered thoughts. She had not always obeyed her parents, had once run away for two days, a flight which in retrospect seemed virtuous. To her the devil had come in the shape of a horse. She had not been a witch long, not over a week, well—hardly over a year.

Accused women who refused to confess were relentlessly pressed to do so by their next-of-kin. Sometimes this was because their husbands, to quote Thomas Brattle, "did break charity with their dear wives," aghast to find themselves mated with monsters. Other kinsmen insisted on confession true or false as the only hope of escaping the gallows.

Goodwife Mary Tyler had made the dismal journey to Salem with her brother and Schoolmaster John Emerson riding on either side, each demanding that she confess until she "wished herself in a dungeon than to be so treated."

Emerson, having made a shadow play of beating the devil away from her eyes, finally washed his hands of her. "Well, I see you will not confess. I will now leave you, and then you are undone, body and soul together."

Her brother persisted, saying that in confessing she "could not lye."

"Good brother, do not say so," wailed Mary Tyler. "For I shall lye if I confess and who shall answer to God for my lye?"

That she might be innocent was a preposterous notion to her brother. "God would not suffer so many good men to be in error about it." He talked of hanging and continued his demands so "long and violent . . . that she thought verily her life would have gone away from her and became so terrified in her mind that she answered at length almost anything they propounded her, but had wronged her conscience in so doing. She was guilty of a great sin in belying herself and desired to mourn for it as long as she lived."

Mary Tyler was not the only one who after confessing in the first panic, repented after sober reflection in prison. Samuel Wardwell, exposed there to the reasoning of the tougher-minded, including probably John Procter, renounced all his admissions of acquaintance with the Prince of Air, of baptism in the Shaw Shin River, and if he had seen an assemblage of cats, what of it? Who had not?

There were some stout enough to forbear any confession at all. Abigail Faulkner had a father who would not ask his kin to save their necks by inventing fantasies; he was Francis Dane, who was now trying to arouse the town against the insane course of action to which it had committed itself. The most that Francis Dane's daughter would admit to was to say that when the accusing girls irritated her she had struck her hands together, and for all she knew the devil might take advantage, but "it was the devil not I who afflicted them."

4

At its height the terror in Andover was worse than that in Salem Village. It came on so suddenly and on such a scale as to cause uncontrolled panic. No one was safe. When a dog was discovered to have been bewitched by John Bradstreet of Andover, another son of the ex-governor,

Bradstreet did not stand on ceremony; he moved out to New Hampshire. When his brother, the Justice of Peace, refused to sign any more warrants, he too was cried out on. Afflicted girls produced spectral evidence that he and his wife had committed nine murders. They too went into hiding.

But the gale that blew so high the more quickly spent its course. An accusing circle which had formed in Andover, sometimes crying out on the dogs in the street, sometimes on their rulers and elders, finally met their match. They cried out on a gentleman in Boston, possibly though not probably the sceptical merchant, Robert Calef, and the latter took novel action; he sent a "writ to arrest these accusers in one thousand pound action of defamation" and entrusted local friends to put the accusers under observation. So coldly legal an act, which no one in Massachusetts had thought to perform before, had a chastening effect. Adolescents tough enough to watch a hanging without a qualm blanched at the idea of someone's having to pay a thousand pounds. Their voices became discreet and then fell silent altogether.

And now that the clamour was subsiding people began to listen to the voice of reason and to the voice of Francis Dane. It was as if they had been in a dream; only under the spell of a dream could they have believed so much evil of wife or sister. But if they were awake now where formerly they slept, they were still faced with the results of their somnambulism. At least fifty of their own, fifty decent people, not tramps or scoundrels, now lay in prison awaiting trial before a court that had never acquitted a suspect. What was Andover going to do about it?

ON GALLOWS HILL

Nathaniel Cary had called the officials in the witchcraft "unmerciful men." The epithet was unfair. Necessarily they might seem unmerciful to the unregenerate, but let a witch repent and confess and she found the bar of justice a veritable mercy seat. Surely it was goodness and mercy that had caused the judges, up to this point at least, to ignore in behalf of the confessors the blunt Old Testament command, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." Given the number of confessing witches now in their hands, they could have met popular demand for action by ordering a really impressive series of mass hangings of avowed witches. That they did not was a demonstration of the quality of mercy inherent in the Calvinistic concept of sin. All men are sinners; salvation lies therefore not in innocence, but in renunciation and repentance. Each token of repentance in this dark matter was accordingly to be received tenderly, and the sinner cherished even as was the lost sheep returned to the ninety and nine.

So for the time being there was no talk of hanging the confessors; possibly it would be arranged later, but no one really knew. Whatever their eventual fate the confessors would in the meantime be given full opportunity to repent and prove their repentance by informing on their fellow-witches. Their willingness to do this provided a very utilitarian reason for keeping them alive. By means of the confessions, round every witch on the roster was woven a web of spectral evidence which in the end became more damaging than the original charges. People who complained that

condemnations were being made on the say-so of ignorant young girls ignored the terrible admissions that the witches made about each other.

Meanwhile no matter how many confessed—the outpouring from Andover added page upon page of incontrovertible evidence to the already bulging dossier on witchcraft—there always remained an irreducible minority who would not seek mercy at this price, who would not confess, who in the face of testimony sworn to by half a hundred witnesses still insisted on their innocence.

Some of these, had the judges known it, represented the truest expression of the indomitable Puritan spirit; that spirit which a few decades earlier had refused to bow before a misguided king, now, at the risk of life, would not bow before misguided magistrates. It was wonderful how such men as John Procter and such women as Rebecca Nurse and her sisters managed to keep unshaken their hold on reality in the face of the impregnable if mad logic of the judges and afflicted girls, and how, firm in their knowledge of their innocence, in their faith in God, they would not belie themselves, even though lying was sometimes made so easy that a mere "Yes," whispered on cue, would be accepted as full and free confession.

Puritan was ranged against Puritan in these courts. If the judges were Puritan, so were their victims, and though the latter were doomed, the future was theirs. Were the Puritans given to canonizing their saints, such a one as Rebecca Nurse would surely in time have been beatified. Her faith in the Covenant was as deep as Cotton Mather's, deeper indeed in that his was never put to such a test. Thanks to the rooting of that faith, frail as she was, she had faced the dreadful reality unflinching without once taking flight into fantasy. What is more remarkable, her children never urged her to do so. They would move heaven and earth to save their mother, but one thing they would not do, ask her to belie herself.

Six more defendants were coming up for trial in early August, and most of these were in their several ways no less worthy of veneration than Rebecca herself.

having to go on with the same old same old business as before, and that is the only way to keep the same old same old business as before.

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John Procter was one of the six and he came up fighting. There was nothing of the martyr's will-to-die in John Procter. In his fierce will-to-live he did not wait for the trial to make his voice heard, but two weeks earlier, on 23 July, addressed to five ministers of Boston a petition in behalf of himself "and others."

The substance of this petition was an appeal to the ministers to exert their influence to transfer the trials from Salem to Boston, or if that were not possible, at least to substitute other judges, the present incumbents "having condemned us already before our trials."

The force of the petition lay in the detailed account, already described, of how "full and free confessions" were being wrung from the male suspects by torture. "These actions," concluded Procter, never one to mince words, "are very like the Papish cruelties." The last was an unthinkable phrase to apply to any enterprise conducted under Puritan auspices; it gave such affront that Procter's kinsmen in Lynn were immediately cried out on and arrested.

The petition went to Moody and Willard, no doubt chosen because of their notorious sympathy with certain defendants; to James Allen, from whom the Nurses were buying their estate in Salem Village; to John Bailey, who had once been Willard's associate and was now Allen's; to the elder Mather.

None of these took any decisive action on the petition. Those most sympathetic to its reasoning were in the poorest position to do anything; though Willard's courage had not abated, his influence had, thanks to his known deviation from the party line on witchcraft. Increase Mather's interest was awakened, but he too was at a low ebb of public influence because of the storm of criticism aroused by his championship of the new charter. Besides, he had returned from England too late to observe the inception of the witchcraft and had since then been largely preoccupied by defending the charter and catching up with his arrears of

duties as president of Harvard and senior pastor of the meeting-house in the North End. He was in general content to follow the reasoning of his son Cotton, who had done so brilliant a piece of laboratory work on demonology at the time of the possession of the Goodwin children.

Nevertheless Procter's thesis apparently did serve to focus his attention anew on the prosecution. Soon after receiving the petition he called a conference of seven ministers in Cambridge to discuss, not explicitly the question of confessions, but rather the perennially troublesome matter of spectral evidence. His proposition was "Whether the devil may not sometimes have permission to represent an innocent person as tormenting such as are under diabolic manifestation." This time there was unanimous agreement that it could happen, with, however, the reservation "that such things are rare and extraordinary especially when such matters come before Civil Jurisdiction."

After obtaining this decision Mather took the trouble to go to Salem to see for himself how the trials were conducted when they reopened in August. Here, however, his interest was less in the inconsequential Procter than in Burroughs, and the trial of the latter seemed fair to him. "Had I been one of his judges," he later wrote, "I could not have acquitted him." Even so, whether because of Procter's appeal or his own observation, questions continued to arise in his mind. At long last, far too late to help poor Procter, he did undertake a personal investigation of the methods under which confessions were being secured. It was thanks to him that Mary Tyler's account of the ordeal of the Andover witches was put on record.

On 5 August and the days following the judges tried John and Elizabeth Procter, John Willard, old George Jacobs, Martha Carrier, and their most notorious captive, George Burroughs; and they condemned them all.

Procter did not come unbefriended to court. Thirty-one friends in Ipswich and twenty-one neighbours in Salem Vil-

fessed; why then spare a confessing witch? How could the sincerity of all these confessions be tested but by the hangman's rope?

The fact was that until now the rope had been reserved not for those who pleaded guilty, but for those who professed innocence. How could it be that so many whose souls were burdened with such a crime had gone to death without seeking the solace of confession? Had the devil so hardened their hearts that none was capable of repentance? Or was it possible that they had nothing to confess?

Hale shuddered away from the thought, but it kept recurring, and not to him alone. Nor was it made easier by the fact that two of the former confessors had renounced their confessions. Margaret Jacobs escaped condemnation in the September trials only because she was too ill to be brought into court. Samuel Wardwell of Andover stood his trial, heard his sentence, and suffered it without once going back to his former story, his confession, though his wife and daughter clung to theirs for dear life. What was it that guided Wardwell now? Was it the devil, or was it perhaps an angel of God, and if the latter, who were the sinners, who the murderers?

3

Samuel Wardwell was the only male involved in the September trials. The women sentenced on 9 September were Martha Cory of Salem Village, Alice Parker and Ann Pudeator of Salem Town, and Mary Esty of Topsfield. Added to the roster on 17 September were Margaret Scott of Rowley, Mary Parker of Andover, and Wilnot Redd of Marblehead.

All Marblehead had known for a lifetime that "Mammy" Redd, ageing wife of a fisherman, was a witch, but until the girls had come along, Marblehead had not been disposed to do anything about it. God had suffered the woman's generally harmless sorceries, expressed mainly in the curdling of milk and spoiling of butter, why not Marblehead? But Wilnot Redd was cried out on and taken, and

being a poor thing, unable to do more than mutter, "I know nothing of it," at the trial, had been condemned.

Ann Pudeator had struck out at her accusers. She had petitioned that the testimony sworn against her by Sarah Churchill, Mary Warren, John Best be stricken from the record as "altogether false and untrue," and that "my life not be taken away by such false evidence." But though she reminded the judges that Best had formerly suffered public whipping as a proved "lyar," her defence availed her nothing.

Long imprisonment had not quelled the militant self-righteousness of Martha Cory. When on 14 September Parris and a delegation from the Village church called on her to tell her that she now lay under the sentence of excommunication, Martha expressed herself very forcefully. Parris did not dignify her words by recording them; he entered in the parish book only the observation that she was "very obdurate, justifying herself and condemning all that had done anything to her just discovery and condemnation." Nor did Parris record his own words, except to intimate that they had been few, "for her imperiousness would not suffer much." He did manage a prayer, but not at the invitation of Martha; she had had enough of the prayers of men like him.

It was well that they had not risked bringing her to church to be excommunicated publicly as Nicholas Noyes had done with Rebecca Nurse. Martha Cory was not the sort of martyr who suffers in silence.

Rebecca Nurse's sister Mary Esty had been fighting for her life all summer. As early as June, when there was hope of saving Rebecca's life as well, she and her third sister, the door-slaming Sarah Cloyce, had pleaded that fairer conditions should prevail at their trials than at their examinations. Since they were allowed no counsel they asked "that you who are our judges would please to counsel to us, to direct us wherein we may stand in need." They asked that the testimony of ministers, friends, and their children be admitted, and that the testimony of witches or of "such as

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are afflicted as is supposed by witches may not be improved to condemn us without other legal evidence."

The petition asked for nothing that the council of ministers had not already recommended, yet it had no effect at all. The judges, determined to get on with their work, could not afford to be guided by such considerations as these proposed, and which if adopted would have caused the collapse of the whole prosecution. What "other legal evidence" can you get against a criminal whose malefaction is by definition spectral but the reports of his victims and of criminals who have turned king's evidence?

After her condemnation Mary Esty made one last appeal, not now for herself, but in behalf of all the others who might come to trial as innocent as she.

"I petition to your Honours, not for my own life, for I know I must die, and my appointed time is set, but . . . that no more Innocent Blood be shed, which undoubtedly cannot be avoided in the way and course you go in. I question not but your Honours do to the utmost of your pains in the discovery and detection of witchcraft and witches, and would not be guilty of Innocent Blood for the world; but by my own Innocency I know you are in the wrong way. . . ."

"I would humbly beg of you that your Honours would be pleased to examine some of the confessing witches, I being confident there are several of them have belyed themselves and others. . . . They say myself and others have made a League with the devil. . . . I know and the Lord he knows . . . they belye me, and so I question not but they do others; and the Lord alone who is the Searcher of hearts knows that, as I shall answer to at the Tribunal Seat, I know not the least thing of witchcraft; therefore I cannot, I durst not belye my soul."

4

The executions were set for Thursday, 22 September. Before they could take place, they were preceded on Monday of that week by an unscheduled execution. Giles Cory, hus-

band of the unrepentant Martha, had been pressed to death by the sheriff on 19 September in an open field beside the jail.

Death was probably not the explicit objective of the sheriff's attentions. He was merely applying the English procedure of the "peine forte et dure" to a criminal so stubborn that he had "stood mute," thereby refusing to place himself formally on trial under the "common law of the land." In the whole history of English law very few people placed on trial for felony had had the fortitude to "stand mute" and endure a penalty expressly designed to discourage such obstinacy. It must have been supposed when the ordeal began that after a certain number of rocks had been placed on Cory's chest he would break down and consent to giving testimony. But Giles Cory had endured, his only recorded utterance—and it is tradition which records it—being an occasional gasp, "More weight."

Giles had come a long way since that day in March when he had offered his fumbling testimony against his wife. To the magistrates his testimony had seemed mere stupidity, being little more than an expression of wonder that his wife should linger by the fire to pray long after he expected her in bed. It appeared stupid, however, only in contrast to the livelier offerings of the girls. The old man, credulous as he was as to the cause of their affliction, had stubbornly kept to the facts as he knew them, and a fact will often show poor and plain in contrast to the leavings of imagination.

At his own examination he had still been credulous and humble. "I am a poor man and cannot help it." But the examination and the long months in prison that followed it had slowly opened his eyes. He knew himself to be innocent, and yet the girls had accused him of just such pranks as he had believed against his wife. Now he saw that he had "broken charity" with Martha in believing the word of a pack of lying girls against hers. By his own innocence—his reasoning paralleled that of Mary Esty—he knew that his wife was innocent as well.

While he lay in jail turning over these things in his slow

tions of the judges; were it to happen the entire legal process would be robbed of its therapeutic value. And now it happened.

It was shortly after 22 September that Mary Herrick became aware of mysterious pains. At first they had no visible cause; then gradually during her affliction a Shape materialized before her, but a Shape of which she could not bring herself to speak, for it was none other than that of the pious wife of John Hale of Beverly.

Yet there could be no doubt that Mrs Hale was the tormentor. She appeared regularly, and it was her hand that pinched and choked. To be sure, after a while she did not come unattended. Mary Esty came too, but only to look on thoughtfully, her hands at her sides. Occasionally Mary "made as if to speak and did not."

At length it was the Shape of Mrs Hale who spoke.

"Do you think I am a witch?" she asked.

"No! You be the devil!" shouted the girl.

Now Mary Esty knew her plan had worked. For the first time she spoke. She told the girl "that she had been put to death wrongfully and was innocent of the witchcraft and she came to vindicate her cause." Then she cried "Vengeance! Vengeance!" or at least that was what the girl thought she said—it seems not in character for just this ghost—and gave her instructions. She "bid her to reveal this to Mr Hale and Mr Gerrish and then she would rise no more, nor should Mrs Hale afflict her."

Mary dare not disobey; she went to her pastor, the Reverend Joseph Gerrish of Wenham, and told him of what she called the "delusion of the devil." The pastor, having cross-examined her and found her at least as sincerely convinced as the Salem mediums, made a business-like record of the incident and then summoned Hale to hear from the girl's own lips this quite wonderful parable of the nature of delusion.

Hale, however impassive his ministerial demeanour, felt the ground rock under him when he heard the story. What man would not feel so on getting evidence that his wife has committed a capital crime? Yet that was not the point.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE GHOST OF MARY ESTY

In Wenham, a town which though close to Salem had by God's providence largely escaped the witchcraft, lived a seventeen-year-old girl named Mary Herrick. On 22 September this young woman received an uninvited guest, the Shape of Mary Esty.

"I am going upon the ladder to be hanged for a witch," Goody Esty told her, "but I am innocent and before a twelfth-month be past you shall believe it."

Then she vanished. The girl stared incredulously after her. She knew this Witch Esty, at least by reputation, and did not doubt at all that she and the others with her were getting on the gallows exactly what they deserved. She decided to keep her mouth shut about this incident; she would not lower herself by reporting the words of a lying witch; there was enough wild talk going on without her adding to it. She was a sensible girl, Mary Herrick, quite without precedent in the ranks of the afflicted.

But Mary Esty, so gentle in life that the magistrates themselves were with difficulty convinced of her witchhood, and her very jailers pleaded for her, nevertheless had the will of a Cromwell. Even when she knew that there was no hope of establishing her own innocence, she had continued her contest with the judges in the hope of saving others. Now, instead of accepting failure, she rose from the dead to bring her fight to a conclusion.

And this was an unthought-of providence. That a witch once hanged would have the power to return to haunt the living was a possibility which had never entered the calcula-

Hale knew that his wife had done nothing of the sort; she was flesh of his flesh, and had she been practising witchcraft he would have known it. But he now knew, and the revelation came to him with the force of a physical blow, that just so must John Procter have felt when his own wife was cried out on, and so a hundred others when wife or child or mother was taken. If his present feeling was justified, why not theirs?

Suddenly Hale knew with a conviction beyond logic that spectral evidence was madness. God had permitted the devil to use the shape of the innocent to delude. And this being so, how many of the innocent had been hanged in Salem?

He went home to brood among his books and papers; when he had thought the thing through he would not keep silent about his conclusions. He was a humble and courageous man; it takes courage twice to reverse one's position publicly in a matter of such moment.

Mary Esty for her part haunted the girl no more; her mission was accomplished. What further need of childish spectral shows when her courage and faith had at last made their impact, were winning to her own point of view the mind of one who had not before consciously doubted a witch's witchhood?

2

In the meantime a number of other people had reached the same conclusion as John Hale if for less dramatic reasons, and were making themselves heard. Though the judges had adjourned their sittings in September with every intention of resuming them on schedule in October, so many people were now converted to Mary Esty's opinion that they were "in the wrong way" that it was a question if the Court of Oyer and Terminer would be allowed to sit again.

Opposition to this manner of investigating witchcraft was of course no new thing. It had begun exactly where the witchcraft had, in Salem Village. An impressive number of simple country folk in and about the community had from

the first faced the crisis far more realistically than had their sophisticated and learned betters in Boston and Salem Town. Moreover, in spite of the fact that death or exile had usually been the penalty for coming out in opposition to the official view, an extraordinarily large portion of the community had at one time or another consented to take the dangerous risk of protesting the innocence not indeed of witches in general, but of some special witch, long known and respected among them.

For all the conspicuous and ruthless part that the ministry in Salem itself had played in the prosecution, ministers at large in the Bay Colony had not done any such thing. Indeed, had they done so, the panic would never have been localized as it was, roughly to the limits of Essex County, or put in another way, within the approximate range of Mrs Ann Putnam's acquaintance. Plymouth, for instance, though it must have had its share of hysterical girls, managed to get along without cultivating an "accusing circle"; Andover had one, but only after deliberately exposing itself to the contagion of Salem, and as Thomas Brattle was now saying, poor Andover did "now rue the day."

Far more ministers were making a stand against prosecution than were lending themselves to it. Francis Dane was now successfully rallying Andover to his viewpoint. Willard of Boston had been working on the judges, three of whom were in his congregation, and though as a friend reported he had "met with little but unkindness and abuse" and had indeed been cried out on by the accusers, he did not desist.

Indeed he is believed to have gone so far as to have published anonymously a *Dialogue Between S and B*, in which it was suggested that the accusers were "scandalous persons, liars, and loose in their conversation," and even at best disqualified as "humane witnesses" by the very fact of their affliction. Spectral evidence he renounced utterly. "If the fact may be done and yet the persons doing it be innocent of the crime, the verdict is merely conjectural," said his "B," presumably Boston, "and the man dyes by will and doom; whereas God hath not granted to man such a power over another's lives."

at least its corollary was. God could not have willed such a thing. Not God but the devil had been in command here. Their leaders had suffered the devil to guide them. They were turning from such leaders; in particular they were turning from the leadership of the Reverend Samuel Parris.

CHAPTER XXI

VILLAGE PURGE

While Cotton Mather was fighting off the devil in Boston, Salem Village was pulling itself together after its ordeal.

It was not altogether unlike returning to a community which has been sacked by Indians and trying to pick up life again, except that it was in some ways more difficult. The moral effect of a purely physical disaster may be cleansing; when men unite against nature or a common enemy they may keep their dignity even in ruin.

But though this thing which had passed had left the houses standing and the fields untouched, it had brought division and a sore sickness of spirit on the people. Husband and wife with wife and wife with husband, had "broken charity" with child and mother. Even worse had been the tattling of neighbour against neighbour. Relations in so small a community are organic; no matter what ships in so small a community are organic; no matter what the petty jars of day-to-day collisions, there must be in a crisis a community of sympathy and understanding else there is no health. And here was little health; not in a generation would it be forgotten how neighbour had responded with spite to a neighbour's need.

Even the many who had kept their integrity, who had spoken out for a friend in danger, had little peace of mind. What they had seen had been corrosive of their faith; malice had been exalted above charity, and the idle words of a pack of undisciplined girls allowed to outweigh whole lifetimes of decency and good faith. If such were the will of God, what wonder that so many had turned to the devil? If so blasphemous a thought was not openly expressed,

The January trials of 1693 were hardly over when a meeting was held in Salem Village to "make void" their pastor's salary. Not even the late George Burroughs had been during his ministry so directly attacked; the congregation had not voided his salary, but had simply neglected to pay it. What was remarkable about this act was that it took place only five months after Parris had been able to get "unanimous approval from his congregation to excommunicate Martha Cory. Either this had been the sort of "unanimity" that would not bear close scrutiny, or the vote merely demonstrated the personal unpopularity of Martha who was, after all, an opinionated woman, besides being married to the trouble-making Giles.

The disinclination to pay Parris was not necessarily born of enmity alone. Money was hard to come by now. The witch-hunt, coinciding with the season of planting and harvesting, had cast an economic blight over the community. Everyone suffered, even the officials. Handsome Marshal George Herrick was complaining to Governor Phips that in nine months of almost incessant labour in connection with the witch-hunt, he had been unable to do for his "poor farm" and was now literally in want of enough provision to get through the winter. "I am become despicable in these hard times."

If even in Boston business had almost come to a standstill during the peak of the excitement—Governor Phips had reported to England the urgency of getting the matter settled if the legislators were ever again to attend to anything but the witchcraft—how much more was this true of Salem Village where there was hardly a family but had a personal stake in the affair?

Besides, there had been the drought. And now, as if the yield were not lean enough, came the demand for hard cash to pay the jail fees as one after another of the witches was discharged. Given so great a need and so little to do with, the village could hardly support a church. The pastor had his own field and orchard; let him live off them as the rest were trying to do.

But one cannot dismiss a responsibility so lightly; nor was that sharp bargainer Parris one to forgive his salary while his parishioners recouped their losses. By December he had secured a court order to the effect that people refusing to pay their rates would have to stand suit.

Before that order came, however, other troubles, evidence of irreconcilable differences between pastor and flock, had come out into the open. There were some for whom non-payment of rates was the least of the matter; they simply would not set foot in the church so long as it was Parris who occupied the pulpit.

"The said Parris," reported these in a plea to court in April 1693, had been "teaching such dangerous errors and preached such scandalous immoralities as ought to discharge him (though ever so gifted otherwise) from the work of the minister." His claim that prisoners had knocked down "those pretended sufferers" with a look they charged was "swearing to more than he was certain of" and hence "he was equally guilty of perjury with them that swear what is false. . . . His believing the devil's accusations and readily departing from all charity to persecute the blameless and godly lives are just causes for our refusal. . . . Mr Parris . . . has been the beginner and procurer of the sorest affliction not to the village only but to the whole country." Was it just, they asked, that they should "honour, respect and support such an instrument to our miseries"?

The court did not honour the petition; its signers, Joseph Putnam and three kinsmen of Rebecca Nurse, were too obviously partisan. Yet these were plainly gaining an ascendancy over the congregation; so strong was the feeling against Parris that ministers from the neighbouring towns were

alarmed and urged Parris and his flock to hold a council to settle their differences.

Parris himself was not impervious to the change of moral climate. In an attempt to placate his enemies he humbled himself before his congregation and read a document about the "late horrid calamity" which he called "Meditations for Peace." It was, he said, "a sore rebuke" that the witchcraft had come first to his own family, that unlawful means had not been taken there to raise spirits "though totally unknown to me or mine till after. . . . I desire to lie low under this reproach and to lay my hand to my mouth."

Now at last he acknowledged that God might suffer the devil to take the shape of the innocent and that hence it was wrong to ask the afflicted who had suffered "through offered his sympathy to those who had suffered 'through the clouds of human weakness and Satan's wiles and sophistry.'" He asked pardon of God and prayed that all might "be covered with the mantle of love and we may . . . forgive each other heartily."

"If half so much had been said formerly," drily commented Rebecca Nurse's son-in-law John Tarbell when this document was read to him, "it would never have come to this."

Parris, however, was trying to placate the implacable, and he had begun too late; it had been for ever too late ever since the hangman had supported Rebecca Nurse up the gallows. "We know not how to express the loss of such a mother in such a way," said one of Rebecca's sons. Those who had not hesitated to risk their lives to save her in a time when to say one kind word for a witch was almost certain to draw the accusations of the girls were unlikely to "forgive heartily" the man who had taken the word of delinquents against the word of a good woman. Etched in bitter acid on their memories was their mother, trembling and yet steadfast before the magistrates; even the magistrates had wavered when she was brought before them, but not this man, and they would not waver now. Not all the courts in Massachusetts could force them to worship with the false shepherd who had misled his sheep.

In November 1694 Samuel Nurse and Thomas Wilkins produced yet another analysis of their motives. Their reluctance to attend Parris's church had begun in the day of the afflicted girls when the "distractions and disturbing tumults and noises made by the persons under diabolical power and delusion" prevented "sometimes our hearing and understanding and profiting of the word preached." They had been afraid to stay in such society, having heard persons "better than ourselves" accused. Besides they found Parris's preaching "dark and dismal," his dwelling on "mysteries of iniquity . . . offensive." They could not "in conscience" join in his prayers, and above all they had found no charity in him, that quality without which a preacher's eloquence is as a sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.

The quarrel went on year after year. Once Parris offered the recalcitrants dismissal to another parish. "Ay," said one, "if we could find a way to remove our livings too."

In April 1695 a council of churches of the North Shore met in Salem to arbitrate the case. The assembled ministers agreed with the dissidents that "unwarranted and uncomfortable steps" had been taken by Parris during the "dark time of confusion." Yet now that he had been "brought into a better sense of things . . . Christian charity might and should receive satisfaction therefore." The church must treat the dissenters "with bowels of much compassion for the infirmities discovered . . . on such an heartbreaking day." But it was for the latter to reconcile themselves; if they could not, let them leave and stir up trouble in Salem Village no more.

They would not be reconciled and by now a majority in the parish stood with them. Time had worked for the children of Rebecca. The sceptical talk in the Boston coffee-houses was getting more attention than the voices of the Mrs Carvers who spoke darkly of the "wilful smothering of the witchcraft." If there were any here who still believed that Rebecca Nurse had been done justly to death—or John Procter or Mary Esty—few of them now dared say so. It was at last Parris who consented to remove, on the provision

that the congregation pay him arrears of £79 9s 6d; the sum was raised with cheerful alacrity.

So Parris went and took with him the least guilty and most pitiable of the afflicted, little Betty, and his young son Noyes. It is to be hoped that Betty came elsewhere into summer days and escaped the shadow that the devil cast over her brother, for this child, born in an evil time and named for the witch-hunting parson of Salem, grew to manhood only to die insane.

3

The successor to Parris, one Joseph Green, was an unexpected choice. He was only twenty-two and had only within the year achieved a state of grace.

Though Green had graduated from Harvard in 1695, he had not prepared for the ministry. He had been exactly the sort of student that Cotton Mather in his own undergraduate days had shrunk from; he had played cards, danced, cursed, and had often profaned the Sabbath by striking off into the country with fishing-rod or fowling-piece.

Light did not come to him until he was out of Harvard and teaching in the Roxbury Grammar School. There he came upon one of Cotton Mather's sermons, and never did Mather make a more electric effect. The young man became overnight not only a convert but an evangelist, speaking of God and His Kingdom in and out of season, to his students, his mother, his brothers at sea, and soon to whole congregations. A city which is set on a hill is not hid; presently Green was being invited to preach, and the reputation of his sermons reached to Salem Village; the village called him and he came.

If he, given his youth, was a surprising choice, he was a wholesome one. Perhaps it is an advantage not to spend one's youth agonizing over damnation and the certainty of death. Green certainly had not, and whatever his convictions on these subjects, they did not impair his outgoing cheerfulness. He was a pastor who got around. One

found him over a mug of ale at Deacon Ingersoll's ordinary, or at a house-raising setting his shoulders to the timber, or off with his gun to track down a bobcat or to shoot wild pigeons. One found him in Wenham, where he courted the Reverend Mr. Gerrish's daughter Elizabeth and took her home with him to bear him a brood of lively little boys. "They were a lovely, loving pair," wrote Noyes, who had his sentimental side and sometimes let it overflow into verse. He laboured his fields and jotted down the results in a brief, extrovert diary, "Very hot. Thunder and rain. Bugs." He badgered his congregation to set up a school and build a new meeting-house; he trained with the troop of horse, and when Indian trouble threatened, as it was bound to periodically in those days, he shouldered his musket and rode out smartly with the best of them.

These zealous activities did not take place at any sacrifice of his parochial duties; such neglect Salem Village would not have forgiven him. Young Green grasped the essentials of the situation with a wisdom and compassion beyond his years. Like Quaker Maule he identified the true devils as the small spies that had so long embroiled the village in petty squabbles; he saw deeper dissension in the future if the understandable bitterness of such people as the Nurses could not somehow be assuaged.

To this end he undertook a bold plan of reconciliation which an older man might have judged impossible. He reworked the seating plan of his church on a symbolic arrangement of lions and lambs. He put Samuel Nurse in the pew of Thomas Putnam, father of Ann; Rebecca Nurse's daughter, the Widow Preston, in the pew of the Widow Walcott, mother of Mary. And what was remarkable, the dissidents, late so unyielding with Parris, accepted this arrangement. It may well be that Samuel Nurse sat many a Sunday stiff and silent beside Thomas Putnam, unwilling to acknowledge his presence by so much as a glance; but no child of Rebecca had grown up unacquainted with the heavenly wisdom of charity and forgiveness. If Rebecca, like Mary Esty, sent forth her ghost, she sent it to underline the message of young Joseph Green: forgive, make your

peace, forget. So in time the cold seal of hatred was melted from the hearts of her sons, a great burden was lifted from them and they sat beside their late enemies not with averted eyes but with pity. In truth these had not known what they did.

Green's most ambitious project for reconciliation did not succeed for a long time. As early as 1702 the young man had the temerity to ask the congregation to revoke the excommunication of Martha Cory and restore her name to the church rolls. In 1703 he got a motion to that effect passed in church, but encountered such bitterness in town meeting that for a while he swore never to attend that function again. It was not until 1707, soon after another triumph over the forces of spite, which will be recounted, that he finally won. The spirit of Martha Cory could now sit unchallenged in meeting.

In spite of these reconciliations it would be long before Salem Village would regain the prosperity it had known before calamity came. There were farms cleared and tilled and set about with stone walls with back-breaking labour that were reverting to wilderness, for their owners had fled in the panic and cursed the place and would not come again. Peter Cloyce had tarried only until Rebecca's sister Sarah was released; then he shook the dust of the place from his feet and never looked back. For a century or more some places would be shunned. It was as if people feared to break the devil from the ground. Yet many stayed, and for them at last there was peace.

4

While in the village the children of Rebecca had been closing in on Parris, Philip English in Salem Town was avenging himself on Sheriff George Corwin. But if the children of Rebecca had borne themselves with dignity, the same could not be said of English.

He had, of course, suffered much in the persecution. His pious wife, ailing in prison, did not long survive her return from exile. Added to this sorrow was the heavy loss to his

pocketbook; indeed malicious tongues said that this pinched sharpest. When he had finally consented to flee, Sheriff Corwin had fallen upon his wharves, his warehouses, his many-gabled house, and had seized property valued at £1,500, none of which English had recovered.

In doing so, Corwin had acted strictly according to the law and not, provably at least, from personal animus. When the returned English made trouble about the seizure in 1694, the Superior Court absolved Corwin of blame for this act and others and declared that no claim could be made against him for such cause.

But the sheriff died in 1697 and English had his revenge, not a pretty revenge. He seized the body of Corwin for non-payment of debt. He couldn't in the nature of things hold it indefinitely, but he held it long enough to complicate the funeral arrangements, create a scandal, and impel Corwin's executors to pay him £60 3s.

The spirit of Christian forgiveness did not predominate in the character of Philip English. Once he got himself sued for calling Noyes a murderer; he went no more to Noyes's church or to any other infested by the breed of Puritans. At long last he was able to contribute to the founding of a church of his own faith, St Peter's; but this was so late in the day, so near his death—and the poor man died deranged—that his only profit thereby was to get burial in the churchyard, safe from the hands of the Puritans.

Magistrate John Hathorne he hated to his dying day. Only on his deathbed did he forgive him the humiliations he had inflicted during the witchcraft, and then not heartily. "If I get well, I'll be damned if I forgive him!"

Fortunately he died without suspecting that his line was fated to merge with the line of the hated Hathorne and to bear its name. His only legitimate son had died before him; but he did leave daughters, and one of these, deprived of her father's choleric guidance, knew no better than to marry a son of Magistrate Hathorne and so found a dynasty which added a W to its name and presently produced that remote pale flowering of the witchcraft, the haunted Nathaniel Hawthorne. And Nathaniel in his turn would walk the ways

of Salem, town and village, and ghosts would keep him company, never quite visible, lurking always just beyond the corner of his eye. But he would pin them down on paper and when he had them there would inspect them with a kind of literary credulity. For it was with him somewhat as it was with Cotton Mather; useless to preach to the artist against the existence of witches; the very breath of the artist is witchery and magic.



before she sought communion in the church she should undertake a moral cleansing by publicly asking pardon of those who had grievous cause to condemn her.

Ann, standing solitary at her place, dared not lift her eyes to these. To the right, to the left, were kinsmen of Rebecca Nurse who had not forgotten, who could never forget how once in this meeting-house this suppliant had howled at their mother, and how the poor lady had cried, "Oh Lord help me!" Ann's howls had killed their mother as surely as if they had been so many stones, and Ann's confession could not raise her from the grave where the children of Rebecca had secretly laid her. Yet here Ann stood and asked them to forgive.

"I desire to be humbled before God." It was Parson Green's voice, but the words were Ann's. "It was a great delusion of Satan that deceived me in that sad time. . . . I did it not out of any anger, malice, or ill-will."

The kin of Rebecca would have been more than human if they had not stirred in their seats at that. Not malice or ill-will. What had the witchcraft been but a triumph of malice? Why this woman as a mere babe had sucked spite from her mother's breasts. Yet the malice came from the elder not the younger Ann, and the elder had gone to a higher judgment these half-dozen years back. They looked into the ashy face of the suppliant and felt pity. After all, it was not with Ann as with so many of her confederates; she had not turned from "affliction" to lewdness. She had lived in shamefaced decency, and frail as she was, an invalid at times, had managed to give her siblings a godly raising.

Parson Green read on. Until now Ann's plea had been little more than the accepted formula of the day; "the delusion of Satan" was a phrase that anyone might use. But now her confession came to something more personal.

"And particularly as I was a chief instrument of accusing Goodwife Nurse and her two sisters, I desire to lie in the dust and be humbled for it, in that I was a cause with others of so sad a calamity to them and their families. . . . I desire to lie in the dust and earnestly beg forgiveness of

CHAPTER XXII

"WE WALKED IN CLOUDS"

It was August 1706, and the sultry anniversary of a fast which Massachusetts had held in 1692 in behalf of the forgotten witchcraft. Corn stood high in the field, and in the orchard where witches had grounded their sticks when Parris owned the place, the apples were already round in the tree. Goldenrod showed in the meadows and crickets chirped busily.

Within the dusk of the meeting-house on this bright day, the congregation sat in the dead hush of complete attention. Not the smallest child wriggled now, and all eyes turned to the woman who, clad in white cap, kerchief and long-gown of seemingly sad-coloured stuff, had risen at her place. In the pulpit the Reverend Joseph Green prepared to read her "confession."

The woman was still young; though more than a decade ago she had been one of the most notorious figures in Massachusetts, she was not now more than six-and-twenty. But she looked older; life had been hard, and the younger Ann Putnam, daughter of a sickly, high-strung mother, had never been strong at best.

She stood here to-day a suppliant for the right hand of fellowship of her church. There were churches—the Brattle Church in Boston for instance—where the old Puritan custom of requiring an applicant to make public confession of his faith had fallen out of fashion. But Salem Village had never set store by fashion, nor did its pastor for all his comely youth and cheerful ways. Indeed it was Green, who knew Ann's heart, who had expressly stipulated that

all those unto whom I have given just cause of sorrow and offence, whose relations were taken away and accused."

The phrases were still clichés out of the ritual; Parris had used them in "Meditations for Peace" and had found small grace thereby. Could Ann by her incoherent repetitions fare better? Yet what more could the poor girl say than what she had said? The inwardness of the dark time of her wrongdoing was dim and uncomprehended, almost as if it had happened to another person. How could she, a child at the time, explain the torments which had baffled the wisest, physicians, magistrates and ministers? What else to call it but "a delusion of Satan"?

Ann at her place, her hands clenched until the knuckles showed white, knew only that like Rebecca she could not die with a sin "still unrepented of." Now in 1706 her time was growing short. Would God forgive such a sin as hers? God was omnipotent, but there was one sin unpardonable even by Him; was it hers?

Kind Parson Green had said no. Christ who had died between thieves understood all sins, even the delusions of Satan. He would intercede for forgiveness if the repentance was true.

The reading was over. Gravely the minister looked up from the paper and into the eyes of his congregation. Was it their will that this sinner be forgiven, that this lost sheep be received into the fold?

It was. Not for nothing had Green worked among them all these years preaching charity. Ann sank back to her bench, the tears raining down her cheeks. God had given a sign, for surely what His children had done, what Rebecca's children had done, He would do also.

2

Ann was not the first to repent publicly for what had been done in the witchcraft; rather she was almost the last. It was nearly a decade since a wave of penitence had broken over Massachusetts, and this penitence had been an honorable thing. Say what you will of the Puritans, their nar-

rowness, their intolerance, there was soundness in them too, and never more than at the moment when God humbled them by taking their power from them. For theocracy in the political sense had received its deathblow from the new charter; never again in their time would God rule directly on earth through these His chosen people. Yet in the act of surrendering temporal control, the Puritans had achieved a new moral eminence. It is only given to the strong and spiritually whole to say before the world, "I was wrong. Let God and man forgive me and guide me in a better way."

On Christmas Eve, some ten years before the confession of Ann, Samuel Sewall had sat by candlelight with a Latin testament in his hand, listening to the younger Sam recite. His heart was heavy; there was death in the house; in an upper chamber the women were laying out the body of his little Sarah. And although his eldest son was outwardly hale, all was not well with him. It was as if the lad belonged to a weaker, insecure generation which lacked the heroic decision, the vein of iron of the elder. Young Sam did only middling well in his studies, was vague and vacillating about his vocation. That he would grow in grace and bring distinction to the family was now improbable. Yet one did what one could, and the elder Samuel sat testament in hand while his son struggled through Matthew xii, 6-12.

"If ye had known what this meaneth," laboured the lad, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice," ye would not have condemned the guiltless."

The boy plodded on, but the father sat blankly, not attending to a word, his mind wrenched from family cares to a darker matter. It was as if God had entered the room and spoken to him directly. To what could the text possibly apply if not to the "Salem Tragedie" and his own part therein? Had his strength of decision, the want of which he lamented in his son, been only a devil's delusion, leading him from mercy?

Yet he had not been an unmerciful man. His own diary could bear him witness that he had not—not to his personal friends. He had prayed with John Alden in time of sorrow and when the latter was vindicated had called on his family

to express his regret "for their sorrow and temptation by reason of his imprisonment" and his joy at his rehabilitation. He had stood by the dissident Judge Saltonstall when the girls had accused him, had not for a moment believed or countenanced the outcry against his own pastor, Willard. Yes, he had been loyal to his friends, but even a wolf is loyal to other wolves. What mercy had he shown to the friendless, to the people outside his circle, who did not sup with governors or prepare their sons for Harvard? (Or at least try; he threw another look at young Sam.) If his hands and his conscience were clean, why was he sometimes haunted; why could he not bar from his mind the faces of Rebecca Nurse, John Procter, Mary Esty, George Burroughs, and even sometimes the pert, not ungallant figure of Susanna Martin? "If ye had known . . . ye would not have condemned the guiltless."

Thanks largely to the efforts of Willard, 15 January 1697 was set apart as a day of fast in Massachusetts, a day of repentance for wrongs committed in the witchcraft. After the revelation which Sewall had received on Christmas Eve from, of all people, his feckless son, he dared not let the opportunity pass. He too stood in church, like Ann after him, when his bill of confession was read; publicly, before men he acknowledged his misgiving of error, his desire to take on himself "the blame and shame of it," his repentance.

On that same day the jurors sought similar relief. "We ourselves were not capable to understand nor able to withstand the mysterious delusion of the power of darkness and prince of the air," they had written, "whereby we fear we have been instrumental with others, though ignorantly and unwillingly, to bring upon ourselves the guilt of innocent blood." To the survivors of their victims they expressed their "deep sense of sorrow" and humbly begged forgiveness.

Thomas Fisk was one of the signers, that same Thomas Fisk who as foreman of the jury had once looked helplessly up at William Stoughton on a day when the jury had been more merciful than the judge but could not find the will to abide by their decision.

Stoughton, man of granite, confessed no error, made no

personal suit for forgiveness. True, by his authorizing the general fast (Phips having died in 1695 Stoughton was now acting governor) he tacitly acknowledged that he too had sometimes been in error in the late trials. But in his eyes an honest error was not wrongdoing. He had done to the best of his ability what seemed just at the time. No more can be asked of any man, and no man who has done so need grovel in the dust. It was a hard view but self-respecting and it commanded respect. There was never to come on the inflexible judge the odium that had come on the repentant Parris. Even men outside the Covenant continued to vote for him, and when at last a Crown appointee was sent from England to fill the place left vacant by Phips, many of Stoughton's enemies would have preferred him to the new royal governor, who was, for the sins of Massachusetts, none other than Andros's creature, Joseph Dudley.

3

"We walked in clouds and could not see our way. And we have most cause to be humbled for error . . . which cannot be retrieved."

The confession of the Reverend John Hale of Beverly, late witness against Bridget Bishop, was the most thorough of any. He wrote out the entire story as he had experienced it and published it as *A Modest Inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft*. Old John Higginson, venerable senior pastor of the First Church of Salem, indicated his sympathy with the viewpoint in a preface.

Even in the fall of 1692 Hale had not covered up the fact that his own wife had been accused. There was by then no real danger in being frank, and since Mrs Hale had the warm affection and entire respect of her fellow townsmen, the result was merely that these united in calling the accuser a liar. Hale himself was not so sure; the devil was a liar certainly, as certainly as his wife was innocent; nevertheless he found in the reported apparition of Mary Esty a deep symbolic truth which would not let him rest

the question of the most appropriate for the human race very much of the same order of magnitude. It is not enough to say that the human race is not a single entity, but that it is a collection of many different groups, each with its own characteristics. The human race is not a single entity, but a collection of many different groups, each with its own characteristics. The human race is not a single entity, but a collection of many different groups, each with its own characteristics.

But you are not there, but only in the eye of the beholder. You are not there, but only in the eye of the beholder. You are not there, but only in the eye of the beholder.

There is a great deal of talk about the human race, but there is very little about the human mind. The human mind is the most important part of the human race, but it is the least understood. The human mind is the most important part of the human race, but it is the least understood.

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of organized human beings that will never be accepted in the future. It is not as if the human race is not a single entity, but a collection of many different groups, each with its own characteristics. The human race is not a single entity, but a collection of many different groups, each with its own characteristics.

Nothing is more certain than that the human race is not a single entity, but a collection of many different groups, each with its own characteristics.

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3

The original of the report of the interview with Martha Cory is in the ECA, SW, I, p. 13. Another document of interest is found in the Bowditch Manuscripts of the Massachusetts Historical Society and included among the WPA transcript of witch papers on file in the courthouse in Salem. In an apparent effort to be fair to Martha Cory, Thomas Putnam sent for her on Monday, 14 March, to interview his daughter Ann and her companion, Mercy Lewis. The girls promptly went into possession and saw visions which were discussed in the later examination.

Martha Cory's warrant or mittimus is in the ECA, SW, I, p. 12.

4

Deodat Lawson's account of his visit to the village is available in Burr, pp. 152-64; much of the rest of this chapter is based on his narrative.

5

The opening words from Martha Cory's examination and everything that follows are blended from Lawson's account and the official record of the examination in the Essex Institute. The latter is far longer than Lawson's record, but though it is in substantial agreement, it omits some picturesque details such as the "gospel witch" episode. Martha was repeatedly asked to explain her query to Putnam and Cheever, "Did she tell you what clothes I had on." Towards the end of the examination the accused gave way to spasms of apparently hysterical laughter, and sometimes burst out, "Ye are all against me, and I cannot help it."

6

The arrest of little Dorcas Good is mentioned by Lawson, in Burr, p. 159.

CHAPTER VI

"WHAT SIN UNREPENTED OF?"

1

The full story of the Bishop farm, which became the Nurses' property, is found in Upham, I, pp. 69-97.

For Rebecca Nurse's early history see Tapley's *Rebecca Nurse*, and Nevins, pp. 110-30.

The "flying out" at the neighbour episode is embodied in a charge later made by Sarah Holton, ECA, SW, I, p. 22.

2

The authenticity of the lilacs growing about Rebecca's home is something I cannot swear to. They are there now, doubtless thanks to the ministrations of the society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities which keeps up the old homestead; old photographs show that they were not there in the last century. In the whole episode of the Porters' visit I have embodied observations made during my own visits to this landmark.

The Porters' account of their visit to Rebecca Nurse is in the Essex Institute Manuscript Collection. Daniel Andrews was later accused of witchcraft; see Nevins, p. 255.

3

The complete text of the charges against Rebecca Nurse is printed in W. Elliot Woodward's *Records of the Salem Witchcraft*, I, pp. 88 ff. The official report of the examination is in ECA, SW, I, p. 20.

The sensational disturbance caused by the girls is described by Lawson in Burr, p. 159. In relation to the statement about Rebecca Nurse's "dry eyes," it is interesting to note Nathaniel Cary's account of his wife's examination in Chapter XI for an inconsistency on the part of the magistrates on this point.

4

Lawson's sermon, printed in England in 1704, is quoted in Upham, II, pp. 75-87. John Procter's outburst is recorded in a deposition by Samuel Sibley in ECA, SW, I, p. 15.

CHAPTER VII
JOHN PROCTER'S JADE

¹ Sarah Cloyce's departure from church is mentioned by Calef in Burr, p. 346. The accusations of the girls *apropos* of the witches' sabbath are from Lawson in Burr, p. 161.

The original record of the Procter-Cloyce examination has been lost, fortunately most of it was copied *verbatim* by Hutchinson. (See his *History of Massachusetts*, Mayo edition, II, pp. 21-3.) A mass of depositions concerning the Procters, including some informal notes of the examination by Parris, is found in ECA, SW, I, pp. 14-17, 24-7; and in the witchcraft papers in the Boston Public Library.

John Putnam's accusation against Rebecca Nurse and her sister is in ECA, SW, I, p. 22.

² Sewall's *Diary* briefly mentions the examination of 11 April. Upham, II, pp. 107 ff., contains a complete transcript of the court records as derived from Hutchinson.

³ The outburst against Elizabeth Procter, as reported by eyewitness Daniel Elliot, is in ECA, SW, I, p. 27. A confirming deposition by William Raymond is in *ibid.*, I, p. 25.

⁴ The story of the seizure of Procter's property is quoted from Calef's "More Wonders," Burr, p. 361. Just when it took place does not appear, but a statement made by Procter himself (see Chapter XVI) indicates that it was well before his trial and condemnation.

The depositions by Mary English, Edward and Sarah Bishop, and Mary Esty on the ambivalent conduct of Mary Warren are printed in Woodward, I, pp. 135 ff. (The originals are in ECA, SW, I, p. 32.)

⁵ The account of Mary Warren's examination is derived from ECA, SW, I, p. 29; the records of her private examinations in prison on 21 April, 2 May, and 12 May are from Woodward, I, pp. 124-33. (Originals: ECA, SW, I, pp. 29-31.)

⁶ Sarah Ingersoll's report on Sarah Churchill is in Woodward, I, p. 14.

CHAPTER VIII
THE WEIRD SISTERS

¹ The hypothetical description of the frightened ploughman is suggested by the confession of Samuel Wardwell (Chapter XV). Conjectures that the devil had probably been "let in" by a similar burst of temper were common in the later "confessions."

² The report of Giles Cory's examination follows the court records as summarized in Upham, II, pp. 122-4.

Upham describes Bridget Bishop's earlier years in I, pp. 192-7, and her examination in II, pp. 125-8.

The court record of Abigail Hobbs's examination is in ECA, SW, I, p. 50. The pity that the afflicted girls felt for her is mentioned in the Lynde Diaries, 1690-1790; a copy of this report is in the WPA transcript of witchcraft papers, Volume II. Abigail Hobbs's confessions, dated 12 May, are in the ECA, SW, I, p. 50.

³ Edward Bishop's treatment of John Indian is described in Calef, Burr, p. 348. *(Not carried here)*

The text of Deliverance Hobbs's examination is printed in Woodward, II, pp. 186 ff.; that of her husband William, *ibid.*, pp. 182 ff.

Mary Black's story is in Upham, II, pp. 136-7. One other negro picked up in the witch-hunt, Candy, was clever enough to divert the attention of the judges by convincing them that

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it was her mistress who had made a witch of her. (See Hutchinson, II, p. 26.)

The exoneration of Nehemiah Abbott is from Hutchinson, II, p. 35.

⁴ For Mary Esty's examination, see Upham, II, pp. 137-9, and the ECA, SW, I, p. 117. The papers accounting for her release are in the ECA, SW, I, p. 121. Upham, describing this event in II, pp. 200-5, was in apparent ignorance of the reason for her discharge.

CHAPTER IX

SMALL BLACK MINISTER

1

Most of the details of the witch confessions are derived from a series of remarkable statements by William Barker of Andover; these are found in the Massachusetts Archives, CXXXV, p. 37, the Miscellaneous Papers of the Essex Institute, and the Suffolk County Files, XXXII. Hale also interviewed the man and recorded the item about the witches' picnicking on bread and cheese in Burr, p. 418.

2

Dorcas Hoar's examination is in the ECA, SW, I, p. 78. Ann Putnam's testimony on Burroughs is in the ECA, SW, II, p. 10. Abigail Williams's "interview" with the minister is recorded in Benjamin Hutchinson's testimony, *ibid.*, II, p. 16. The Stonington witch she mentions may be one of the Connecticut witches alluded to in Barker's confession (see Chapter XV).

3

Burroughs's appeal is in the Maine Historical Society *Collections*, Second Series, V, pp. 316-17. The best general account of Burroughs's career is in Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*. The circumstances of the minister's arrest are traditional in origin; he was taken by John Partridge, Field Marshal of New Hampshire and Maine. Mrs Burroughs's subsequent conduct

was described by her stepchildren in their appeal for redress in 1712. (See Woodward, II, pp. 237-40.)

4

Keysar's testimony is from the Thomas F. Madigan photograph as transcribed in the WPA verbatim report; the examination itself, disappointingly brief, is in the ECA, SW, II, p. 9. The ghosts of Burroughs's wives are made much of in Cotton Mather's "Wonders," Burr, p. 218. He also gives a full account of the minister's deeds of supernatural strength, *ibid.*, pp. 219-20. Increase Mather's *Cases of Conscience* reveals that he was no less profoundly impressed by this sort of testimony.

Mercy Lewis's contribution is in the ECA, SW, II, p. 12.

CHAPTER X

PURITAN KNIGHT

1

Increase Mather's own account of his mission to England, on which this section is largely based, is in Charles M. Andrews's *Narratives of the Insurrections, 1675-1690*, pp. 276-97. The authority for the scene in which Mather broke the news to King William of the Boston revolution is K. B. Murdock's *Increase Mather*, p. 219.

The phrase "no discharge in God's holy war," is paraphrased from Perry Miller's *The New England Mind*, p. 57.

2

The account of the life of Sir William Phips is drawn from Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* (Andrus edition), I, pp. 165-230.

3

The quotations from Phips are from his letter to England written 12 October 1692, and included in Burr, pp. 196-8.

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CHAPTER XI

DEMOCRACY FOR WITCHES

²

The story of Mrs Cary's examination is based on the record her husband wrote for Calef's "More Wonders," Burr, pp. 350-2.

³

John Alden's story of his court appearance is from the same source, pp. 353-5. In following his narrative I have occasionally shifted the order and have twice translated indirect to direct quotation.

⁴

The portrait of Philip English is based on George Chever's "Philip English" in the Essex Institute *Historical Collections*.

See also Upham, II, pp. 142-4.

Martha Carrier's brush with the selectmen is described by Sarah Loring Bailey in *Historical Sketches of Andover*, pp. 202-8. The examination is found in ECA, SW, II, p. 56. Gibbs's comment is from Felt's *Annals*, p. 305. Cotton Mather's "More Wonders," Burr, pp. 241-4, gives in full the evidence against Martha Carrier.

⁵

Copious accusations against John Willard are in the ECA, SW, I, pp. 97-107.

CHAPTER XII

VILLAGE CIRCE

¹

Mercy Short's interview with Sarah Good is described in Cotton Mather's "A Brand Pluck'd out of the Burning," Burr, pp. 259-60.

²

Thomas Newton, King's Attorney, may have been free of prejudice, but a letter reporting his first visit to the examina-

tions on 31 May shows him as susceptible to fantasy as any. The letter is in the Massachusetts Archives, CXXV, p. 23.

The entire account of Bridget Bishop, the malefaction she practised on the meeting-house, the testimony against her, is based on Cotton Mather's "Wonders," Burr, pp. 223-9. In reference to this testimony Calef reports (Burr, p. 356) that at least one accuser, Samuel Gray, later disavowed his story.

The midwives' statement is in ECA, SW, I, p. 35; that of the Bishops in Woodward, I, p. 135.

³

The recommendations of the ministers are in Thomas Hutchinson's *History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay*, II, pp. 38-9.

CHAPTER XIII

DAMNED FOR THE GLORY OF GOD

¹

Sarah Nurse's testimony I have from Abbie Peterson Towne and Marietta Clark's "Topsfield in the Witchcraft Delusion," *Topsfield Historical Collections*, XIII, p. 57.

The general story of Rebecca Nurse's trial, including her own explanation of her comment on her remark about Deliverance Hobbs, is drawn from Calef's "More Wonders," Burr, pp. 358-60.

²

The excommunication of Rebecca Nurse is described by Upham, II, pp. 290-1. The testimonials of Rebecca Nurse's character are in the Bowditch Manuscripts of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The reprieve is described in Calef's "More Wonders," Burr, p. 359.

CHAPTER XIV

BLOOD TO DRINK

¹

Calef mentions the accusation against Willard, Burr, p. 360; Sibley, in his life of Willard in *Harvard Graduates*, says that

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the judges explained the accusation as meant for John Willard, the constable.

Increase Mather summarizes the Groton incident in "Remarkable Providences," Burr, pp. 22-3.

Upham, II, pp. 218-19, describes the ministers' interview with Goody How.

² The Ipswich incident is from Cotton Mather's "Wonders," Burr, pp. 237-40. The incident of the knife blade at Sarah Good's trial is from Calef, *ibid.*, pp. 357-8.

³ The story of Susanna Martin follows Cotton Mather's "Wonders," *ibid.*, pp. 229-36.

⁴ Sarah Good's retort to Noyes is from Calef's "More Wonders," *ibid.*, p. 358.

CHAPTER XV

THE DEVIL IN ANDOVER

¹ The prayers for John Alden are mentioned in Sewall's *Diary*, 20 July 1692.

Cary's description of his wife's escape is from Calef's "More Wonders," Burr, p. 352; Sewall also mentions the flight.

The account of Philip and Mary English is drawn from Chever's narrative, a second-hand document of questionable authenticity. Few court records of the English case have survived.

Alden mentions his escape in the account he wrote for Calef. The quotation, probably traditional, is paraphrased from Upham, II, p. 246.

² The Andover episode is summarized in Calef's "More Wonders," Burr, pp. 371-6. Brattle's "Letter," *ibid.*, pp. 180 ff., gives much attention to this case.

NOTES

³ Mary Osgood's report, one of those collected by Increase Mather, is from Upham, II, p. 406.

Wardwell's "confession" is in Woodward, II, pp. 148-53. William Barker's statement cited here (also the confessions of several women in his family) is from the Massachusetts Archives, CXXXV, p. 37. Hale also records a statement made by this odd philosopher.

For the Foster-Lacy confessions see Woodward, II, p. 136, and Hutchinson, II, pp. 27-8.

Mary Tyler's story is in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Second Series, III, pp. 221-5.

For Abigail Faulkner's statement, see Woodward, II, pp. 130 ff.

⁴ The reference to the legal action against the Andover accusers is from Calef in Burr, p. 372.

CHAPTER XVI

ON GALLOWS HILL

² Calef includes the text of John Procter's petition in his "More Wonders," Burr, pp. 362-4. The original is in the ECA, SW, I, p. 17.

Increase Mather describes the Cambridge conference in his *Cases of Conscience*, Fowler edition, p. 253. His opinion of Burroughs is given on p. 286.

³ The petitions in behalf of Procter are in the ECA, SW, I, pp. 17 and 28.

The story of John Willard is drawn from Upham, II, pp. 322-4. The story of Burroughs's trial is based on Cotton Mather's "Wonders," Burr, pp. 215-22. The exact date of this trial, usually given as 5 August, is open to question. Nevins points out that though this may have been the opening date of this series of trials they necessarily spread over several days.

4

The record of George Jacobs's examination is in the ECA, SW, I, p. 86. Margaret Jacobs's recantation is described in Upham, II, pp. 316-20.

5

Calef, who may have been an eyewitness to this hanging, has described it in Burr, pp. 360-1. Further details are found in Sewall's *Diary*.

CHAPTER XVII

EIGHT FIREBRANDS OF HELL

1

Though extensive testimony both for and against Mary Bradbury remains in the records (see Woodward, II, pp. 161-74), the circumstances of her trial are mysterious. First complained on 26 May, she was indicted 26 July. Her survivors claimed in 1710 that she had been imprisoned six months, but since a notation on the court records (ECA, SW, II, pp. 34-40) explicitly says that she escaped, their statement is obviously erroneous; maybe they meant six weeks.

2

The petition for Dorcas Hoar is in the papers of George H. Milne of New York; I have them from the WPA transcripts in Salem. Sewall's *Diary* of 21 September 1692 refers to it.

Hale's misgivings about the confessors are summarized in a statement in his "Modest Inquiry," Burr, pp. 416-24. The ECA, SW, I, p. 80, contains Hale's deposition on Goody Hoar's earlier misdeeds.

3

Wilmot Redd's trial is summarized by Upham, II, pp. 324 ff. Ann Pudeator's petition is in Woodward, II, p. 22. Parris's interview with Martha Cory is quoted in Upham, II, pp. 324-5.

Calef in Burr, pp. 368-9, quotes Mary Esty's petition in full. (The original is in ECA, SW, I, p. 127.)

4

Thomas Putnam's letter describing the visions his daughter saw while Giles Cory was being pressed to death is in Mather's "Wonders," Burr, p. 250.

5

Noyes's remark is from Calef's "More Wonders," *ibid.*, p. 369.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE GHOST OF MARY ESTY

1

Joseph Gerrish's account of the ghost of Mary Esty is printed in Burr, p. 369, footnote 1. Calef mentions the effect on Hale.

2

Increase Mather's outburst is mentioned in Brattle's "Letter," *ibid.*, p. 180.

3

The letter by "R.P." is printed and analysed in Upham, II, pp. 448 ff. and 538-44. The original manuscript is in the Essex Institute.

4

The text of Brattle's letter is in Burr, pp. 169-90.

5

Hale's amazement at the number of the witches is expressed in his "Modest Inquiry," Burr, p. 423.

Governor Phips's decision to discourage publicity about the witches is mentioned in his letter of 12 October 1692, *ibid.*, p. 197.

The Andover petitions are in the Massachusetts Archives, CXXXV, pp. 56, 59.

Sewall's *Diary*, 26 October 1692, mentions the dissolution of the Court of Oyer and Terminer. Phips mentions arrangements for the welfare of the witches in his report of 21 February 1693, Burr, p. 200. The new law on witchcraft is in the Massachusetts Archives, CXXXV, p. 67.

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The general story of Rebecca Nurse's trial, including her own explanation of her comment on her remark about Deliverance Hobbs, is drawn from Calef's "More Wonders," Burr, pp. 358-60.

2

The excommunication of Rebecca Nurse is described by Upham, II, pp. 290-1. The testimonials of Rebecca Nurse's character are in the Bowditch Manuscripts of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The reprieve is described in Calef's "More Wonders," Burr, p. 359.

CHAPTER XIV

BLOOD TO DRINK

1

Calef mentions the accusation against Willard, Burr, p. 360; Sibley, in his life of Willard in *Harvard Graduates*, says that

the judges explained the accusation as meant for John Willard, the constable.

Increase Mather summarizes the Groton incident in "Remarkable Providences," Burr, pp. 22-3.

Upham, II, pp. 218-19, describes the ministers' interview with Goody How.

² The Ipswich incident is from Cotton Mather's "Wonders," Burr, pp. 237-40. The incident of the knife blade at Sarah Good's trial is from Calef, *ibid.*, pp. 357-8.

³ The story of Susanna Martin follows Cotton Mather's "Wonders," *ibid.*, pp. 229-36.

⁴ Sarah Good's retort to Noyes is from Calef's "More Wonders," *ibid.*, p. 358.

CHAPTER XV

THE DEVIL IN ANDOVER

¹ The prayers for John Alden are mentioned in Sewall's *Diary*, 20 July 1692.

Cary's description of his wife's escape is from Calef's "More Wonders," Burr, p. 352; Sewall also mentions the flight.

The account of Philip and Mary English is drawn from Chever's narrative, a second-hand document of questionable authenticity. Few court records of the English case have survived.

Alden mentions his escape in the account he wrote for Calef. The quotation, probably traditional, is paraphrased from Upham, II, p. 246.

² The Andover episode is summarized in Calef's "More Wonders," Burr, pp. 371-6. Brattle's "Letter," *ibid.*, pp. 180 ff., gives much attention to this case.

³ Mary Osgood's report, one of those collected by Increase Mather, is from Upham, II, p. 406. Wardwell's "confession" is in Woodward, II, pp. 148-53. William Barker's statement cited here (also the confessions of several women in his family) is from the Massachusetts Archives, CXXV, p. 37. Hale also records a statement made by this odd philosopher.

For the Foster-Lacy confessions see Woodward, II, p. 136, and Hutchinson, II, pp. 27-8.

Mary Tyler's story is in the Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Second Series, III, pp. 221-5.

For Abigail Faulkner's statement, see Woodward, II, pp. 130 ff.

⁴ The reference to the legal action against the Andover accusers is from Calef in Burr, p. 372.

CHAPTER XVI

ON GALLOWS HILL

² Calef includes the text of John Procter's petition in his "More Wonders," Burr, pp. 362-4. The original is in the ECA, SW, I, p. 17.

Increase Mather describes the Cambridge conference in his *Cases of Conscience*, Fowler edition, p. 253. His opinion of Burroughs is given on p. 286.

³ The petitions in behalf of Procter are in the ECA, SW, I, pp. 17 and 28.

The story of John Willard is drawn from Upham, II, pp. 322-4. The story of Burroughs's trial is based on Cotton Mather's "Wonders," Burr, pp. 215-22. The exact date of this trial, usually given as 5 August, is open to question. Nevins points out that though this may have been the opening date of this series of trials they necessarily spread over several days.

research and uncovered documents apparently unknown to the classic Upham.

Tapley, Charles Sutherland. *Rebecca Nurse*. Marshall Jones Company, Boston, 1930.

Interesting as a repository of certain family traditions, Frank A. Manly, a descendant of Rebecca Nurse, has provided a preface.

Topsfield Historical Society. "Witchcraft Records Relating to Topsfield Historical Collections, XIII (1908), pp. 39-142.

Some miscellaneous material concerning the Hobbs family, Sarah Wild, Mary Esty, Elizabeth How.

Towne, Mrs Abbie Peterson and Miss Marrietta Clark. "Topsfield in the Witchcraft Delusion." *Topsfield Historical Society, Historical Collections, XIII* (1908), pp. 23-39.

This contains some traditional material of interest.

Upham, Charles W. *Salem Witchcraft*. Wiggins and Lunt. Boston, 1867. Two volumes.

This, the classic in the field, is discussed in the preface, Wendell, Barrett. "Were the Salem Witches Guiltless?" *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, XXIX*.

Famous, but not too interesting. Wendell wrote it after reading up on spiritualism.

(B) General Historical Background

Adams, Brooks. *Emancipation of Massachusetts, the Dream and the Reality*. Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1919.

Adams, who intensely dislikes theocrats, has nevertheless written an able analysis of their political manoeuvres.

Andrews, Charles M. *The Colonial Period of American History*. The Settlements, I. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1934.

The authority in its field.

Bailey, Sarah Loring. *Historical Sketches of Andover*. Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1880.

Not very thorough so far as the interesting Andover witchcraft is concerned, but it does contain some interesting material about Martha Carrier.

Boas, Ralph and Louise. *Cotton Mather, Keeper of the Puritan Conscience*. Harper's, New York, 1928.

A modern and friendly approach to the controversial Puritan; the authors' views on Thomas Brattle are of particular interest and originality.

Bridenbaugh, Carl. *Cities in the Wilderness*. The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742. The Ronald Press, New York, 1938.

Of particular value in painting in the background of living conditions in the Colonial Period.

Chase, George Wingate. *History of Haverhill*. Published by the author in Haverhill, 1861.

Some material on Judge Nathaniel Saltonstall.

Felt, Joseph B. *The Annals of Salem from Its First Settlement*. W. and S. B. Ives, Salem, 1827.

A friendly catch-all which occasionally gives bits of local information not found elsewhere.

Fleming, Sanford. *Children and Puritanism*. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1933.

Chapter XIII, "Emotional Response of Children," contributed something to the background of the first three chapters in this work.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *The American Notebooks*. Edited by Randall Stewart. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1932.

The descendant of both John Hathorne and Philip English, Hawthorne has some irreverent anecdotes to contribute about the latter.

Love, W. De Lacy, Jr. *The Fast and Thanksgiving Days of New England*. Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1895.

Certain useful material about the various fasts held in connection with the witchcraft.

Miller, Perry. *The New England Mind*. Macmillan, New York, 1939.

A searching analysis, based largely on a study of Puritan sermons, of the backgrounds that shaped Puritan thinking. Morgan, Edmund S. *The Puritan Family*. Trustees of the Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts, 1944.

Particularly good in its discussion of the place of children in Puritan family life.

Murdoch, Kenneth B. *Increase Mather: The Foremost American Puritan*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1926.

The authoritative study of the elder Mather and his place in American history.

Parrington, Vernon Louis. *Main Currents in American Thought*. Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1927, 1930.

Volume I, "The Colonial Mind," throws a valuable perspective on this phase of history.



provided the expert medical opinion noted in the first chapter). Cotton Mather tells us that the accounts of this trial were "much considered by the judges of New England."³

All things considered, however, it was clearly more difficult to prove witchcraft than to prove most other crimes. It is hardly surprising that the Reverend Deodat Lawson thought prayer more efficacious than the law.

When Lawson warned his audience that the Devil could impersonate the innocent, suggested he had done so, and attributed to the Devil the motive of trying to cause division among church members, he may have been thinking of Martha Corey. And he was certainly thinking of another church member, Rebecca Nurse, who was being cried out on by the afflicted on the very day Lawson returned to Salem. One would not expect witches to be church members, since they were supposed to have renounced Christianity in giving their allegiance to the Devil; neither would one expect them to have Rebecca Nurse's reputation for benevolence, since their trade was by its nature an expression of malice. A woman named Sarah Holton did testify that Rebecca Nurse acted maliciously on one occasion, accusing her of "railing and scolding"⁴ against her husband. But her more usual demeanor seems to have been the meekness and humility she displayed when she was told she had been accused:

We whose names are unwritten being desired to go to Goodman Nurse his house, to speak with his wife, and to tell her that several of the afflicted persons mentioned her; and accordingly we went, and we found her in a weak and low condition in body as she told us, and had been sick almost a week. And we asked her how it was otherwise with her: and she said she blessed God for it, she had more of his presence in this sickness than sometime she have had, but not so much as she desired; but she would, with the apostle, press forward to the mark; and many other places of Scripture to the like purpose. And then, of her own accord, she began to speak of the affliction that was amongst them, and in particular of Mr. Parris his family, and how she was grieved for them, though she

had not been to see them, by reason of fits that she formerly used to have; for people said it was awful to behold: but she pitied them with all her heart, and went to God for them. But she said she heard that there was persons spoke of that were as innocent as she was, she believed; and, after much to this purpose, we told her that she was spoken of also. "Well," she said, "if it be so, the will of the Lord be done." She sat still a while, being as it were amazed; and then she said, "Well, as to this thing I am as innocent as the child unborn; but surely," she said, "what sin hath God found out in me unrepented of, that he should lay such an affliction upon me in my old age?" And, according to our best observation, we could not discern that she knew what we came for before we told her.

Israel Porter

Elizabeth Porter

To the substance of what is above, we, if called thereto, are ready to testify on oath.

Daniel Andrew

Peter Cloyse

Elizabeth Porter was the sister of magistrate John Hathorne, and this says much for the community's uncertainties over the accusation of Rebecca Nurse. Hathorne himself was, for the first time, plainly unsure of himself when he conducted her examination on March 24. When he first asked her what she had to say to the accusations she answered "I can say before my eternal Father I am innocent, and God will clear my innocence." And to this he replied "Here is never a one in the assembly but desires it. But if you be guilty, pray God discover you." He was to repeat this sentiment later in the examination: "I pray God clear you if you be innocent, and if you be guilty discover you."

But how was one to decide whether she was innocent or guilty? Here on the one hand were the afflicted girls, plainly enduring the most frightful tortures and crying out that Rebecca Nurse was the cause of them, echoing in the twistings and turnings of their grotesque postures the most casual movement of Rebecca Nurse's body. There on the other hand was Rebecca Nurse, as unlikely a candidate for witchhood as anyone in Essex County, meekly calling on her God for help in the

midst of the demonic uproar. Hathorne plainly did not know what to make of it. Rebecca Nurse's Christian character (and perhaps Lawson's sermon as well) temporarily cast doubt on his previously clear faith in the validity of apparitions as evidence.

"What uncertainty there may be in apparitions I know not, yet this with me strikes hard upon you, that you are at this very present charged with familiar spirits. This is your bodily person they speak to; they say now they see these familiar spirits come to your bodily person. Now what do you say to that?"

That is, the afflicted girls had not only testified that the apparition of Rebecca Nurse was tormenting them; they said they had seen it leave her body and return to it. But she denied it, and it was at this point that Hathorne for the second time prayed that she be cleared if innocent and discovered if guilty.

If he could not doubt that the girls' afflictions were genuine, neither could he doubt that Rebecca Nurse was telling the truth, at least so far as she knew it. Perhaps, he thought, the Devil had made her a witch without her knowledge. Therefore he said to her "Possibly you may apprehend you are no witch, but have you not been led aside by temptations that way?"

"I have not," she answered, and Hathorne could reply only by reflecting on "what a sad thing" it was to see church members accused of such a crime. What, he asked, did she make of the girls' behavior? "They accuse you of hurting them, and if you think it is not unwillingly, but by design, you must look upon them as murderers."

"I cannot tell what to think of it."

Nothing testifies more to the genuineness of the fits than the fact that Rebecca Nurse, like the majority of the accused persons, could not tell what to think of them. Later, when Hathorne asked whether she thought the afflicted persons bewitched, she answered yes, "I do think they are." So he appealed to her again.

"When this witchcraft came upon the stage there was no suspicion of Tituba. . . . She professed much love to that child,

Betty Parris, but it was her apparition that did the mischief. And why should not you also be guilty, for your apparition doth hurt also."

"Would you have me belie myself?" said Rebecca Nurse. To repeated testimony that her apparition was tormenting people she replied "I cannot help it. The Devil may appear in my shape." In the end the magistrates committed her for further examination.

Rebecca Nurse's arrest and examination did more than raise temporary doubts in the mind of John Hathorne; it evoked the first open expression of opposition to the witchcraft proceedings. Mary Warren, one of the afflicted girls, was the servant of a farmer named John Procter. On the morning after Rebecca Nurse's examination he came to Salem Village "to fetch home his jade,"¹⁶ as he put it. He expressed his opinion of the afflicted persons' testimony in no uncertain terms. "If they were let alone," he said, "we should all be devils and witches quickly. They should rather be had to the whipping post. But he would fetch his jade home and thrash the Devil out of her. And more to the like purpose, crying 'Hang them! Hang them!'" He added that when Mary Warren "was first taken with fits he kept her close to the wheel and threatened to thrash her, and then she had no more fits till the next day [when] he was gone forth. And then she must have her fits again, forsooth."

Historians have taken John Procter's statement as evidence that Mary Warren's fits were false, and in this they have been quite wrong. The seventeenth-century community took them as evidence of Procter's malice and brutality, and they were partly right. But only partly. Because however brutal it may be to beat the hysterical out of their fits, the fact remains that such treatment often works. A fit of uncontrolled laughter can often be stopped with a judiciously timed slap in the face. And we should remember that in the eighteenth century one of the commonest treatments for many forms of insanity was beating the patient. Such treatment was probably motivated in part by the "normal" person's exasperation with the insane for so con-

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spicuously losing their rationality. But surely it was also motivated by the fact that it frequently worked. And for that matter, it should be recognized that we are still beating the insane. We no longer administer the blows ourselves; we do it technologically, and with more precision than our ancestors. But this should not disguise the fact that electric shock is just as brutal for the patient as the thrashing John Procter proposed for Mary Warren. Perhaps he did thrash her, and perhaps it did in part work, because as we shall shortly see, Mary Warren was the only person who even temporarily recovered from her affliction.

There are several points at which, had circumstances been slightly different, the course of events at Salem might have changed entirely, and one of these is the examination of Rebecca Nurse. If she had held the stage alone her evident sincerity might have convinced the community that they had been mistaken. But unfortunately someone else was arrested and examined at the same time. This was Dorcas Good, the five-year-old daughter of Sarah Good, and within two days of her arrest she had provided Salem its second confession. Oh yes, she told the examining magistrates, she had a familiar. It was a little snake that used to suck her at the lowest joint of her forefinger. Here, as on a number of other occasions, the examiners were not at first willing to take a confession at face value. Where did the snake suck, they asked; Was it here? "pointing to other places" on the child's body. No, said the child, not there. Here. And she pointed to her forefinger, where the examiners "observed a deep red spot, about the bigness of a flea bite."

Probably it was a flea bite, and the child had only imagined that she had a familiar who sucked her blood there. At this distance in time it is impossible to know for certain what caused that deep red spot. But there is no difficulty in imagining the feelings of the examiners when they saw it. All of them had heard that a demon in the shape of an animal came to the witch and sucked her blood, and here was what seemed to be the physical evidence of just such an "accursed suckage" on the

finger of a five-year-old child, pointed out by the child herself as corroboration of her confession, corroboration which the examiners had at first been hesitant to accept. They must have been thoroughly horrified. If five-year-old children were sucking demons, then the Devil had a far surer foothold in Massachusetts than anyone had imagined, and strenuous investigation would be necessary to discover its extent. Yet their horror must have been mixed with triumph, for Dorcas Good's confession confirmed the rightness of their procedure in imprisoning her mother, since the child accused her mother as well as herself and did it without prodding. Who had given her the little snake, they asked her. Was it the Black Man? Oh no, Dorcas replied, it wasn't the Black Man; it was her mother, whom she continued to accuse, testifying at her trial that she had three familiars, birds, "one black, one yellow and that these birds hurt the children and afflicted persons."

Dorcas Good's confession, with the accompanying physical evidence of her Devil's mark, must have quieted the doubts of the investigation that many had felt at the arrest of Rebecca Nurse. Because from this time on expressions of sympathy for Rebecca Nurse were met not with doubt but with suspicion. On Sunday, April 3, Parris preached on John 6, 70: Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a Devil. The implication of the text was clear. The Puritans believed that church members had been chosen—elected—by God. Thus Parris' text suggested that a church member had betrayed her election just as Judas had betrayed Christ's choice. In short, it suggested that Rebecca Nurse was guilty before she had been tried. As soon as he had spoken, Sarah Cloyse, a sister of Rebecca Nurse, rose from her seat, left the meetinghouse and slammed the door behind her "to the amazement of the congregation."⁷⁷ They were amazed, of course, not at her resentment of Parris but at her public expression of it in the midst of a church service, a virtually unheard of action in Puritan Massachusetts. It was quite enough to call Sarah Cloyse to the attention of the afflicted girls, who shortly began to see her apparition in their fits, taking the Devil's sacrament of "red bread and

them. And as soon as they were touched by the accused the justices would say, "They are well," before I could discern any alteration, by which I observed that the justices understood the manner of it. Thus far I was only as a spectator. My wife also was there part of the time, but no notice taken of her by the afflicted except once or twice they came to her and asked her name.

But I having an opportunity to discourse [with] Mr. Hale (with whom I had formerly acquaintance), I took his advice what I had best to do, and desired of him that I might have an opportunity to speak with her that accused my wife, which he promised should be, I acquainting him that I reposed my trust in him.

Accordingly he came to me after the examination was over and told me I had now an opportunity to speak with the said accuser, viz. Abigail Williams, a girl of eleven or twelve years old, but that we could not be in private at Mr. Parris' house as he had promised me. We went therefore into the alehouse, where an Indian man attended us who it seems was one of the afflicted. To him we gave some cider. He showed several scars that seemed as if they had been long there, and showed them as done by witchcraft, and acquainted us that his wife, who also was a slave, was imprisoned for witchcraft. And now instead of one accuser they all came in, who began to tumble down like swine, and then three women were called in to attend them. We in the room were all at a stand to see who they would cry out of, but in a short time they cried out, "Cary." And immediately after a warrant was sent from the justices to bring my wife before them, who were sitting in a chamber nearby waiting for this.

Being brought before the justices, her chief accusers were two girls. My wife declared to the justices that she never had any knowledge of them before that day. She was forced to stand with her arms stretched out. I did request that I might hold one of her hands, but it was denied me; then she desired me to wipe the tears from her eyes and the sweat from her face, which I did; then she desired she should lean herself on me, saying she should faint.

Justice Hathorne replied, she had strength enough to torment those persons and she should have strength enough to stand. I speaking something against their cruel proceedings, they commanded me to be silent or else I should be turned out of the room. The Indian before mentioned was also brought in to be one of her

accusers. Being come in, he now (when before the justices) fell down and tumbled about like a hog, but said nothing. The justices asked the girls who afflicted the Indian. They answered, "She" (meaning my wife), and [she] now lay upon him. The justices ordered her to touch him, in order to his cure, but her head must be turned another way lest instead of curing she should make him worse by her looking on him, her hand being guided to take hold of his. But the Indian took hold on her hand and pulled her down on the floor in a barbarous manner. Then his hand was taken off and her hand put on his and the cure was quickly wrought. I being extremely troubled at their inhumane dealings uttered a hasty speech (that God would take vengeance on them, and desired that God would deliver us out of the hands of unmerciful men). Then her *Mittimus* was writ. I did with difficulty and charge obtain the liberty of a room, but no beds in it. If there had, could have taken but little rest that night. She was committed to Boston Prison, but I obtained a *Habeas Corpus* to remove her to Cambridge Prison, which is in our County of Middlesex. Having been there one night, next morning the jailer put irons on her legs (having received such a command). [It was the curious theory that chaining the prisoner would prevent her specter from afflicting anyone.] The weight of them was about eight pounds. These irons and her other afflictions soon brought her into convulsion fits, so that I thought she would have died that night. I sent to entreat that the irons might be taken off, but all entreaties were in vain, [even] if it would have saved her life, so that in this condition she must continue. . . .⁴

Captain Cary was the only contemporary ever to accuse everyone concerned—the afflicted persons, the magistrates, and the ministers—of bad faith. Clearly he thought the whole business was nothing but connivance. There is, of course, nothing surprising in his reacting that way; a little paranoia is more than understandable under the appalling circumstances. Similar charges of bad faith and connivance were made by Captain John Alden⁵ (who was examined seven days after Mrs. Cary), in an account curiously written in the third person. His charges were not so comprehensive as Cary's, and they were weakened by his offering alternate explanations (besides fraud) for the behavior of the afflicted persons. They were "distracted," he

suggested, or possessed. Or perhaps they were themselves witches.

John Alden, Senior, of Boston, in the County of Suffolk, Mariner, on the 28th day of May, 1692, was sent for by the Magistrates of Salem, in the County of Essex, upon the accusation of a company of poor distracted or possessed creatures, or witches, and being sent by Mr. Stoughton [the deputy-governor] arrived there the 31st of May and appeared at Salem Village before Mr. Gedney, Mr. Hathorne, and Mr. Corwin. [Bartholomew Gedney, a Salem magistrate, frequently joined Hathorne and Corwin as an examiner.]

Those wenchies being present, who played their juggling tricks, falling down, crying out, and staring in people's faces, the magistrates demanded of them several times who it was of all the people in the room that hurt them. One of these accusers pointed several times at one Captain Hill, there present, but spake nothing. The same accuser had a man standing at her back to hold her up; he stooped down to her ear; then she cried out, Alden, Alden afflicted her. One of the magistrates asked her if she had ever seen Alden. She answered, no. He asked her how she knew it was Alden. She said, the man told her so.

Then all were ordered to go down into the street, where a ring was made and the same accuser cried out, "There stands Alden, a bold fellow with his hat on before the judges. He sells powder and shot to the Indians and French, and lies with the Indian squaws and has Indian papooses." Then was Alden committed to the marshal's custody and his sword taken from him, for they said he afflicted them with his sword. After some hours Alden was sent for to the Meeting-House in the Village before the Magistrates, who required Alden to stand upon a chair, to the open view of all the people.

The accusers cried out that Alden did pinch them then, when he stood upon a chair in the sight of all the people, a good way distant from them. One of the magistrates bid the marshal to hold open Alden's hands, that he might not pinch those creatures. Alden asked them why they should think that he should come to that village to afflict those persons that he never knew or saw before. Mr. Gedney bid Alden confess and give glory to God. Alden said he hoped he should give glory to God and hoped he should never



1. Witches receiving images from a Devil, for use in their charms. From John Ashton, *Chap-Books of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1882). Pennsylvania State University Still Photography Studios.

2. A witch accepts a familiar from the Black Man. From Ashton. Pennsylvania State University Still Photography Studios.





3. An hysterical fit, from J.-M. Charcot, *Lectures on the Diseases of the Nervous System* (London, 1877). Notice the extruded tongue, reported during the seventeenth century in witchcraft cases at Groton, Boston, Salem, and elsewhere. Notice also the legs crossed in spasm; at one time Mary Warren's legs could not be uncrossed without breaking them. *Pennsylvania State University Still Photography Studios.*



4. Charcot's patient Ler—during an hysterical attack. Her postures reminded him "of the attitudes which history assigns to the demons" (*Lectures on the Diseases of the Nervous System*, v. 1, p. 280). *Pennsylvania State University Still Photography Studios.*

Witches Apprehended, Examined and Executed, Exemplar of the Villanies by them committed both by Land and Water.

With a strange and most true triall how to know whether a woman be a Witch or not.



Printed at London for Edward Marchant, and are to be sold at his shop over against the Croffe in Pauls Church-yard. 1613.

5. Swimming a witch in seventeenth-century England. Swimming was not employed at Salem, although it was in Connecticut and Virginia. Mobs swam suspected witches as late as the nineteenth century in both England and America. Reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

ROBIN Good-Fellow, His Mad Pranks, and merry Leeks,

Full of honest Mirth, and is a fit
Medicine for Melancholly.



LONDON,
Printed for F. Grove dwelling on Snow-hill
over against the Saracens head. 1628.

6. A seventeenth-century English version of the deified herd animal (see pp. 3-5). His attributes make it plain that he is a fertility god. Like his relative the Devil, he is a trickster. He must be called Goodfellow to propitiate him. Reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.



7. Krampus, an Austrian version of the deified herd animal who has survived into the twentieth century. The twigs are explained on pp. 3-4. The object in his left hand may be related to the Devil's pitchfork, or to the horned moon, or to the diphallus of Dionysus. It and his horns are gilded, like the horns and hooves of the Irish Puck-goat. *John P. Mertz, Pennsylvania State University Still Photography Studios.*

THE DISPLAYING OF SUPPOSED WITCHCRAFT.

Whereto is affirmed that there are many forts of

Deceivers and Impostors,

AND

Divers persons under a passive *Deiusion* of
MELANCHOLT and *FANCT*.

But that there is a *Corporeal League* made betwixt the
DEVIL and the WITCH,

Or that he fucks on the *Witches Body*, has *Carnal Copulation*, or
that *Witches* are turned into *Cats*, *Dogs*, raile *Tempests*, or
the like, is utterly denied and disproved.

Whereto also is handled,

The Existence of Angels and Spirits, the truth of Apparitions, the Nature of
Astral and Sydercal Spirits, the force of Charms, and Philters;
with other abstruse matters.

By *John Webster*, Practitioner in Physick.

*Falso etiam opiniones Homicium pæccatorum, non solum fœdæ, sed & cæci factum, ita ut
videre nequeant, quæ aliis præcipua apparent. Galen. lib. 8. de Comp. Med.*

LONDON,

Printed by J. M. and are to be sold by the Booksellers in London. 1677.

8. The title page of the most important attack on witchcraft beliefs to be published in late seventeenth-century England. It suggests the severe limits of skepticism at that time. *Pennsylvania State University Still Photography Studios. From the Rare Books Room of the Pennsylvania State University Libraries.*

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DISPATCH

gratify the Devil, but appealed to all that ever knew him if they ever suspected him to be such a person, and challenged anyone that could bring in anything upon their own knowledge that might give suspicion of his being such an one. Mr. Gedney said he had known Alden many years, and had been at sea with him, and always looked upon him to be an honest man, but now he did see cause to alter his judgment. Alden answered, he was sorry for that, but he hoped God would clear up his innocence [so] that he would recall that judgment again, and added that he hoped that he should with Job maintain his integrity till he died. They bid Alden look upon the accusers, which he did, and then they fell down. Alden asked Mr. Gedney what reason there could be given why Alden's looking upon him did not strike him down as well, but no reason was given that I heard. But the accusers were brought to Alden to touch them, and this touch they said made them well. Alden began to speak of the Providence of God in suffering these creatures to accuse innocent persons. Mr. Noyes asked Alden why he would offer to speak of the Providence of God. "God by his Providence," said Mr. Noyes, "governs the world and keeps it in peace," and so went on with discourse and stopped Alden's mouth as to that. Alden told Mr. Gedney that he could assure him that there was a lying Spirit in them, "for I can assure you that there is not a word of truth in all these say of me." But Alden was again committed to the marshal, and his *Mittimus* written. . . .⁹

Rationalist historians have taken Cary's and Alden's accusations of bad faith at face value, but there is little reason to do so. Not only does Alden offer conflicting explanations (e.g., that the girls are possessed, with "a lying Spirit in them"), but were his charges consistent they would still be part of a very small minority opinion, even among those accused of witchcraft. And surely their sense of outraged helplessness is explanation enough for the charges they made. That sense is the chief burden of both accounts, and both men eventually acted upon it. Nathaniel Cary waited until the trials had begun. When he saw that the trial procedures were essentially similar to those of the preliminary examinations, and failed in his attempts to have Mrs. Cary tried in Middlesex County rather than Essex, he contrived her escape from prison on July 30 and



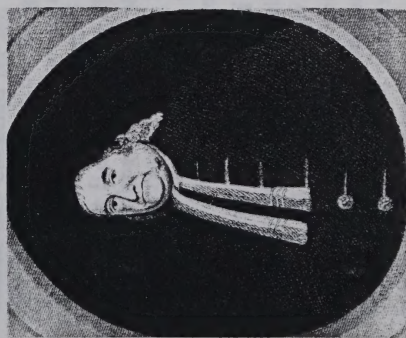
10. Cotton Mather. *American Anti-Quarian Society*.



9. Increase Mather. *American Anti-Quarian Society*.



12. William Stoughton. *American Anti-Quarian Society*.



11. Samuel Sewall. *American Anti-Quarian Society*.

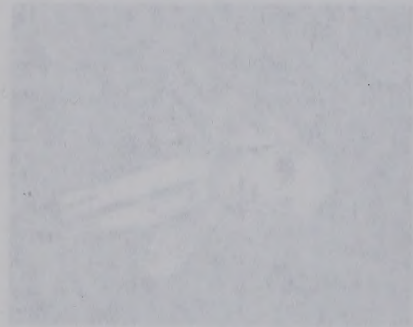


Figure 1: A dark, grainy, and blurry image, possibly a photograph of a person or object, but the details are obscured by noise and low light.

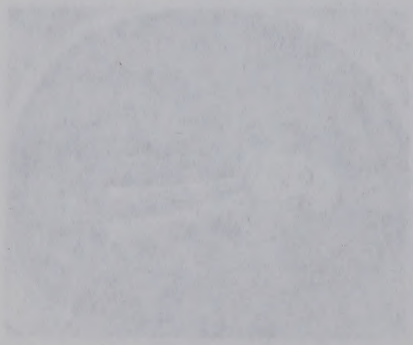


Figure 2: A dark, grainy, and blurry image, possibly a photograph of a person or object, but the details are obscured by noise and low light.

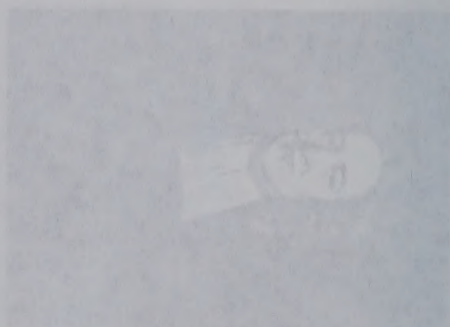


Figure 3: A dark, grainy, and blurry image, possibly a photograph of a person or object, but the details are obscured by noise and low light.

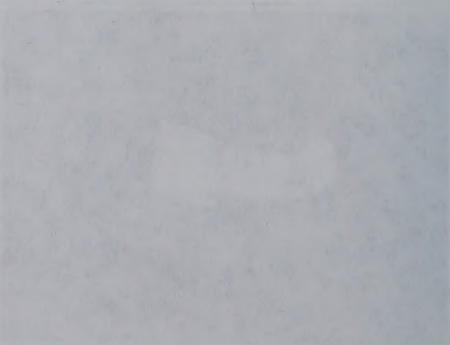


Figure 4: A dark, grainy, and blurry image, possibly a photograph of a person or object, but the details are obscured by noise and low light.

fled with her to New York. Alden followed his example in September, as had a number of others before him.

We have seen more than enough to demonstrate that the acceptance of specter evidence led to continual bullying of the accused during the preliminary examinations. And we must remember that these examinations were not confined to the courtroom. Typically, if an accused person refused to confess in the formal hearing before the magistrates she could expect many hours of further examinations in prison, some of them formal and some of them informal. In the latter both the jailers and the ministers took their turns at threatening and grilling the suspects, as the following undated testimony shows:

The deposition of Sarah Ingersoll, aged about thirty years, saith that seeing Sarah Churchill after her examination, she came to me crying and wringing her hands, seeming to be much troubled in spirit. I asked her what she ailed. She answered, she had undone herself. I asked her in what? She said in belying herself and others, in saying she had set her hand to the Devil's book, whereas she said she never did. I told her I believed she had set her hand to the book. She answered crying, and said, "No, no, no! I never, I never because they threatened her and told her they would put her into the dungeon, and put her along with Mr. Burroughs. And thus several times she followed me up and down, telling me that she had undone herself in belying herself and others. I asked her why she did write it [i.e., her confession]? She told me, because she had stood out so long in it that now she durst not. She said also that if she told Mr. Noyes but once she had set her hand to the book, he would believe her, but if she told the truth and said she had not set her hand to the book a hundred times he would not believe her.⁷

Furthermore, the bullying of the accused was not confined to magistrates, ministers, and jailers. The population in general accepted the validity of specter evidence, and as a result the relatives of the accused frequently joined in pressing them relentlessly to confess. Captain Cary's sturdy defense of his wife's innocence was unusual; much more common was the experience of an Andover woman:

Goodwife Tyler did say that when she was first apprehended she had no fears upon her and did think that nothing could have made her confess against herself, but since, she had found to her great grief that she had wronged the truth and falsely accused herself. She said that when she was brought to Salem her brother Bridges rode with her and that all along the way from Andover to Salem her brother kept telling her that she must needs be a witch, since she afflicted accused her and at her touch were raised out of their fits, and urging her to confess herself a witch. She as constantly told him that she was no witch, that she knew nothing of witchcraft, and begged of him not to urge her to confess. However, when she came to Salem she was carried to a room where her brother on one side and Mr. John Emerson on the other side did tell her that she was certainly a witch, and that she saw the Devil before her eyes at that time (and accordingly the said Emerson would attempt with his hand to beat him away from her eyes), and they so urged her to confess that she wished herself in any dungeon rather than be so treated. Mr. Emerson told her once and again, "Well! I see you will not confess! Well! I will now leave you, and then you are undone, body and soul, forever!" Her brother urged her to confess and told her that in so doing she could not lie, to which she answered, "Good brother, do not say so. For I shall lie if I confess, and then who shall answer unto God for my lie?" He still asserted it, and said that God would not suffer so many good men to be in such an error about it, and that she would be hanged if she would not confess, and continued so long and so violently to urge and press her to confess that she thought verily her life would have gone from her, and became so terrified in her mind that she owned at length almost anything that they propounded to her. But she had wronged her conscience in so doing; she was guilty of a great sin in belying of herself, and desired to mourn for it as long as she lived. This she said and a great deal more of the like nature, and all of it with such affection, sorrow, relenting, grief, and mourning, as that it exceeds any pen for to describe and express the same.⁸

Nor was Goodwife Tyler the only Andover woman so abused by her relatives. According to Thomas Brattle

Deacon Fry's wife, Captain Osgood's wife, and some others, remarkably pious and good people in repute . . . [were] first brought [to confession] by the urgings and arguments of their good husbands,

"The Return of Several Ministers Consulted" can be used, like Cotton Mather's letter to John Richards, to reconstruct the course of the debate over how to conduct the witchcraft trials. It is obvious that, although the magistrates had observed Cotton Mather's warnings against depending on specter evidence when they chose to try Bridget Bishop first, they were anxious to make more use of it in future trials. And it is also obvious that a major difference of opinion was developing between the ministers and the magistrates, with the ministers flatly recommending that the magistrates try disbelieving all "things received only upon the Devil's authority."

It seems probable that at first the debate existed among the judges as well as between the judges and the Boston clergy. We know that Judge Nathaniel Saltonstall resigned from the court and that he was "very much dissatisfied with the proceedings of it."⁷ We do not have the date of his resignation, but tradition says it was early, and the most likely time was during the last two weeks in June, between "The Return of Several Ministers Consulted" and the second sitting of the court, on the thirtieth of June. The court that met on that date appears to have made up its mind. It held three sessions—beginning on June 30, August 5, and September 9—and at none of these sessions was there the slightest evidence of judicial dissent. To a man the judges had committed themselves to the validity of specter evidence.

At the sessions of June 30 five people were tried: Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse, Susannah Martin, Elizabeth Howe, and Sarah Wildes. All of them were condemned. And on July 19 all of them were executed. At the gallows the Reverend Nicholas Noyes called on Sarah Good to confess, telling her she was a witch and she knew she was a witch. Her reply is justly famous. "You are a liar," she told him. "I am no more a witch than you are a wizard, and if you take away my life God will give you blood to drink."⁸ It must have sent a chill through the crowd assembled on Gallows Hill, because it was not the sort of thing a dying Christian would say. Seventeenth-century Christians at

their death would try to forgive even their bitterest enemies; only a witch would die with a curse upon her lips—a witch, or a malevolent old woman.

There is not evidence enough to say for certain that Sarah Good was one or the other. But tradition has it that twenty-five years later, when Nicholas Noyes lay dying, he choked upon the blood that poured copiously from his mouth. And when that happened Salem remembered Sarah Good's words with feelings that were more than a little ambiguous. Hutchinson, who reported the tradition in his *History of 1750*, says that the people of Salem in his day still considered Sarah Good "if not a witch, a Pythonissa" [someone possessed by a spirit and prophesying by its aid].⁹ This is, of course, the incident Hawthorne adapted for *The House of the Seven Gables*.

The most important of the trials at this session was not Sarah Good's, but that of Rebecca Nurse. We have seen that John Hathorne's sister and brother-in-law testified for her at her preliminary examination, and that Hathorne was not at all sure of himself while examining her. In the meantime thirty-nine of her neighbors had signed a petition stating that according to their observation "her life and conversation were according to her profession [as a Christian], and we never had any cause or grounds to suspect her of any such thing as she is now accused of."¹⁰ One of the signers was Jonathan Putnam, who had with Edward Putnam sworn out the original complaint against her but had since, apparently, changed his mind. The jury too found it hard to believe Rebecca Nurse a witch, and they brought her in not guilty. When their verdict was announced immediately all the accusers in the court, and suddenly after all the afflicted out of court, made an hideous outcry, to the amazement not only of the spectators but the court also. . . .¹¹

Nobody could have expected the afflicted persons to be happy with a verdict that would release Rebecca Nurse. On June 1, when she had been taken out of prison only long enough to be brought before a grand jury and indicted, Ann Putnam, Sr., testified that

the apparition of Rebecca Nurse did again fall upon me and almost choke me. And she told me that now she was come out of prison she had power to afflict me, and that now she would afflict me all this day long, and would kill me if she could.¹²

So the "amazement" of the spectators and the court must have been due to the volume and hideousness of the outcry rather than to the fact that an outcry was made. In any case, the judges were almost as unhappy with the verdict as the afflicted persons. "One of the judges expressed himself not satisfied. Another of them, as he was going off the bench, said they would have her indicted anew." (This would have been relatively easy to do. Since the spectators of the accused persons appeared frequently to many of the afflicted, it would only have been necessary to base the new indictment on new appearances.) Chief-Justice Stoughton "said he would not impose upon the jury," but asked whether they had considered the implications of something Rebecca Nurse had said.

When one Hobbes, who had confessed herself a witch, was brought into the court to witness against her, the prisoner turning her head to her said, "What, do you bring her? She is one of us," or [words] to that effect.

The implication, Stoughton thought, was that Rebecca Nurse was acknowledging her membership in a coven of witches. Actually, all she had meant was that Hobbes was a fellow-prisoner, and she did not think a fellow-prisoner could be a legal witness against her. But the phrase sounded suspicious enough to the jury, coupled with the outcry of the afflicted, so that they asked leave to reconsider. On reconsideration they found they could not agree, and they returned to court to request that Rebecca Nurse be asked to explain her words. The question was put to her. But she was old, and partially deaf, and wrung with the day's experiences. She did not hear the question. The jury took her silence for evidence of guilt, and changed their verdict to guilty.

It has been suggested that Stoughton's procedure in this case was illegal, but this is not so. It was not at all unusual for a

judge to ask a jury to reconsider. They might, of course, have refused the request, or they might have reconsidered and returned the same verdict. Had they done that, Stoughton would have had one more recourse. He could have refused the verdict, thus throwing the case into the General Court (as had happened in 1655, when the judges had refused to accept a verdict of guilty in the Hibbins case).

Now that a verdict of guilty was in, however, Rebecca Nurse's relatives immediately did what they could to rectify what must have seemed to them a simple but frightful mistake. They obtained the following statement from the foreman of the jury:

July 4, 1692. I, Thomas Fisk, the subscriber hereof, being one of them that were of the jury the last week at Salem court upon the trial of Rebecca Nurse, etc., being desired by some of the relations to give a reason why the jury brought her in guilty after her verdict [of] not guilty, I do hereby give my reasons to be as follows, viz.

When the verdict not guilty was [brought in] the honored Court was pleased to object against it, saying to them that they think they let slip the words which the prisoner at the bar spake against herself, which were spoken in reply to Goodwife Hobbes and her daughter, who had been faulty in setting their hands to the Devil's Book as they have confessed formerly. The words were, "What, do these persons give in evidence against me now? They used to come among us." After the honored Court had manifested their dissatisfaction of the verdict several of the jury declared themselves desirous to go out again, and thereupon the honored Court gave leave. But when we came to consider of the case I could not tell how to take her words as an evidence against her till she had a further opportunity to put her sense upon them, if she would take it. And then, going into court, I mentioned the words aforesaid, which by one of the Court were affirmed to have been spoken by her, she being then at the bar, but made no reply nor interpretation of them, whereupon these words were to me a principal evidence against her.

Thomas Fisk

From Goodwife Nurse herself they obtained this statement:

These presents do humbly show to the honored court and jury that, I being informed that the jury brought me in guilty upon my saying that Goodwife Hobbes and her daughter were of our company, but I intended no otherways than as they were prisoners with us, therefore did then, and yet do, judge them not legal evidence against their fellow-prisoners. And I being something hard of hearing, and full of grief, none informing me how the court took up my words, and therefore had not opportunity to declare what I intended when I said they were of our company.

Whether or not they took these documents to Chief Justice Stoughton is not known. But they probably took them to Governor Phips, because Phips granted Rebecca Nurse a reprieve. No sooner had he done so than—before the official news had reached Salem—the afflicted complained of being freshly tormented. This was not the first time they had performed such a feat. Often they had complained that someone in prison was tormenting them, and then had been released from their torments at precisely the hour when that person was put in irons. Nor is there any difficulty in seeing how this could happen. They would have known when the order to chain a prisoner went out, and would have been able to estimate about how long it would take to carry it out. Expecting relief when the order was carried out, they would get it. One must never forget the hysteric's susceptibility to suggestion. And the same explanation probably accounts for this incident. The girls must have known that Rebecca Nurse's kinsmen were on their way to obtain a reprieve from the governor, and must have been able to estimate about how long it would take. Expecting to be tormented at the time the reprieve would be granted, they were tormented.

But this very plausible twentieth-century explanation of the girls' renewed torments was not, of course, available in the seventeenth century. The renewal of the torments as soon as the reprieve was granted seemed to most people a conclusive demonstration of Rebecca Nurse's guilt. A "Salem gentleman"—his name is unknown—remonstrated with the governor and persuaded him to recall his reprieve. Furthermore the church

in Salem Town, of which Rebecca Nurse was a member, voted to excommunicate her, and did so without a single dissenting vote. The church record reads:

1692, July 3. After sacrament the elders [Higginson and Noyes] propounded to the church—and it was by an unanimous vote consented to—that our sister Nurse, being a convicted witch by the court and condemned to die, should be excommunicated, which was accordingly done in the afternoon, she being present.¹³

On July 19 she was put to death with the others, the most conspicuously innocent person of all those who died at Salem. On the gallows she was, in contrast to Sarah Good, a model of Christian behavior.

It was probably in response to Procter's petition that eight ministers, including Increase Mather, met at Cambridge on August 1. Unfortunately there is little known about their deliberations; the only account of the meeting is a brief paragraph in Increase Mather's *Cases of Conscience*, which does not even give us the names of the other seven ministers. Apparently, however, they took up the central issue in Procter's letter, the issue of prejudgment, and that issue led them directly to the means of prejudgment—the old question of spectral evidence. Mather tells us that

the question then discoursed on was whether the Devil may not sometimes have a permission to represent an innocent person as tormenting such as are under diabolical molestations.

And he adds that

the answer which they all concurred in was in these words, viz. "That the Devil may sometimes have a permission to represent an innocent person as tormenting such as are under diabolical molestations, but that such things are rare and extraordinary, especially when such matters come before civil judicatures."⁶

That last clause, of course, represented a major change in position for the clergy. They were backing down. To understand this we must recognize the difference between their previous situation and the one in which Procter had put them. Before this time their opinion had been solicited by the judges themselves, or by the governor's council acting for the judges, and they had been free to offer what was nothing more than expert advice. Procter was not asking for advice. He was asking the clergy to recognize that their advice had not been taken and that a serious division of opinion between the Boston ministers and the magistrates had split the leadership of Massachusetts. Furthermore, he was asking them to act on that recognition and advise the governor to take the remaining witchcraft cases out of the hands of the erring magistrates.

This the clergy was not willing to do. Few establishments are, of course, willing to admit that they are fundamentally divided. This was particularly true for Massachusetts, where, as

we have seen, all the hierarchical authority of the past had been rejected in favor of the view that Massachusetts' literate and intelligent leadership would be able to reach an absolute consensus on every important issue. Now Procter was asking for the admission that no such consensus existed, or in other words that the Massachusetts way of life was, in this case, a failure. It is hardly surprising that the clergy tried to squirm their way out of the position in which he had put them. But there is no question that they squirmed. Why of course, they were in effect saying, the Devil can impersonate the innocent, just as we've said all along. But surely he wouldn't do such a horrid thing before Massachusetts magistrates? God might permit Satan to impersonate the virtuous. But surely he would not permit discord in Zion?

The ministers probably sent their newly equivocal judgment to Governor Phips along with Procter's petition. Four days later, on August 5, the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer sat for the third time at Salem. They tried six persons: John and Elizabeth Procter, George Burroughs, John Willard, George Jacobs, Sr., and Martha Carrier. All were found guilty, and all were condemned to death. Elizabeth Procter "pleaded her belly." In both England and New England a pregnant woman would not be executed, on the ground that the child she was carrying was an innocent person; the mother would be executed shortly after the child was born. Elizabeth Procter escaped that fate; her child was not born until January of 1693, and by that time the witch hunt was over. But her husband had long been dead. He and the others were hanged on August 19.

The Boston ministers had not simply abandoned Procter and the others to their fate when they delivered their equivocal judgment of August 1. Increase Mather did heed Procter's plea that "you would be pleased to be here, if not all, some of you at our trials, hoping thereby you may be the means of saving the shedding of our innocent blood." But apparently he hadn't time to attend all of them, and unfortunately the one he chose



Cases of Conscience

While the debate continued, opinion was beginning to change, and the change was sharply accelerated by what happened at the third hanging. We have no account of the first Salem hanging. Bridget Bishop's passing from this world seems to have made little impression on her contemporaries.

At the second hanging, on July 19, the central event was Sarah Good's cursing of the Reverend Nicholas Noyes, and her curse—that God would give him blood to drink—was far more dramatic than the quietly Christian behavior of Rebecca Nurse. But all of those who died on August 19—Procter, Burroughs, John Willard, George Jacobs, Sr., and Martha Carrier—seem to have died well. Judge Samuel Sewall tells us that “all of them said they were innocent, Carrier and all.”¹ (Sewall was particularly surprised at Martha Carrier's protestations of innocence because she had enjoyed so long and so thorough a reputation for witchcraft.)²

Procter, Willard, and Burroughs made particularly strong impressions. According to Thomas Brattle, in the opinion of many unprejudiced, considerate, and considerable spectators, some of the condemned went out of the world not only with as great protestations but also with as good shows of innocence as men could do.

They protested their innocence as in the presence of the great God whom forthwith they were to appear before. They wished, and declared their wish, that their blood might be the last innocent blood shed upon that account. With great affection [i.e., emotion] they entreated Mr. C[otton] M[ather] to pray with them. They prayed that God would discover what witchcrafts were among us. They forgave their accusers. They spake without reflection on jury

and judges for bringing them in guilty and condemning them. They prayed earnestly for pardon for all other sins and for an interest in the precious blood of our dear Redeemer, and seemed to be very sincere, upright, and sensible of their circumstances on all accounts, especially Procter and Willard, whose whole management of themselves from the jail to the gallows and whilst at the gallows was very affecting and melting to the hearts of some considerable spectators. . . .³

Calef says that Procter “pleaded very hard at execution for a little respite of time, saying that he was not fit to die, but it was not granted.”⁴ That is by no means inconsistent with Brattle's account. A seventeenth-century Christian—particularly one subject to John Procter's violent temper—might very well feel that he had not yet made his peace with his fellow-man or with God. And it is probable that Procter did die inadequately reconciled to his wife, since he left her out of the will which he drew up in prison.

Calef also provides the most complete account of Burroughs' behavior:

Mr. Burroughs was carried in a cart with the others through the streets of Salem to execution. When he was upon the ladder he made a speech for the clearing of his innocence, with such solemn and serious expressions as were to the admiration of all present. His prayer (which he concluded by repeating the Lord's Prayer) was so well worded, and uttered with such composure, and such (at least seeming) fervency of spirit as was very affecting and drew tears from many (so that it seemed to some that the spectators would hinder the execution).⁵

Ending his prayer by repeating the Lord's Prayer was a brilliant and audacious stroke on Burroughs' part, although it was something of a trick. Popular belief held that a witch could not repeat the Lord's Prayer properly, since it was thought to be said backward at the witches' Sabbaths. If Burroughs had stammered—if he had so much as stopped to clear his throat—the crowd would have concluded he was guilty. But apparently he got through it perfectly, and that created enough of a

blessed be the Lord; He would not let me go on in my sins, but in mercy I hope so my soul would not suffer me to keep it in any longer, but I was forced to confess the truth of all before the magistrates, who would not believe me, but 'tis their pleasure to put me in here, and God knows how soon I shall be put to death. Dear father, let me beg your prayers to the Lord on my behalf, and send us a joyful and happy meeting in heaven. My mother, poor woman, is very crazy, and remembers her kind love to you and to uncle, viz. D[aniel] A[ndrew]. So, leaving you to the protection of the Lord, I rest your dutiful daughter,

Margaret Jacobs's

At the time set for Margaret Jacobs' trial she had "an imposthume [an abscess] in her head," and thus she outlived the witch hunt. But others were not so fortunate. The magistrates, far from hesitating, were accelerating the trials. The court sat twice in September, and condemned fifteen people to death. Eight of them—Martha Corey, Mary Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Margaret Scott, Wilmot "Mammy" Redd, Samuel Wardwell, and Mary Parker—were executed on September 22. The other seven lived. Abigail Faulkner pleaded pregnancy. Mary Bradbury's friends contrived her escape from prison. Dorcas Hoar confessed, and Judge Sewall recorded in his diary for September 21 that "an order is sent to the sheriff to forbear her execution, notwithstanding her being in the warrant to die tomorrow. This is the first condemned person who has confessed." Presumably Rebecca Eames, Mary Lacy, Ann Foster, and Abigail Hobbes followed her example. Governor Hutchinson wrote that he had seen the confessions of "several" of those condemned to die on that date, although the confessions themselves, like most of the documents Hutchinson consulted, are no longer in existence. It would, of course, be the second confession for Abigail Hobbes; she must have repudiated the confession she made at her preliminary examination in April, or she would not have been brought to trial.

After the execution Nicholas Noyes, "turning him to the bodies, said, 'What a sad thing it is to see eight firebrands of

Hell hanging there.'"¹⁹ One of them was a witch, and deserved Noyes' comment—Wilmot "Mammy" Redd, the Marblehead woman who had cursed Mrs. Simms, wishing upon her "the distemper of the dry belly-ache." About several of the others there is too little information to reach an adequate judgment. But one of those who died on September 22 was obviously as innocent as anyone who died at Salem. This was Mary Easty, a sister of Rebecca Nurse. At her preliminary examination on April 22 she had maintained her innocence with such candor and conviction that Hathorne had asked the afflicted girls, "Are you certain this is the woman?"²⁰ They were certain then. But by May 18 they changed their minds, and Mary Easty was released. No sooner was she out of jail, however, than the fits of Mercy Lewis increased sharply in violence, and the specter most prominent in her hallucinations was that of Mary Easty. So on May 20 a warrant was issued for her rearrest, and she had been in prison ever since. Shortly before her death she had sent the following petition to the magistrates and to the Essex County ministers:

To the honorable judge and bench now sitting in judicature in Salem and the reverend ministers, humbly sheweth that whereas your humble poor petitioner being condemned to die doth humbly beg of you to take it into your judicious and pious consideration that your poor and humble petitioner, knowing my own innocence (blessed be the Lord for it) and seeing plainly the wiles and subtility of my accusers by myself, cannot but judge charitably of others that are going the same way with myself if the Lord step not mightily in. I was confined a whole month on the same account that I am now condemned for, and then cleared by the afflicted persons, as some of your honors know. And in two days time I was cried out upon by them, and have been confined and now am condemned to die. The Lord above knows my innocence then and likewise doth now, as at the Great Day will be known to men and angels. I petition to your honors not for my own life, for I know I must die, and my appointed time is set. But the Lord He knows it is, if it be possible, that no more innocent blood be shed, which undoubtedly cannot be avoided in the way and course you go in. I question not but your honors do to the utmost of your powers in the discovery

and detecting of witchcraft and witches, and would not be guilty of innocent blood for the world. But by my own innocency I know you are in the wrong way. The Lord in his infinite mercy direct you in this great work, if it be His blessed will, that innocent blood be not shed. I would humbly beg of you that your honors would be pleased to examine some of those confessing witches, I being confident there are several of them have belied themselves and others, as will appear, if not in this world, I am sure in the world to come, whither I am going. And I question not but yourselves will see an alteration in these things. They say myself and others have made a league with the Devil; we cannot confess. I know and the Lord He knows (as will shortly appear) they belie me, and so I question not but they do others. The Lord alone, who is the searcher of all hearts, knows that as I shall answer it at the Tribunal Seat that I know not the least thing of witchcraft, therefore I cannot, I durst not belie my own soul. I beg your honors not to deny this my humble petition from a poor dying innocent person, and I question not but the Lord will give a blessing to your endeavors.

Mary Easy¹¹

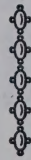
There is no reason why we should not take this petition at face value. Those who died on August 19 had prayed from the gallows that no more innocent blood should be shed. Apparently Mary Easy, too, was pleading not for herself (or for her fellows whose "appointed time" was also set) but for those who would, unless there was a fundamental change, come after her. But the Reverend Mr. Noyes had apparently been completely unimpressed by Mary Easy's petition. He was, in fact, unable to distinguish between Mary Easy and Mammy Redd, since he lumped them together as "firebrands of Hell." The judges seemed likewise unaffected, since they made no plans to change their procedure. They adjourned for the month of October, when the General Court was to meet, but they set the first Tuesday in November as the date for their next session.

That neither Noyes nor the judges should be able to distinguish between Mary Easy and Mammy Redd is an index of what a witch hunt does to otherwise decent, sensible, and even kindly men. The sternest of them all, Chief-Justice Stoughton, still had a reputation for sense, integrity, and decency. And

many of them had also a reputation for benevolence, like Noyes, and like Sewall. The latter's good will is immediately apparent to anyone who examines his *Diary* or his pamphlet *The Selling of Joseph*, which was the first antislavery tract published in America. That such men could remain unaffected by a petition like Mary Easy's can be explained only by realizing that they had long since ceased to pay attention to anything said by a suspect. Their minds and hearts were so filled with the hideous torments of the afflicted and the frightful tales of the confessors that they were quite unable to absorb anything else.

The single-mindedness of the judges evoked a variety of protests. The Boston clergy gave them contrary (and sound) advice, but then, because of the special Massachusetts attitude toward consensus, tried to pretend their advice had been taken when it obviously had not. Judge Saltonstall resigned from the court, but made no public issue of his disagreement with it. Magistrate Robert Pike voiced his disagreement in a letter to Judge Corwin. Rebecca Nurse's relatives appealed to Governor Phips. So did John Procter, although he sent his appeal through the Boston clergy. Cotton Mather hinted to a member of the Governor's Council that "a famous divine or two" should be appointed to the court. Mary Easy made her gentle protest directly to the judges and the ministers of Essex County who supported them. But the most dramatic protest of all was made by Giles Corey.

Giles Corey had not been an altogether admirable man. He was quarrelsome, and one long-standing quarrel with John Procter had ended in the courts. He was violent as well, and it was said that he had beaten to death a former hired hand. He had thought his wife a witch, and freely said so, both in and out of court. But when Giles Corey was indicted he did something nobody else had dared to do. He stood mute, refusing to answer to his indictment. And under both English and New English law a man who refused to answer could not be tried. He could, however, be tortured—be subjected to "peine forte et dure"—until he either answered or died. Accordingly Giles Corey was pressed: placed upon the ground with gradually



The Guilt of Innocent Blood

By October of 1692 enough of Massachusetts' leaders were aware that something had gone terribly wrong in the investigating and trying of the witches for Governor Phips to stop the sessions of the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer. By November even the specters were giving indications that something had gone wrong.

On November 14 a seventeen-year-old girl named Mary Herrick gave some astonishing testimony to the Reverend John Hale of Beverly and the Reverend Joseph Gerrish of Wenham. She had been afflicted for about two months, and lately one of the specters appearing in her hallucinations was none other than the wife of John Hale:

On the 12th of the 9th [November 12] she [Mrs. Hale] came again, and Goody Easty with her, and then Mrs. Hale did afflict her as formerly. Said Easty made as if she would speak but did not. But on the same night they came again and Mrs. Hale did sorely afflict her and asked her if she thought she was a witch. The girl answered, "No, you be the Devil" [i.e., in Mrs. Hale's shape]. Then said Easty said and spake, she came to tell her she had been put to death wrongfully and was innocent of witchcraft, and she came to vindicate her cause. And she cried, "Vengeance! Vengeance!" and bid her reveal this to Mr. Hale and Gerrish, and then she would rise no more nor should Mrs. Hale afflict her any more.

Memorandum: that just before said Easty was executed she appeared to said girl and said, "I am going upon the ladder to be hanged for a witch, but I am innocent, and before a twelve-month be past you shall believe it." Said girl said she spake not of this before because she believed she was guilty till Mrs. Hale appeared to her and afflicted her, but now she believes it is all a delusion of the Devil.¹

Not everyone was in agreement that the specters had all been a delusion of the Devil. As late as November 22 Judge Sewall noted in his diary a prayer "that God would . . . save New England as to enemies and witchcrafts, and vindicate the late judges. . . ." But events were running against Sewall's hopes; the judges were not to be vindicated. On the other hand, they were not to be condemned either. As Kenneth Murdock has pointed out, every single judge from the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer was elected to the Governor's Council in 1693,² and Sewall got more votes than Nathaniel Saltonstall, who had resigned from the court. Massachusetts politics after 1692 shows no trace of popular resentment against the judges. Indeed, the opposite is true; there is every reason to believe that Massachusetts still had confidence in the judges.

In November and December of 1692 the General Court set special sessions of the Superior Court of Judicature to try the remaining persons indicted for witchcraft. Stoughton was the chief justice, and three of his four colleagues had also been members of the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer: Sewall, Richards, and Winthrop. The fourth, Thomas Danforth, had presided at the preliminary examinations of the Proctors and others on April 11, but at some time since then had changed his mind about spectral evidence, since Brattle lists him as an opponent of the court's methods in October. Phips apparently spoke with all the judges to ensure a change in their procedure. He reported to England that

some of them were convinced and acknowledged that their former proceedings were too violent and not grounded upon a right foundation, but that if they might sit again they would proceed after another method.³

When the court sat on January 3, 1693, spectral evidence was no longer given any weight, and without it there was generally not enough evidence to convict. Fifty-two indicted persons were brought before this court, and only three of them convicted, all on their own confession. Two of these appear to have been mentally defective; the third was Sarah, the widow

of the executed Samuel Wardwell. Stoughton signed death warrants for all three, and for five persons previously condemned but not yet executed, including Elizabeth Procter. But the King's Attorney General gave as his opinion that there was no more reason to condemn these than some of those who had been cleared, and Governor Phips therefore ordered a reprieve "until Their Majesties' pleasure be signified and declared"—until, that is, he should get an answer to the letter he had written to the Clerk of the Privy Council on October 12. At this, Stoughton was, according to Phips, "enraged and filled with passionate anger." He refused to sit upon the bench for the remainder of the session, and Calef quotes him as speaking to the effect that "We were in a way to have cleared the land of these. . . . Who it is that obstructs the course of justice I know not. The Lord be merciful to the country."

The royal advice for which Phips had asked was slow in coming. The matter was brought up in council on January 26, and the Earl of Nottingham directed to prepare an answering letter for the royal signature. But this letter was not signed until April 15 and must have reached America much later. When it did arrive, with Queen Mary's signature, it was not much help:

Trusty and Wellbeloved, We Greet You Well.

It having been represented unto Us that a most horrible witchcraft or possession of Devils hath invested several towns in Our Province of the Massachusetts Bay under your government, and that divers persons have been convicted of witchcraft, some whereof have confessed their guilt, but that others being of a known and good reputation these proceedings had caused a great dissaffection among our good subjects, for which reason you had put a stop thereunto until Our Pleasure should be known concerning the same, We therefore approving of your care and circumspection herein have thought fit to signify Our Will and Pleasure, as We do hereby will and require you to give all necessary directions that in all proceedings against persons accused for witchcraft or being possessed by the Devil the greatest moderation and all due circumspection be used, so far as the same may be without impediment to the ordinary course of justice within Our said Province. And so We bid

you very heartily farewell. Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 15th day of April, 1693, in the fifth year of Our Reign.

*By Her Majesty's Command.*⁴

As Burr remarks, this is what Frederick the Great would have called "a vague answer—in the Austrian style—that should mean nothing."⁵ So Phips had to act on his own authority. The court had sat again in April. It was at this session that John Alden returned to Boston, where, no one appearing against him, he was freed by proclamation. Finally Phips issued a general pardon, although Hale tells us that the final clearing of the jails was haphazard at best:

Some brake prison and ran away, and were not strictly searched after, some acquitted, some dismissed, and one way or other all that had been accused were set or left at liberty.⁶

But clearing the jails was only the first step; for twenty years following the trial year of 1692 Massachusetts would do penance and make reparation for her sins. The first formal act of penance was on the part of the entire community, in a fast-day proclaimed as follows:

By the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Assembly of His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in General Court Assembled.

Whereas the anger of God is not yet turned away, but his hand is still stretched out against his people in manifold judgments, particularly in drawing out to such a length the troubles of Europe by a perplexing war; and more especially respecting ourselves in this province in that God is pleased still to go on in diminishing our substance, cutting short our harvest, blasting our most promising undertakings, more ways than one unsettling of us, and by his more immediate hand snatching away many out of our embraces by sudden and violent deaths even at this time when the sword is devouring so many both at home and abroad, and that after many days of public and solemn addressing of him, and although considering the many sins prevailing in the midst of us we cannot but wonder at the patience and mercy moderating these rebukes, yet we cannot but also fear that there is something still wanting to ac-

case, put the disposition of it to a panel of three arbitrators. The attorneys for the village, two of them relatives of Rebecca Nurse, made it plain that Parris' beliefs and conduct in 1692 were the major issue between them. The law, they argued, required them to support only an "orthodox and blameless" minister. They complained of Parris that

His believing the Devil's accusations and readily departing from all charity to persons, though of blameless and godly lives, upon such suggestions; his promoting such accusations; as also his partiality therein in stifling the accusations of some and at the same time vigilantly promoting others, as we conceive, are just causes for our refusal, etc.

That Mr. Parris's going to Mary Walcott or Abigail Williams and directing others to them to know who afflicted the people in their illnesses, we understand this to be a dealing with them that have a familiar spirit and a denying the Providence of God, who alone, as we believe, can send afflictions or cause Devils to afflict any. This we also conceive sufficient to justify such refusal.

That Mr. Parris by these practices and principles has been the beginner and procurer of the sorest afflictions, not to this village only but to this whole country, that did ever befall them.¹⁴

It should be noted in passing that the village attorneys had concluded that the girls' afflictions were due to illness caused by demonic possession.

The arbitrators were Wait Winthrop, Elisha Cook, and Samuel Sewall (the first and last had, of course, been judges of the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer). They recommended that the separation of Parris and the church be settled by a cash payment to Parris for his arrears in salary and his property in the Village, and with this the quarrel ended. Parris' successor, the Reverend Joseph Green, restored the congregation to unity. In 1699 the members of the Nurse family were welcomed back to communion. In 1703 the excommunication of Martha Corey was revoked, although "six or seven"¹⁵ members of the church dissented. That this was a major achievement may be seen by the fact that the church in Salem Town did not revoke its excommunication of Rebecca Nurse and

Giles Corey until nine years later, even though the Town had not been split by dissent.

It was Joseph Green as well who received one of the leading accusers, Anne Putnam, Jr., into communion at Salem Village church in 1706, reading her confession from the pulpit:

I desire to be humbled before God for that sad and humbling Providence that befell my father's family in the year about '92; that I, then being in my childhood, should by such a Providence of God be made an instrument for the accusing of several persons of a grievous crime, whereby their lives were taken away from them, whom now I have just grounds and good reason to believe they were innocent persons; and that it was a great delusion of Satan that deceived me in that sad time, whereby I justly fear I have been instrumental with others, though ignorantly and unwittingly, to bring upon myself and this land the guilt of innocent blood; though what was said or done by me against any person I can truly and uprightly say before God and man, I did it not out of any anger, malice, or ill-will to any person, for I had no such thing against any of them; but what I did was ignorantly, being deluded by Satan.¹⁶

Like Sewall, she stood while this was read, and at the end acknowledged it was hers. Some of the afflicted girls of Salem became "persons of profligate and vicious conversation"¹⁷ in later life, and this fact has generally been extended to bolster the view that their testimony was nothing but malicious lying. But the facts will not bear such an extension, and the later history of Anne Putnam, Jr., ought to lay it to rest once and for all. The evident sincerity of her apology and the fact that the congregation accepted both it and her are the final evidence that the behavior of the afflicted girls cannot be explained as fraud.

Massachusetts did what she could to heal her wounds in state as well as church. The most serious civic problem was that condemned persons who had been reprieved and pardoned found themselves subject to the contention that as condemned persons they had no legal existence. The first to feel the disadvantage of this and to petition for reversal of attainder was

Elizabeth Procter, whose husband had made a will disinheriting her while he was in prison. She found herself unable to contest this will because, as she said in a petition to the General Court in 1696,

although God hath granted my life yet those that claim my said husband's estate by that which they call a will, will not suffer me to have one penny of the estate, neither upon the account of my husband's contract with me before marriage nor yet upon the account of the dower, which, as I humbly conceive, doth belong or ought to belong to me by the law. For they say that I am dead in the law. . . .¹⁸

Why the General Court did not act immediately on her petition is not known, but hers was followed by others. In 1703 the speaker of the Assembly ordered a bill drawn up which would disallow spectral evidence, so that "no specter evidence may be hereafter accounted valid or sufficient to take away the life or good name of any person or persons within this province,"¹⁹ and in that year the attainer of Abigail Faulkner, Sarah Wardwell, and Elizabeth Procter was reversed.

But this reversed the attainer only of those persons who had specifically petitioned for it. Besides, there were those who felt that the state should do more than merely reverse the attainer. Among these was the Reverend Michael Wigglesworth, the aging author of New England's most popular book, *The Day of Doom*, who wrote to Increase Mather in 1704 of his fear "that God hath a controversy with us about what was done in the time of the witchcraft. I fear that innocent blood hath been shed, and that many have had their hands defiled therewith." Wigglesworth recommended public acknowledgment of guilt,

and humiliation for it, and the more particularly and personally it is done by all that have been actors, the more pleasing it will be to God and more effectual to turn away his judgments from the land, and to prevent his wrath from falling upon the persons and families of such as have been most concerned. . . .

Moreover, if it be true, as I have often been informed, that the families of such as were condemned for supposed witchcraft have

been ruined by taking away and making havoc of their estates and leaving them nothing for their relief, I believe the whole country lies under a curse to this day, and will do till some effectual course be taken by our honored governor and General Court to make them some amends and reparations.²⁰

On May 25, 1709, Philip English and twenty-one others, whose relations had been executed or who "themselves or some of their relations were imprisoned, impaired and blasted in their reputations and estates," petitioned the General Court to restore their reputations and make amends "as to what they have been damified in their estates thereby."²¹ On November 2 Cotton Mather supported their position in a sermon preached before the Assembly. He told the legislators that

in two or three too memorable days of temptation that have been upon us there have been errors committed. You are always ready to declare unto all the world that you disapprove these errors. You are willing to inform all mankind with your declarations . . . that persons are not to be judged confederates with evil spirits merely because the evil spirits do make possessed people cry out upon them. Could anything be proposed further by way of reparation (besides the General Day of Humiliation which was appointed and observed through the province to bewail the errors of our dark time, some years ago) you would be willing to hearken to it.²²

In May of 1710 the General Court established a committee of four to meet in Salem and investigate, which they did, thoroughly and at length, collecting much testimony from relatives and survivors. One document, a letter from William Good, is worth particular notice. Good's family had suffered more than its share of abuse:

¹ My wife, Sarah Good, was in prison about four months and then executed.

² A sucking child died in prison before the mother's execution.

³ A child of four or five years old [Dorcas Good] was in prison seven or eight months, and being chained in the dungeon was so hardly used and terrified that she hath ever since been very chargeable, having little or no reason to govern herself. And I leave it unto

anthology, the most useful after Burr's, will hereafter be cited as "Levin."

21. John Webster, *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (London: 1677), table of contents, n. p.
22. Richard Baxter, *The Certainty of the World of Spirits* (London: 1691), p. 80.
23. In three volumes (Boston, 1901, 1904, 1928).
24. Cotton Mather, *Memorable Providences*, Burr, p. 99. The belief that Indians and other "pagans" worshipped the Devil persisted among the learned well into the eighteenth century and continues among the unwashed at the present day.

3. THE RAISING OF THE DEVIL

1. In his church records. See Charles W. Upham, *Salem Witchcraft* (Boston: 1867), II, p. 95. This is the standard history and will be cited hereafter as "Upham."
2. Hale, *Modest Enquiry*, pp. 132-33. Burr does not reprint this passage.
3. The witch cake episode is most fully described in the Danvers church records reprinted by Upham, II, pp. 95-97.
4. The language is that of the warrants for Sarah Good and Tituba, which are printed on pp. 11 and 41 of the first volume of W. Elliot Woodward's *Records of Salem Witchcraft* (Roxbury, Mass.: 1864). This two-volume compilation is the most important printed source for Salem witchcraft documents. It is cited hereafter as "RSW." A more complete and more accurate compilation was made by the Works Progress Administration in 1938. It was never published, but is available in typescript in the Essex County Court House.
5. Examination of Sarah Good, RSW, I, p. 26.
6. Testimony of Sarah Gadge, RSW, I, pp. 17-21.
7. See Thomas Rogers Forbes, *The Midwife and the Witch* (New Haven: 1966), chapter 8.

8. The examination of Sarah Osburn is in RSW, I, pp. 35-38.
9. This transcript of Tituba's examination, written by Ezekiel Cheever, is reprinted (from RSW) in Levin, pp. 6-8. A much more detailed but less coherent account, in Jonathan Corwin's handwriting, is printed in Samuel G. Drake, *The Witchcraft Delusion in New England* (Roxbury, Mass.: 1866) III, pp. 187-92. Pp. 192-95 contain her second examination, on March 2. In succeeding quotations I draw on all three documents.

10. RSW, I, p. 38.

11. Most of the documents concerning Martha Corey are in RSW, I, pp. 50-60. Her examination is not in RSW but is printed in Upham, II, pp. 43-50.

4. HOW TO CATCH A WITCH

1. Quotations from Lawson are from his *Brief and True Narrative* (Boston: 1692), reprinted in Burr, pp. 152-64, and his *Christ's Fidelity the Only Shield Against Satan's Malignty* (Boston: 1692).
2. Janet, *The Major Symptoms of Hysteria*, p. 273.
3. Cotton Mather, *The Wonders of the Invisible World* (Boston: 1693), p. 83. Burr reprints substantial portions of the *Wonders*, but not this passage.
4. Most of the documents concerning Rebecca Nurse are in RSW, I, pp. 76-87. The testimony of Israel and Elizabeth Porter is in Upham, II, pp. 58-59.
5. RSW, I, pp. 63-64.
6. There is no extant transcript of this confession. Not all of the testimony was transcribed, according to Stephen Sewall, the clerk of the courts, some of it being taken *viva voce*. And over the years many documents have disappeared, some of them removed by Governor Hutchinson for use in his *History* but the majority presumably entering the collections of light-fingered antiquarians. But fortunately Lawson gives the substance of this confession in his *Narrative*, Burr, p. 160. Dorcas Good's testimony against her mother is in RSW, I, p. 23.
7. The story is in Lawson, *Narrative*, Burr, p. 161. Robert Calef gives a different interpretation in his *More Wonders of the Invisible World* (London: 1700): "The wind shutting the door forcibly gave occasion to some to suppose she went out in anger" (Burr, p. 346). But there is every reason to believe that here as in some other instances (see Chapter 12) Calef's interpretation of his material is not to be trusted.
8. The examination of Sarah Cloyse is in Hutchinson, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 21-23.
9. Samuel Sewall, *Diary* (3 vols., *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 5th series, V-VIII), vol. 1, p. 358.
10. The documents concerning Mary Warren are in RSW, I, pp. 117-35.
11. RSW, I, pp. 54-55.

5. WITCHCRAFT AT SALEM

1. Giles Corey's examination is printed in the 1823 edition of Calef's *More Wonders* and reprinted as an appendix to Drake's *Witchcraft Delusion*.
2. Abigail Hobbes' records are in RSW, I, pp. 172-80, excepting her examination of April 19. I wish to thank the Massachusetts His-

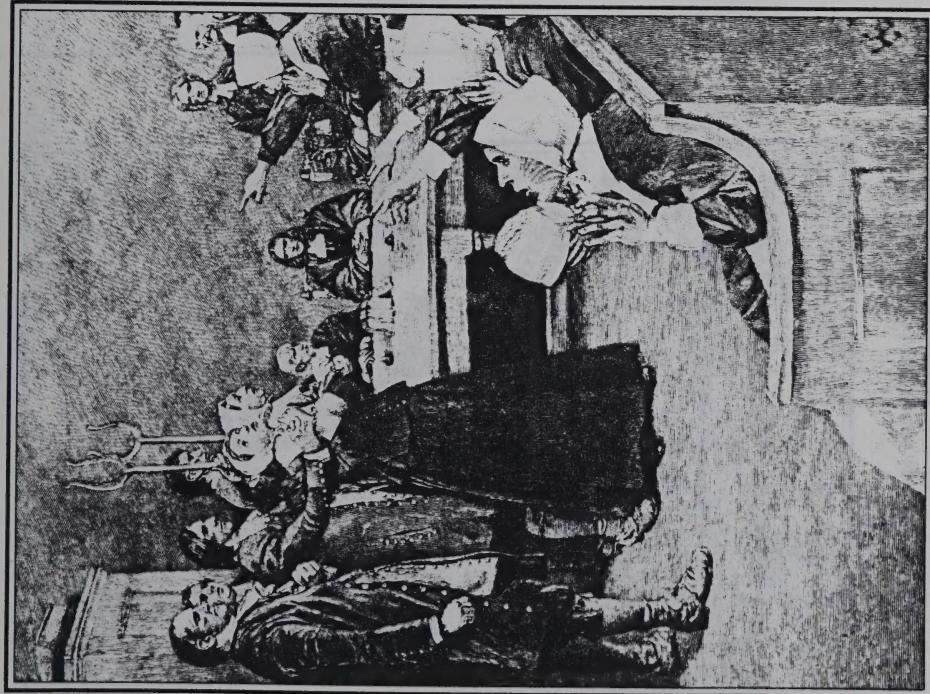


THE SALEM WITCHCRAFT TRIALS

KAREN ZEINERT

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Above: witches are burned by the Inquisition in a German marketplace. Below: the water test was thought to be a way of recognizing a witch.

Just pointing out a witch wasn't enough, though. Witch hunters had to provide "proof." One form of proof was the "Devil's mark." A suspect was searched, and if any suspicious spot were found, it was tested by jabbing it with a pin. If the accused showed no sign of pain and didn't bleed, it was proof that the mark was dead and clearly the work of the Devil.

Instead of using ordinary pins, some witch hunters had special tools made for sticking suspects. These tools had long handles topped by sharp needles. Later, it was discovered that a few of these handles were hollow, so the needles fixed in them could easily slide backward when pushed against a suspect. Obviously, the accused wouldn't bleed or feel any pain. One witch hunter in England later admitted that he had often used a fake sticker. More than two hundred people were executed because he had "proved" with the fake sticker that they were guilty!

Sometimes a suspect was given a "water test." She was told to bend over, and her hands were tied to her feet, right hand to left foot, left hand to right foot. She was then thrown into a lake or river. If she floated, she was guilty. People believed that the water was so pure, it would not accept a witch but instead would reject her by pushing her body up to the surface. If the accused sank, she was innocent. Many suspects drowned before they could be rescued.

When the Puritans left England to come to the New World in the 1600s, they brought their belief in witches with them (see Chapter Two). Shortly after they arrived, Puritan leaders wrote laws that made witchcraft a crime. Some first offenders were sent out

of the colony. This punishment usually meant death because there was no food, shelter, or defense against hostile Indians outside the colony.

Margaret Jones was the first woman to be executed for witchcraft in the American colonies. She was a self-taught doctor and often used mixtures of herbs to cure patients. Her remarkable successes made neighbors suspicious, and they decided she had to be a witch. She was arrested, tried, and hanged in 1648.

Over the next few years, more suspects were arrested. Between 1648 and 1662, at least fourteen witches were hanged. Then, for almost twenty-five years, witchcraft in the New World received little attention.

By the late 1600s, however, the hunt for the Devil's helpers was back on with a vengeance. Puritan ministers were concerned by the growing lack of interest in the church, the loss of church members, and the disrespectful ways that some of the colonists behaved. Since the Puritans believed that one bad person in a colony could bring God's punishment down on all—like a smallpox epidemic—many ministers were worried. They looked for something, such as the common fear of witchcraft, to get the colonists back to the Puritan way of life. Some ministers wrote books about witchcraft to stimulate interest. Others preached about what might happen if the witches among them weren't exposed. They told their flock to watch their neighbors carefully. And watch they did. Shortly thereafter, witches—lots of witches!—began to be spotted in Salem Village, Massachusetts.



*The witch hunt in New England
in the early 1690s*

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These were the first impressions of the world.

Another organization, the Plymouth Company, started several colonies in what is now the New England area. The first, located on the Kennebec River, failed. The second, started in 1620 at present-day Plymouth, Massachusetts, was successful. Most of the settlers at Plymouth were religious dissenters. Known as the Pilgrims, they wanted to break away from the Church of England to start their own church. The King of England, who was also the head of the Church of England, vowed to punish them. They avoided this prosecution by fleeing.

A third organization, called the Massachusetts Bay Company, also started several colonies in the New England area. One of these colonies, now known as Salem, Massachusetts, was begun in 1628 by another small group of religious dissenters, the Puritans.

The Puritans wanted to "purify" the Church of England by eliminating many of its elaborate ceremonies and rites, which they thought too closely resembled Catholic masses. They wanted simple services. In the late 1620s the Puritans were threatened with prosecution, just as the Pilgrims had been only a few years before. Puritan leaders looked to New England as a safe place for their followers. By 1630, Puritan leaders had purchased all the stock in the Massachusetts Bay Company. That same year, the company sent nine hundred of its members to the Salem area. By the end of the year, it had sent two thousand settlers to New England. By the middle of the 1640s, the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which included all the Puritan settlements, had fifteen thousand settlers. It was the largest English colony in the New World.

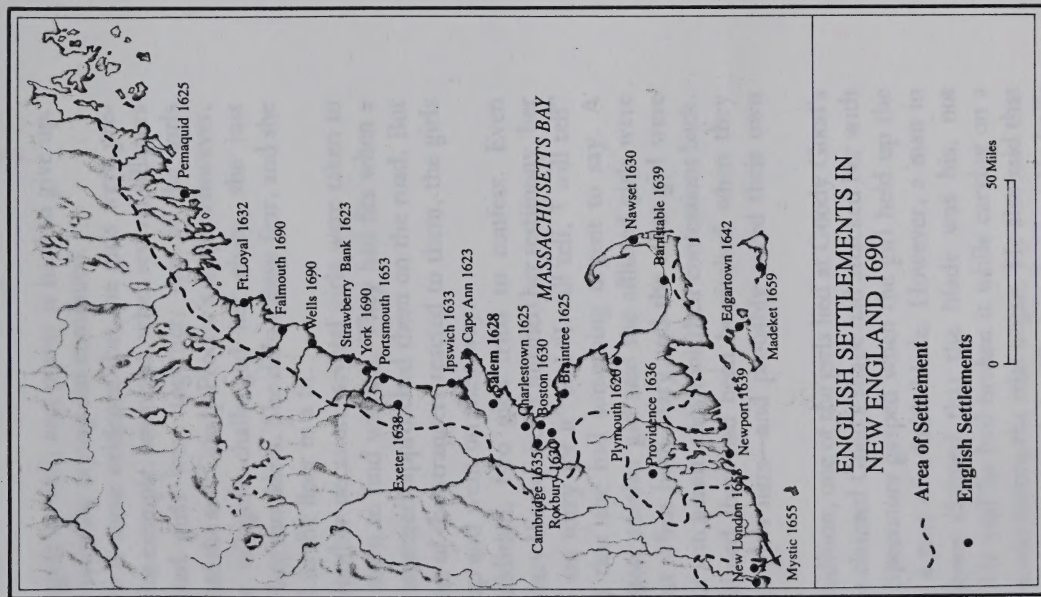


Above: the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock on December 11, 1620. The lithograph is by Sarony & Major.
Below: the escape of the Puritans to the New World.

The Massachusetts Bay Company's charter gave the group's leaders, all Puritans, the right to govern the colony. Only male Puritans could vote for government officials. These voters elected "assistants" from a group of men already approved of by the Puritans. The assistants would then choose a governor and members of the legislature. This government would base all the colony's laws on the Bible.

The Massachusetts Bay Company was different from other companies. For one thing, its headquarters was moved from England to Massachusetts. Once it was away from English officials, the company could operate without English interference. Puritan leaders ignored those parts of their charter and any English laws that weakened their control. Also, unlike other companies, the Massachusetts Bay Company's major goal wasn't to make money, especially after the Puritans purchased all of the company's stock. Its main purpose then was to build a perfect religious settlement, one completely free from sin.

Once a government was established, the Puritan leaders concentrated on keeping their settlers faithful. Life was to consist of working hard, praying, going to church, and obeying the colony's strict laws. One's thoughts were always to be on God. Those disagreeing with this way of life—including Quakers, who had quite different ideas from the Puritans—were not welcome. They were threatened with hanging if they stayed.



things happen as well, and power is hard to give up. That was why the crying out continued.

There is some evidence that the girls were pretending. For example, one night, when several villagers and afflicted girls were together, one of the girls claimed that she saw Goody Proctor's shape. However, when the villagers challenged her claim, she just shrugged her shoulders. She didn't show fear, and she didn't fall to the floor in a fit.

On another occasion, several girls were taken to a nearby town to find witches. They had fits when a group of strangers approached them on the road. But when none of the strangers reacted to them, the girls just got up and went on their way.

In addition, two girls tried to confess. Even though Mary Warren never finished her testimony, her words "I am sorry for it" and "I will tell, I will tell" indicated that she had something urgent to say. A month later, another girl said the afflicted girls were lying. But when both Mary and the other girl were accused of witchcraft, they took their confessions back. They claimed they had been bewitched when they called the girls liars—and probably saved their own lives.

In addition, one of the girls lied at Goody Good's trial. She claimed Good's shape had attacked her with a knife. Spectators gasped when the girl held up the weapon, a part of a knife blade. However, a man in the audience claimed that the blade was his, not Good's. He said he had broken it while carving on a piece of wood before the trial began. He also said that the girl had seen him do it. Then he held up his knife

handle with its remaining piece of blade. The edge of his broken blade and the girl's matched!

However, historians who have studied the old Salem trial records do not think the girls were pretending to be bewitched. At least, not all of them were rolled about on the floor with such force during a fit that two men couldn't hold one girl down. Historians think the girls were suffering from hysteria.

Typically, hysterics have strong emotional outbursts—crying and screaming—that are followed by unusual physical ailments or bizarre actions. For instance, doctors studying the illness have noticed that



Historians think that some of the afflicted girls may have suffered from hysteria.

51
p54 also. widder

S

MORE ARRESTS AND SOME HANGINGS

Even though Good, Osburn, and Tiruba were in jail, the girls' fits didn't go away. Rather, they worsened. Shapes appeared regularly, pinching and choking them. As a result, more arrests were made in March and April 1692, whenever the girls could identify—or in the words the Puritans used, "cry out on"—a tormentor. And although the girls lost Betty the Parrises sent her away to recover, the group grew. Others joined them, including a young boy.

At first, the new suspects were, like Good and Osburn, old women who were not very well liked. A few, like Good's five-year-old daughter, were confessed witches. Soon, however, some of the most respected people in the area were accused.

One such woman was Rebecca Nurse. Seventy-one years old, Goody Nurse was a faithful church

member, a loving wife, a devoted mother, a doting grandmother, and a good neighbor. How, many asked themselves after her arrest, could such a woman be a witch? What proof was there?

Abigail Williams had "proof." She said she had seen Nurse's shape, and it had tormented her in the Parris home. Deodat Lawson, a former village minister, and Reverend Parris had witnessed the tormenting.

It began one night when Abigail screamed that a shape had entered the house. Neither Parris nor Lawson saw anything, no matter how hard they looked. Abigail then pointed toward the middle of the room and shouted in disbelief, "Do you not see her? Why there she stands!"

Then Abigail pushed something away, something she alone saw. "I won't! I won't! I am sure it is none of God's book!"

Lawson demanded that she tell him who she saw. Abigail shouted that she saw Goody Nurse. Then she ran to the fireplace and tried to fly up the chimney to get away from Nurse's shape.

Goody Nurse was arrested. On March 24, she was taken to the meetinghouse for her hearing. The elderly woman's quiet and humble manner touched almost everyone in the room. Her friends wept as she walked toward the magistrates. Hathorne, also affected by her appearance, asked softly for her plea. With quiet confidence, she said that she was innocent.

The girls' reaction to that news was fits. They fell to the floor, some crying and shrieking, others seemingly unable to speak. Witnesses watched their bodies stiffen into grotesque shapes and huge lumps rise in



Arrest of an accused witch

some of their throats. Few doubted they were being bewitched by Nurse.

"Oh, Lord, help me!" Rebecca pleaded.²

Now the girls, recovered, began to imitate Nurse's every move. If she turned her head, they turned theirs; if she shifted her feet, they shifted theirs.

Then Ann Putnam's mother joined the girls in accusing Nurse. She told the magistrates that she had seen the ghosts of several village children, who had died years ago, in her dreams. They had told her that Goody Nurse had murdered them, bewitched them to death.

That was enough for the judges. Nurse was taken back to jail to await her trial. Shortly after that, Rebecca's two sisters, who bravely spoke out in her defense, were also arrested and thrown into jail.

In April, Mary Warren was jailed. This arrest was surprising because Warren had been one of the afflicted girls. However, when the other girls cried out on the Proctors, the people Mary worked for and lived with, Mary said they must be lying. Soon after, some of the girls said they thought they saw Mary's shape. On April 19, Mary was asked to explain herself at a hearing.

At first, she seemed strong and sure. But when the girls had fits, her body began to twitch, and she had trouble speaking. She tried, though. "I will speak. Oh, I am sorry for it! I am sorry for it! . . . I will tell! I will tell!" Then she fell into a fit.

When she recovered, she tried to continue. "I will tell! They did . . . they did . . . they did . . ." Then

her fit returned, and her jaws locked. She spoke no more that day.

Several days later, she claimed she had been bewitched when she said the girls had lied. She joined in on crying out against the Proctors and took her old place with Ann and the others. They seemed happy to have her back.

The arrests continued. No trials could be held, however, because the colony's charter, which had given local officials temporary power to run the government, had expired. The old charter had been changed several times since it had first been issued in the early 1600s because many colonists had complained to the King of England about the overly strict Puritan laws. For example, the king now appointed the governor rather than allowing the Puritan assistants to elect him. The colony's leader, Increase Mather, had gone to England to get a new charter.

In late May, Increase Mather returned to the colony with a new charter that appointed Sir William Phips, who also went to England, as the new governor. Upon learning that the jails were full of witches, Phips declared that the trials should begin at once. He set up a special court to hear the witchcraft cases, called the Court of Oyer (to hear) and Terminer (to decide).

Phips was planning to leave the colony for an expedition to Canada, so he put Deputy Governor William Stoughton in charge of the court. Stoughton, with help from six experienced judges, was to organize and run the trials. He decided that a jury of twelve male church members should be selected to hear the

evidence and decide if the suspects were innocent or not, even though *any* male owning enough property could now be a juror under the new charter. The judges would determine punishment for anyone found guilty. Lawyers would not be allowed to advise suspects, even though the charter did allow this. In fact, lawyers had been forbidden by the Puritans to practice in the colony at all, since it was felt they couldn't be trusted. Stoughton decided to follow that practice. The trials would be held in the courthouse in Salem Town. Meanwhile, magistrates Hathorne and Corwin were expected to continue their hearings for suspects in Salem Village.

The first trial, Bridget Bishop's, was held on June 2. It's not recorded why Bridget was chosen over the others who had been arrested before her, but she and her husband owned two taverns in the area, where laughter and noise continued late into the night. Neighbors had been complaining for years that Bridget was setting a poor example for young people. She even allowed customers to play wild games such as "shoveboard" (shuffleboard) at her taverns.

To make matters worse, Bridget was a pretty woman who liked to dress up and show off. She wore red vests and brightly colored dresses trimmed with lace and lots of ribbons. Her garments were quite a contrast to the simple, gray clothing most Puritans thought proper.

Bishop was accused by five of the girls and twenty-three townspeople, many of whom had long memories. Men testified that they had seen her shape in their dreams, and that Bishop had pinched and hurt them.



*The witch trials in Salem continue;
lithograph by George H. Walker.*

21

Shrine

One said he had seen her shape fourteen years before near his child. Shortly after, the baby had died. A confessed witch said that she had seen Bridget at a witches' sabbath. Two men testified that they had found puppets hidden in the cellar wall of her old house when they had torn it down twelve years before. The puppets had had pins stuck in them, something witches did to cast spells.

The jury found the proof of witchcraft overwhelming and pronounced her guilty. The judges sentenced her to death. On June 10, the constable took Goody Bishop from her jail cell to Gallows Hill outside Salem Village. There she was hanged by a long rope dangling from a sturdy branch of a large oak tree.

After Bishop's death, one of the judges resigned. He was disturbed by the kind of evidence that had been accepted at her trial. He questioned whether stories about shapes were really proof, and he refused to listen to any more spectral evidence in the courtroom.

His replacement and the other judges were upset by the resignation. Before holding any more trials, they called on ministers and judges outside the village for advice. Most, including the leading Puritan ministers of the day, warned the men not to accept spectral evidence. Stoughton and the others listened, but they refused to change their minds about stories of shapes as proof and continued to admit spectral evidence.

The judges also asked about using the "touch test." They knew that such a test had been used in English courts to prove charges of witchcraft. The test was based on the idea that the spells a witch cast through her eyes would be turned back if the victim



The hanging of Bridget Bishop

21 touched the witch. The witch's own evil energy would flow out through the victim's fingertips back into the witch. Such a test was easy to give and easy to judge. The accused was blindfolded, so no more spells could be cast. Then the victim was carried to the witch to touch her. If the fit ended, the accused was found guilty.

Most of those consulted were against the test. They reminded the men that English courts no longer used it. Nevertheless, the Salem judges decided they would have victims touch suspects.

2 Trials began again at the end of June. Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse, Sarah Wildes, Elizabeth Howe, and Susanna Martin were accused by a number of the girls and, in some cases, by as many as twenty villagers.

On the other hand, a few villagers showed great courage by testifying for some of the women. Some even signed petitions saying that they believed the women to be good people, not witches. Thirty-nine signed such a paper for Rebecca Nurse.

Ignoring most of the petitions, the jury found four of the suspects guilty and Goody Nurse innocent. All the girls fell into fits when Nurse's innocence was announced.

Since the judges thought Nurse was guilty, too, they reminded the jury members that a witch's mark had been found and that a confessed witch had seen her at a sabbath. The judges then ordered the jury to leave the room and reconsider Nurse's innocence. When the jury members returned, they announced that Goody Nurse was a witch.

On July 19, the five women were taken from their cells, loaded into a cart, and driven up the steep, rocky road to Gallows Hill. Many villagers watched them go by. A few followed them up the hill.

While Rebecca Nurse prayed by the tall oak tree, a minister told Sarah Good to confess. After all, he said, she knew she was a witch. Goody Good, spunky to the end, snarled, "You are a liar. I am no more a witch than you are a wizard [male witch], and if you take away my life, God will give you blood to drink."⁴

Then each woman was made to climb a different ladder. Nooses were slipped over their heads and tightened around their necks. The ladders were pulled away. The five strangled to death. Later, their bodies were cut down and thrown into a shallow grave. Executed witches were not allowed a decent burial.

On the 10th inst. the vessel was ordered to sail for the coast of Africa.

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Towne

Rest Christian martyr who for Truth could die
When all about thee owned the hideous Lie!
By souls like thine from Superstition's sway
Redeemed at last, the world breathes free to-day.

Oak Knoll, 3rd mo., 10, 1835.

W. P. UPHAM, Esq.

Thy favor is just received. I like the new inscription better than the one I first saw. As to my own lines I am rather sorry to have them broken up, but it will not matter much. I think it would be unwise to put my name on the stone. It will of course be known to everybody now and the tradition will live on indefinitely that I wrote it. I seriously object to it as a matter of taste. No other name than that of Rebecca Nurse should be there. You will therefore oblige me by omitting it.

I am very truly
thy friend,
JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Danvers, 3rd mo., 11, 1885.

DEAR FRIEND:

It occurs to me this morning that a slight change in my verse would benefit it. I give it on the inside of this sheet. If it seem well to the committee, I should like to have it substituted for the first one. I am truly thy friend,

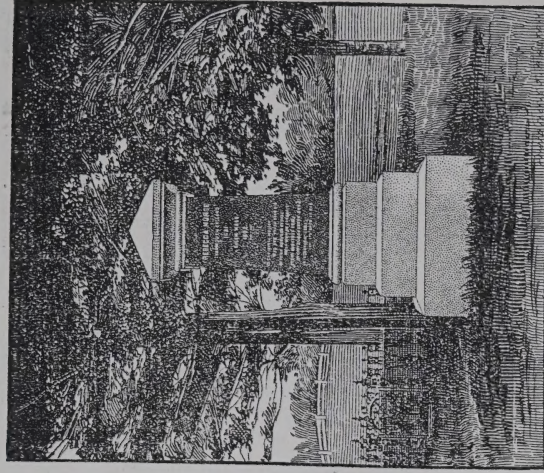
JOHN G. WHITTIER.

O Christian Martyr! who for Truth could die
When all about thee owned the hideous Lie!
The world, redeemed from Superstition's sway
Is breathing freer for thy sake to-day.

The dimension of the shaft rendered it necessary to break the lines but this fortunately could be done without injury to the sense. Our thanks are due to Mr. Whittier for thus adding so effectively to the impressiveness of our memorial.

It seemed to the committee that in the limited space remaining for inscription it would be best to preserve for perpetual memory the date and place of birth and death of Rebecca Nurse and the most simple facts of the tragedy by which she suffered.

The following is a copy of the inscriptions:—



[FRONT FACE.]

Rebecca Nurse
Yarmouth, England.

1621,

Salem, Mass.,

1692.

O Christian Martyr!
who for Truth could die,
When all about thee
owned the hideous Lie!
The world, redeemed
from Superstition's sway,
Is breathing freer
for thy sake to-day.

REBECCA NURSE MONUMENT.



[FRONT FACE.]

Rebecca Nurse
Yarmouth, England.
1621,
Salem, Mass.,
1692.

O Christian Martyr!
who for Truth could die,
When all about thee
owned the hideous Lie!
The world, redeemed
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Is breathing freer
for thy sake to-day.



[FRONT FACE.]

Rebecca Nurse
Yarmouth, England.

1621,

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O Christian Martyr!
who for Truth could die,
When all about thee
owned the hideous Lie!
The world, redeemed
from Superstition's sway,
Is breathing freer
for thy sake to-day.

- IX. ^{Elizabeth} I, Count of Rheims & Rousy, Archbishop of Rheims; m. Beatrice of Hainaut, dau. of Regnier IV, Count of Hainaut by Hedwig of France, dau. of Hugh Capet, King of France by Adelaide of Poitou
- X. Alix de Rousy; m. Hilduin III, Count of Montdidier
- XI. Margaret de Rousy; m. Hugh, Count of Clermont-Beauvais
- XII. Adelaide de Clermont; m. Gilbert fitz Richard de Clare
- XIII. Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare; m. Adeliz, sister of Ranulf de Gernons, Earl of Chester
- XIV. Roger de Clare, Earl of Hertford; m. Maud de St. Hilary
- XV. Aveline de Clare, widow of Wm de Munchanesy, 2nd wife of Geoffrey fitz Piers, Earl of Essex
- XVI. Hawise fitz Piers, lady of Streatly, Berks, half sister of Wm de Mandeville, Earl of Essex; m. as 1st wife, Reynold de Mohun II, lord of Dunster Castle, Somerset (identity covered by CP, Barony of Mohun, p. 20, note h; *VCH Berkshire* vol. 3, Manor of Streatley, p. 512)
- XVII. Alice de Mohun; m. Sir Robert de Beauchamp, Somerset
- XVIII. Sir Humphrey de Beauchamp of Ryme, Dorset; m. Sybil Poltimore, Devon (Nos. XIX-XXIII covered by Visitation of Devon, 1620, ed. Colby; article by John Bagnall, *Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries*, vol. 22)
- XX. John Bampfild; m. Isabel, dau. of Sir John Cobham of Blackburgh Bolhay
- XXI. John Bampfild; m. 1st wife Joan, dau. of Geoffrey
- XXII. Gilbert of Compton
- XXIII. Thomas Bampfild, 2nd son, of Huxham; m. Agnes, dau. of Adam Coolestone
- XXIV. Agnes Bampfild; m. John Prowse of Chagford (Nos. XXIII-XXV, see Visitation of Devon 1620, ed. Colby and family deeds)
- XXV. Richard Prowse of Chagford; m. Margaret, dau. of Wm Norton of Broadclyst and Newton St. Cyres
- XXVI. John Prowse of Chagford; m. Joan, dau. & h. of John Orchard and Joan Galmady
- Robert Prowse, younger son, of West Chevithorne in Tiverton, yeoman; m. N. N. (The Pardon Roll, 1511/12, Cal. Close Rolls, Visitation of Devon, 1564, ed. Colby; Sir William Pole of Shute's *Collections towards a description of the county of Devon, 1635*, under 'Chagford,' deed of Richarda, Dame Giffard of Taunton Castle, naming her g. father Robert, son of John Prowse of Chagford; Devon Lay Subsidy Rolls)
- XXVII. John Prowse, clothier of Chevithorne in Tiverton; m. Alice, heir of White (Nos. 27-8, Inquisitions post mortem on both, and mon. inscript. St. Peter's Church, Tiverton; Tiverton Parish Register; Subsidy Rolls)
- XXVIII. John Prowse, clothier, of Chevithorne; m. Elizabeth, dau. & h. of Robert Collack of Westmere by Richarda.

XXIX. Agnes Prowse of Tiverton; m. as 1st wife John, son of Thomas Trowbridge, twice Mayor of Taunton, Somerset (Nuncupative will of John Prowse in favour of "Thomas Prowse his eldest son," complete copy dated 1 July 1649 [PCC 32 Pembroke], proved 25 Feb. 1649/50)

XXX. Thomas Trowbridge of Taunton, Exeter (Devon), Dorchester and New Haven, Conn.; m. Elizabeth Marshall, dau. of John Marshall of Exeter by Alice Bevy's, dau. of Richard Bevy's, Mayor of Exeter. A colonist (Thomas Trowbridge of Taunton, Exeter, Dorchester and New Haven, m. 2ndly, by license of the Bishop of Exeter, at St. David's, Exeter, 10 Feb. 1640, his cousin, Frances Shattocke, widow, dau. of Robert Godsal, of Taunton by his wife Dorothy, dau. of Thomas Trowbridge Sr, grandfather of the bridegroom, St. David's, St. Kerrian's, St. Petrocks and St. Mary Arches Parish Registers, Exeter.)

XXXI. Thomas Trowbridge, 2nd son, of Exeter, Dorchester and New Haven, Conn.; m. (1) Sarah, dau. of Henry Rutherford, gent., of New Haven

[For Generations XXII to XXVII, ending in President Hayes, see TAG 56:161-165]

27, *Aillescombe Drive, Paignton, Devon, TQ3 3QU*

COLONIAL AMERICAN WITCHES

GEORGE ELY RUSSELL C.G.

Interest in establishing a National Society of the Descendants of Colonial Witches was first publicized in the Spring 1973 number of *The Colonial Genealogist* (6:229). A number of descendants have since expressed support for such an organization. Prerequisite is an authoritative register of qualifying witches. For this purpose a "witch" is defined as a person who was accused of practicing witchcraft, imprisoned, tried, convicted, sentenced to the death penalty and executed. Also included are the several ship passengers accused of witchcraft and executed at sea before the ship arrived at an American port.

There is an extensive literature on the victims of the so-called Salem Witchcraft Delusion of 1692, which claimed twenty-four lives. Ten more victims in the period 1647-1662 are identified by John W. Taylor in *The Witchcraft Delusion in Colonial Connecticut* (1908, reprinted 1971). Four more in Massachusetts (in 1648, 1651, 1656 and 1688) and one in Maryland in 1685 bring the total number of witches to thirty-nine. The reader should also note the article on this topic by Donald Lines Jacobus (*New Haven Genealogical Magazine* 4: 951-958).

Standard genealogical reference works and transcripts of

trial and related proceedings provide details to aid in identifying these persons, only a few of whom have been the subject of intensive biographical or genealogical investigation. In the following list an asterisk denotes those known to have left children and other descendants. I am indebted to Dr. David L. Greene for assistance in compiling the list, and am interested in learning of any additional witches and further identifying data for the several women. Interested persons are encouraged to compile genealogical accounts of the witches for publication.

- *Barnes, Mary (----), wife of Thomas, of Farmington, Conn.
- *Bassett, ----, possibly wife of Thomas, of Stratford, Conn.
- *Bishop, Bridget (----), wife of Edward Bishop, widow of ---- Wasselbe and Thomas Oliver, of Salem, Mass., 1692
- *Burroughs, Rev. George, of Salem, Mass., 1692
- *Carrier, Martha (Allen), wife of Thomas Morgan alias Carrier, of Andover, 1692
- *Carrington, John and wife Joan (----), of Wethersfield, Conn., 1651
- *Cory, Giles and wife Martha (----), of Salem Village, Mass., 1692
- *Dustin, Lydia (----), of Reading, Mass., 1693
- *Easty/Esty, Mary (Towne), wife of Isaac Esty, of Topsfield, Mass., 1692
- *Foster, Anne (----), possibly widow of Andrew, of Andover, Mass., 1692
- *Fowler, Rebecca (----), wife of John, of Calvert County, Md, 1685
- *Gilbert, Lydia (----), wife of Thomas, of Wiltors, Conn., 1654
- *Glover, ----, a woman, of Boston, Mass., 1688
- *Good/Goode, Sarah (Solart), wife of William, widow of Daniel Poole, of Salem Village, Mass., 1692
- *Greensmith, Nathaniel and wife Rebecca (----), widow of Abraham Elson and of (----), of Hartford, Conn., 1662
- *Hibbins, Anne (----), widow of Mr. William Hibbins and widow of ---- Moore, of Boston, Mass., 1636
- *How/Hove, Elizabeth (Jackson), wife of James, of Ipswich, Mass., 1692
- *Jacobs, George, of Salem Village, Mass., 1692
- Johnson, Mary, of Wethersfield, Conn., 1648
- Jones, Margaret (----), wife of William, of Charlestown, Mass., 1648
- *Knapp, ----, "goodwife," of Fairfield, Conn., 1653
- *Lake, Alice (----), wife of Henry, of Dorchester, Mass., 1651
- *Martin, Susanna (North), widow of George, of Amesbury, Mass., 1692
- *Nurse, Rebecca (Towne), wife of Francis, of Salem Village, Mass., 1692
- *Osborne, Sarah (Warren), wife of Alexander Osborne, widow of Robert Prince, of Salem Village, Mass., 1692
- *Parker, Alice (----), of Salem, Mass., 1692
- *Parker, Mary (----), wife of John, of Andover, Mass., 1692
- *Practor, John (----), widow of Jacob Pudeator, widow of Thomas Green-slade, of Salem, Mass., 1692
- *Pudeator, Ann (----), widow of Jacob Pudeator, widow of Thomas Green-Reed/Redd, Wilnot (----), wife of Samuel, sister of Ann Condy, of Marblehead, Mass., 1692
- *Scott, Margaret (----), widow of Benjamin, of Rowley, Mass., 1692
- Toothaker, Roger, of Billerica, Mass., 1692
- *Wardwell, Samuel, of Andover, Mass., 1692
- *Wild/Wildes, Sarah (Averill), wife of John, of Topsfield, Mass., 1692
- *Willard, John, of Salem Village, Mass., 1692
- Young, Aise, of Windsor, Conn., 1647

3 Lombardy Drive, Middletown, MD 21769

THOMAS BRADBURY'S COTTON ANCESTRY

BY JOHN B. THRELFALL, FASC

This article is an addendum to the Ancestor Table of Thomas Bradbury (TAG 55:1-4), and the serial numbers used here refer to that table. Major sources for this article are: the Visitations of Cambridgeshire, 1575 and 1619; "Landwade and the Cotton Family" in the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, vols. 38-39; W. M. Palmer, ed., *Monumental Inscriptions and Coats of Arms from Cambridgeshire* (1932); various publications of the British Record Commission; Archives in the Guildhall Library, London; Manuscript Notes of John Lay (ca. 1632) and of William Cole between 1742 and 1782, in the British Library (formerly called the British Museum), in the 712-713 JOHN COTTON of Cotton and Cambridge, born probably about 1330, is the earliest of this family to be identified as the progenitor of a long and numerous line of distinguished persons. John Cotton, or an ancestor, apparently originated in the small parish of Cotton which lies about three miles west of the city of Cambridge, England. There were, however, several other towns in England also named Cotton or Coton, and other families living near those towns who also assumed the name Cotton at an early date. So, John Cotton of Cambridge was not the first and only one of the name, although he seems to have been the sire of this particular family of Cottons.

That he or his ancestors came from Coton is apparent, for on a number of records he is referred to as John de Coton (or Cotton). Cotton means "cote-town," that is, a village of cottages or small huts. About 1349 a John Cotton and others gave a tenement in Trumpington Street for the endowment of a chantry of St. Mar in St. Peter's Church (now St. Mary the Less). It would seem more likely that this was the father of the subject of this sketch, unless the date is off. I have been unable to verify this record (John Milner Gray, *Biographical Notes on the Mayors of Cambridge* [Cambridge, 1922]). According to the antiquarian, William Cole, John Cotton appears as a witness to many deeds in or about Cambridge from 1364 on, and on two in 1393, the year he is said to have died in an Inquisition *ad quod damnum* regarding the transfer of some property to Corpus Christi College. In 1374 he and two others received a deed for Trumpington manor just south of Cambridge. Two months later he was again the donee in another deed, probably acting as a trustee in both cases (Cal. of Close Rolls). In Benet College Library is an ancient original deed by which Corpus Christi College leased to John Cotton, burgess of Cambridge, Margaret his wife, and Walter their son, a walled garden in St. Mary's parish, of 105 ft. by 36 ft., for 6s. 8d. per annum, dated at Cambridge Friday, before St. Nicholas, Bishop and Confessor, i.e. 30 November, in 50 Edward III (1375). He also held several acres in the west fields of Cambridge (Hall & Ravensdale, *West Fields of Cambridge*, 1976).

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Members of our Family Involved in the "Salem
Witchcraft" Hysteria in 1692

Ancestor of my
grandpa, white

1- Sarah (Averill) Wildes born about 1627 in Ash,
Kent County, England daughter of poor immigrants,
William & Abigail Averill. (Sarah - same name
as my grandpa's mother, Sarah Jane Averill)
grew up in Ipswich (Chebacco Parish) but then
became the second wife of John Wildes of Topsfield
and lived there and raised a family.
She was hanged as a witch on Gallows Hill, Salem
MA, on 19 July 1692.

Sarah & John had been very close to our ancestor,
her brother William Averill, Jr. After this there were
many more intermarriages between the descendants of
these 2 families, and John Averill, a nephew - not
our ancestor, married an Anne Greenstreet who was
descended from Ann Pudeator, who was also executed.

Ancestor of my Grandma -
Mary Lydia (Dann) White

2- Towne Family came to Salem 1635
ancestor - William Towne (1589-1673) and his wife, Joanna Blessing,
were married and their first 6 children baptised in the
beautiful old St Nicholas Church (Cathedral) at Yarmouth,
Norfolk County, England. The people in that part of the nation
had been subjected to invasion from the continent of Europe
many times, from even before the Romans. The church
of St Nicholas dated partly from the 13th century & built
by the Normans, who brought Christianity; but these
people had a great amount of Norse & Viking blood
and were very pious but highly superstitious.

Journal of the first voyage to the Pacific
by James Cook, Esq. in the ship Endeavour
under the command of Captain Cook, in the year 1769

On the 1st of August 1769, the ship Endeavour
left the Bay of Islands, and sailed for the
westward. The wind was light and variable,
and the sea calm. At 10 o'clock we
made the land of the Sandwich Islands,
and at 11 o'clock we were within sight of
the bay of the same name.

At 12 o'clock we anchored in the bay,
and at 1 o'clock we went on shore to
make water. The land was low and fertile,
and the people were friendly and
civilized. We found that the people
were of the same race as the
people of the Sandwich Islands.

On the 2nd of August we went on shore
to make water. The land was low and
fertile, and the people were friendly and
civilized. We found that the people
were of the same race as the
people of the Sandwich Islands.

Journal of the first voyage to the Pacific

by James Cook, Esq. in the ship Endeavour

ancestors Children of William & Jeanne (Blessing) Towne:

- ① Rebecca Towne, the oldest - born 1621, married, as his second wife, Francis Nurse (Nourse). Their home, built in 1678, is off Pine Street in Danvers, MA - if you get a chance to look at it. Rebecca Nurse raised 8 children, was 71 years old & deaf when she was accused by the children of witchcraft. She was a very pious old lady and had a strong Norfolk dialect which included a great many double, triple, even quadruple negatives - in answer to a question - "No. I never hurt no child, no, never!" etc. She was so sincere the jury at first found her innocent, but was called back by authorities to reconsider. Because she was deaf and did not turn around to read lips - not knowing what was going on - she did not answer questions the second time, was found guilty, and executed the same day as Sarah Averill - 19 July 1692. Gov. Phipps was going to sign a reprieve but didn't get around to it.

② John b. 1623 ③ Susanna b. 1625 - these two not followed.

ancestors ④ + Edmund born 1628, though very young, did not come with the family in 1635, but came in the ship "Rose of Yermouth" in 1637, apprenticed to a man named Henry Steery who evidently paid for the passage. A 9-year old worker?! He is our ancestor, and became grandfather through his son, William, of Merry Towne who married her cousin, John Towne. This son,

ancestors - William (Merry's father) married a widow named Margaret

ancestors Willard (we don't know her maiden name) whose first

husband, John Willard, was also executed as a witch. He was the constable who had been put in charge of overseeing the "witches." Being a sensitive man, the situation took its toll on him. He began to neglect his duties and in a spell of despondency cried out, "Hang them all! They are all witches!" (He didn't mean it - this was sarcasm.)

Witches

③

No sooner had John Willard said that than he, being a sheriff, realized he was in jeopardy. And he was right. The next morning a warrant was ordered for his arrest, the children having cried out on him, also. He ran away for his life but only got as far as Lancaster ^{MA} when he was picked up. (There was some confusion because one of the accusing ministers was also named Willard - no relation.)

⑤ Jacob born 1632 —

①

⑥ Mary (Towne) Esty (Eastie) b. 24 August 1634 in England and raised in Salem was married to Isaac Esty. She was 58 years old, mother of two grown daughters. She was a self-possessed, gentle woman who made a good impression. Even the jailers testified for her. On 18 May 1692 the charges against her were dropped. She was home only 3 days. The girl Mary Lewis was taken violently ill with peroxysms ^{fitting} before she fell into a coma with locked jaws, however, she cried out that Mary Esty was doing this to her.

The Esty family had blown out the candles and practised when there came a pounding & shouting at the door. She did not resist, but dressed and went with the jailer. At that very hour, near as anyone could tell, Mary Lewis recovered. The magistrates dared not risk the poor girls again. She and others were executed 22 Sep. 1692.

①

⑦

Sarah (Towne) Cloyce (Clayes) born about 1636 in Salem, was married to Peter Cloyce. It was the second marriage for them both, and they had 3 or 4 older children. Whereas her older sisters had meekly and sincerely protested their innocence, Sarah was of a different nature. She was disenchanted with religion - as practiced locally - and stayed away from Church after Rebecca

was arrested. However on Sacrament Sunday 3 April 1692 she was persuaded to go, and hoped for better. However when she got there pastor Rev. Parris was so cold and the sermon so brutal she walked out of Church, slamming the door behind her. That was a big mistake! The children accused her and the next day - Monday - a warrant was sworn out for her arrest. Friends tried to cover for her, saying she left because she was suddenly taken very ill - but it did not work. Her hearing was held in Boston so more people could attend. But in the big city the magistrates turned out to be just as naive and excitable as in little Salem, a more rural community.

Sarah woke up to the fact that if the ministers got one to confess they would try to redeem the person but that if one pled innocence it did not work. She made a phony confession and was able to save her life, until after the witchcraft hysteria died down. She underwent a terrible ordeal, but lived.

ancestor ⑧ + Joseph Toane born 1630, became grandfather, through
 ancestor his son, John, of John Toane, Jr., who married his
 " cousin, Mercy Toane referred to on sheet #2 - under ④.

ancestors John Toane, Jr., and Mercy Toane, married in 1729 and
 moved to Sutton, in Worcester County, Mass. They raised a
 large family including Lois Toane, who married
 Richard Dodge 5. Their son Levi was father of
 Rev. Dwight Dodge who settled in Kingston, Mo.

Another ancestor, Puritan minister Rev. John Emerson, of nearby
 Gloucester, was of mostly Norse ancestry. He was a Harvard
 grad., and descended from a long line of Norman archbishops, etc.,

(I guess back in the 14th + 15th century, etc, bishops) were allowed to have families while ordinary Catholic priests could not.) The name Emerson meant descendant (son) of Emeric (powerful early Churchman). John was son of Thomas Emerson, ^{the immigrant} filthy rich who was probably son of Ralf. Ralf (Rolph, Rauff) Emerson had a coat-of-arms which he used + there is evidence that Thomas + John used them also, probably. Our Emersons were Puritans (not Anglicans or Catholics as their ancestors had been).

Obviously, Rev. John Emerson was not a minister to make a living. The amount the church at Gloucester paid him was only a fraction of his income. He had a burning desire to save souls — and one way he tried to do this was by trying to drive the devil out of people accused of witchcraft.

This man of Norse descent's ancestors — grandfather + the rest farther back (but not his father) had lived + died in Durham County in Northeast England + some in Yorkshire where they had been in charge of Royal forests — avoiding the night air because that is when the spirits were out.

John Emerson was a student and fast friend of Cotton Mather, informal head of American Puritan clergy. In one instance Emerson waved his finger in front of an unfortunate accused lady's face, and also shouted at her + tried hard to wear her down, to admit she was be witched so he could save her. There was an Indian scare (instigated by French) + Rev Emerson wrote to Rev. Mather he was convinced it was not the Indians who were prowling, but spirits.

Rev John Emerson married Ruth Symonds, daughter of Deputy Governor Samuel Symonds, wealthiest man in the area. Their daughter Martha Emerson married William Copsell, Sr. ^{lived in Ipswich and} their grand daughter Martha married ^{of fast} Capt Moses Averill (French-Indian War) great grandpa of my Grandpa White's mom, Sarah ^{Averill}. Reverend Emerson never intentionally hurt anybody. He never testified against anyone. He was only against the devil!

If I should ever get time to do so, it would be
nice to do a little write-up about Mary Perkins
Bradbury - a little of offhanded, excepted, let her
be examined. What tell she must have been
We are descended from her of her brother -
Susan Thomas Perkins (Dodge line) and
J. J. Perkins (Murdock line) -
Some notes - and for transcript of the first two
my black (2400) book - Record of Eden withcraft - Vol II

that the discovery of these mysterious and mischievous wickednesses may be perfected.

III. We judge that in the prosecution of these, and all such witchcrafts, there is need of a very critical and exquisite caution, lest by too much credulity for things received only upon the Devil's authority there be a door opened for a long train of miserable consequences, and Satan get an advantage over us, for we should not be ignorant of his devices.

IV. As in complaints upon witchcrafts there may be Matters of Inquiry which do not amount unto Matters of Presumption, and there may be Matters of Presumption which yet may not be reckoned Matters of Conviction, so 'tis necessary that all proceedings thereabout be managed with an exceeding tenderness towards those that may be complained of, especially if they have been persons formerly of an unblemished reputation.

V. When the first inquiry is made into the circumstances of such as may lie under any just suspicion of witchcrafts, we could wish that there may be admitted as little as is possible of such noise, company, and openness as may too hastily expose them that are examined, and that there may be nothing used as a test for the trial of the suspected the lawfulness whereof may be doubted among the People of God, but that the directions given by such judicious writers as Perkins and Bernard be consulted in such a case.

VI. Presumptions whereupon persons may be committed, and, much more, convictions whereupon persons may be condemned as guilty of witchcrafts, ought certainly to be more considered than barely the accused person being represented by a specter unto the afflicted, inasmuch as 'tis an undoubted and a notorious thing that a Demon may, by God's permission, appear even to ill purposes in the shape of an innocent, yea, and a virtuous man. Nor can we esteem alterations made in the sufferers by a look or touch of the accused to be an infallible evidence of guilt, but frequently liable to be abused by the Devil's legdormains.

VII. We know not whether some remarkable affronts given to the Devils by our disbelieving those testimonies whose whole force and strength is from them alone may not put a period unto the progress of the dreadful calamity begun upon us in the accusation of so many persons, whereof we hope some are yet clear from the great transgression laid unto their charge.

VIII. Nevertheless, we cannot but humbly recommend unto the

government the speedy and vigorous prosecution of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious, according to the direction given in the Laws of God and the wholesome statutes of the English nation for the detection of witchcraft.⁸

It is a polite and tactful document. It begins by sympathizing with the afflicted persons and commending the magistrates for their efforts to date, and ends by urging the prosecution "of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious." The ministers had to be polite and tactful. Because in the heart of this document, in sections III through VII, they rejected virtually all of the techniques the magistrates had been using in the preliminary examinations. They firmly rejected not only specter evidence but also all other "things received only upon the Devil's authority," which would include the testimony of confessed witches. They warned against precisely the kind of noisy and disorderly hearings Nathaniel Cary had found so offensive, and against all tests for witchcraft that might be suspect (i.e., that might themselves be a kind of charm). This latter warning, which is so obviously at variance with the advice given by Cotton Mather in his letter to John Richards, reflects the presence of Increase Mather, who, in contrast to his son, was vehemently opposed to such tests as saying the Lord's Prayer or the water ordeal. And finally, in section VII, they suggested that refusing to believe specter evidence and the testimony of confessed witches might "put a period" to the affair, including the accusations. In referring the judges to William Perkins' *Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft* (London, 1608) and Richard Bernard's *Guide to Jury-Men . . . in Cases of Witchcraft* (1627) they were underlining their own reservations, since these writers, as Calef puts it, "made it their business and main work herein to oppose such [ways of trying witches] as they found to be pernicious."⁹

There is no account of the judges' deliberations, either in court or out of it, and it is unlikely that such a transcript was ever made. Many documents do survive from the trials, but aside from indictments and other court orders they consist entirely of evidence presented for and against the accused. But

4. As to the other strange accidents, as the dying of cattle, etc., we apprehend the applying of them to these women as matters of witchcraft to be upon very slender and uncertain grounds.

HARTFORD

October 17th, 1692

Joseph Eliot
Timothy Woodbridge¹⁶

There is a note to the effect that "the rest of the ministers" approved the substance of this document, although they could not wait while it was being drawn up.

The clergymen's recognition of hysteria in the afflicted girl is, for the seventeenth century, both rare and commendable. And the fact that they did not, like Sir Thomas Browne at Bury St. Edmunds, attribute her hysteria to demons acting on the instigation of witches makes it doubly so. The advice they gave was, of course, excellent. But in Connecticut as in Massachusetts the advice of the clergy was better than the actions of the courts. The General Court ordered the trial court to reassemble on October 28. The jury acquitted Goodwife Clawson but brought Mercy Disborough in guilty. Asked to reconsider, they reaffirmed their verdict. The court accepted it, and the governor signed a death warrant. However, three of the Hartford Assistants issued a reprieve until the next meeting of the General Court, giving as one reason the fact that one of the original jurymen had gone to New York and been replaced, illegally, on the second jury. But their second reason is far more important.

We had a good account of the evidences given against her, that none of them amounted to what Mr. Perkins, Mr. Bernard, and Mr. Mather with others state as sufficiently convictive of witchcraft, namely (1st) confession (this there was none of), (2dly) two good witnesses proving some act or acts done by the person which could not be but by help of the Devil. This is the sum of what they center in, as their books show. As for the common things of spectral evidence, ill events after quarrels or threats, tits, water trials and the like, with suspicious words, they are all discarded and some of them abominated by the most judicious as to be convictive of witchcraft. And the miserable toil they are in [in] the [Massachusetts] Bay for adhering to these last-mentioned litigious things is

The book Mr. Perkins of 1692 gave for Massachusetts England set nothing connecting his jury to ours has been discovered.

warning enough. Those that will make witchcraft of such things will make hanging work apace, and we are informed of no other but such as these brought against this woman. . . .

May 12th, 1693

Samuel Willis
William Perkins
Nathaniel Stanley¹⁷

There is no record of further proceedings; apparently the reprieve became permanent, because Mercy Disborough was still living in 1707.

Massachusetts' example had started Connecticut's last witchcraft trial, and Massachusetts' example also stopped it. What is most interesting is the Connecticut assistants' appeal to "Mr. Perkins, Mr. Bernard, and Mr. Mather" as authorities on the validity of witchcraft evidence. Perkins and Bernard were English authorities: William Perkins, *Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft* (London, 1608) and Richard Bernard, *Guide to Grand-Jurymen . . . in Cases of Witchcraft* (1627). Mather is almost certainly Increase Mather, *Cases of Conscience Concerning Evil Spirits Personating Men; Witchcrafts; Infallible Proofs of Guilt in Such as are Accused with that Crime* (Boston, 1693). It is fitting that this little book should have helped prevent the hanging of Mercy Disborough, because it was also this book that ended the witch hunt in Salem.

As we have seen, there were various reasons for the shift in opinion that took place at the end of the summer of 1692. There was the opinion that those who died on August 19 died so well. There were the various protests against the procedures of the Court of Oyer and Terminer. And there was the fact that the court's procedures seemed to be aggravating the witchcraft troubles rather than allaying them. But most important of all, as the witch hunt spread and the accusations flew, people were accused whom nobody could think guilty.

One such accusation had been made early; at the second session of the court, at the beginning of July, the Reverend Samuel Willard of Boston had been cried out on. Nobody

according to His Infinite Benignity and Sovereignty not visit the sin of him or of any other upon himself or any of his, nor upon the land, but that He would powerfully defend him against all temptations to sin for the future, and vouchsafe him the efficacious saving conduct of his Word and Spirit.¹⁰

Sewall stood during the reading of it, and bowed to the congregation at the end.

It is said that Stoughton, told of Sewall's action, remarked that he himself felt no personal guilt. He had acted, he said, in accord with his conscience, and his acquiescence in the public fast day was therefore apology enough.

Sewall had by no means done a complete about-face where witchcraft was concerned. On November 19, 1697, he spoke to John Hale about the latter's plans for a book on witchcraft, the *Modest Enquiry*, in which Hale would conclude that since the Devil suited his actions to men's beliefs about witchcraft it was a sin past men's analysis, and thus impossible to try in a court of law. Sewall wrote of Hale in his diary, "I fear lest he go into the other extreme." Sewall still regarded witchcraft as a punishable capital offense, but recognized that the court of which he had been a prominent member had proceeded on unsafe principles and was guilty of shedding innocent blood. The same recognition is at the heart of the apology of twelve jurymen:

We whose names are underwritten, being in the year 1692 called to serve as jurors in court at Salem, on trial of many who were by some suspected guilty of doing acts of witchcraft upon the bodies of sundry persons,

We confess that we ourselves were not capable to understand nor able to withstand the mysterious delusions of the Powers of Darkness and Prince of the Air, but were, for want of knowledge in ourselves and better information from others, prevailed with to take up with such evidence against the accused as on further consideration and better information we justly fear was insufficient for the touching the lives of any (Deuteronomy 17:6), whereby we fear we have been instrumental with others, though ignorantly and unwittingly, to bring upon ourselves and this People of the Lord the guilt of innocent blood, which sin the Lord saith in scripture he

would not pardon (2 Kings 24:4), that is, we suppose, in regard of his temporal judgments.

We do therefore hereby signify to all in general (and to the surviving sufferers in especial) our deep sense of and sorrow for our errors in acting on such evidence to the condemning of any person, and do hereby declare that we justly fear that we were sadly deluded and mistaken, for which we are much disquieted and distressed in our minds, and do therefore humbly beg forgiveness, first of God for Christ's sake for this our error, and pray that God would not impute the guilt of it to ourselves nor others. And we also pray that we may be considered candidly and aright by the living sufferers as being then under the power of a strong and general delusion, utterly unacquainted with and not experienced in matters of that nature.

We do heartily ask forgiveness of you all, whom we have justly offended, and do declare according to our present minds, we would none of us do such things again on such grounds for the whole world, praying you to accept of this in way of satisfaction for our offense, and that you would bless the inheritance of the Lord, that He may be entreated for the Land.

FOREMAN,	Thomas Fisk	Thomas Perly, Senior
	William Fisk	John Peabody
	John Batcheler	Thomas Perkins
	Thomas Fisk, Junior	Samuel Sayer
	John Dane	Andrew Eliot
	Joseph Evelith	Henry Herrick, Senior ¹¹

The jurymen's recognition that they were "under the power of a strong and general delusion" is something we shall return to in the final chapter. Their state of mind is commonly but inaccurately referred to as mass hysteria. Perhaps it would be most accurate to say that while the afflicted girls' behavior was pathological—a genuine instance of epidemic hysteria—the behavior of the jurymen, and of the mass of the community, was neurotic, and directly related to the pathological state of the girls.

Although most of Massachusetts was doing penance in 1697, some persons remembered the witchcraft trials chiefly in

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

Date	Event
1603	James I ascended English throne
1620	Plymouth Colony settled
1625	Charles I succeeded to the English throne
1626	Roger Conant settled Salem, Massachusetts
1628	John Endicott arrived at Salem as governor
1630	John Winthrop arrived at Boston as governor with the Puritan charter for New England
1637	Pequot Indian War fought "to strike terror into the hearts of the savages"
1637-1638	Anne Hutchinson tried, excommunicated, and driven from Massachusetts
1638	John Wheelwright, banished, founded Exeter, New Hampshire.
1639	First printing press in New England
1649	Charles I beheaded
1649-1660	Puritan Commonwealth in England
1660	Restoration of English crown with Charles II as king.
1656-1663	Persecution of Quakers in Massachusetts
1675-1676	King Philip's Indian War "to destroy the savages"
1684	Puritan charter of New England abolished by the king
1685	James II succeeded to the English throne
1686	Sir Edmond Andros appointed royal governor of Massachusetts by the king
1688	James II deposed in the Glorious Revolution and William III and Mary succeeded to the English throne
1689	Andros imprisoned by the Puritan old guard, who reinstated the old Puritan charter with Simon Bradstreet as governor
1689	Start of King William's War against the French and Indians
1691	King created new royal charter for New England
Year 1692	
Mar. 11	Start of arrest phase of Salem Village witch hunt with the arrests of Sarah Good, Sarah Osborne, and Tituba in Salem Village.

- Apr. 11 Examination of Sarah Cloyce and Elizabeth Proctor in Salem Town by high ranking Puritan officials, establishing the complicity of the ruling old guard in the witch hunt.
- Apr. 1692 Suckling child of Sarah Good died in prison, shortly after prison-keeper John Arnold spent 10 shillings for "two blankets for Sarah Good's child."
- May 10 Sarah Osborne died in prison.
- May 14 Sir William Phipps, the appointed governor under the new royal charter, arrived from England and displaced Gov. Simon Bradstreet
- May 25 A special "Court of Oyer and Terminer" established to try the witchcraft cases.
- May 28 Martha (Allen) Carrier arrested, the first one from Andover.
- June 2 First meeting (in Salem) of Court of Oyer and Terminer at Salem. Bridget Bishop condemned.
- June 10 Bridget Bishop executed.
- June 16 Dr. Roger Toothaker died in Boston jail.
- June 30 Second meeting (in Salem) of Court of Oyer and Terminer. Rebecca Nurse, Elizabeth Howe, Sarah Good, Sarah Wildes, Susannah Martin condemned.
- July 1 End of arrest phase of Salem Village witch hunt with the arrests of Margaret Hawkes and Candy of Salem.
- July 15 Start of arrest phase of Andover witch hunt with the arrest of Ann Foster of Andover.
- July 19 Rebecca Nurse, Elizabeth Howe, Sarah Good, Sarah Wildes, and Susannah Martin executed.
- Aug. 5 Third meeting (in Salem) of Court of Oyer and Terminer. The Rev. George Burroughs, John Proctor, Elizabeth Proctor, John Willard, George Jacobs, Sr., Martha Carrier condemned.
- Aug. 19 The Rev. George Burroughs, John Proctor, John Willard, George Jacobs, Sr., and Martha Carrier executed.
- Sept. 7 Andover touch test resulting in the arrest of 18 Andover residents.
- Sept. 9 Fourth meeting (in Salem) of Court of Oyer and Terminer. Martha Corey, Mary Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Dorcas Hoar, and Mary Bradbury condemned.
- Sept. 17 Fifth meeting (in Salem) of Court of Oyer and Terminer. Wilmot Redd, Abigail Hobbs, Margaret Scott, Mary Parker, Abigail Faulkner, Rebecca Eames, Ann Foster, Mary (Foster) Lacey, and Samuel Wardwell condemned. Mary Bradbury escaped.
- Sept. 18 Mary Bradbury pressed to death.
- Sept. 19

- Sept. 21 Dorcas Hoar reprieved for making a last-minute confession.
- Sept. 22 Martha Corey, Mary Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Margaret Scott, Wilmot Redd, Mary Parker, Samuel Wardwell executed.
- Oct. 6-15 Imprisoned children of Andover released on bail.
- Oct. 27 John Durrant died in Cambridge prison.
- Dec. 3 Ann Foster died in prison.
- Year 1693
- Jan. 3 First meeting (in Salem) of the Superior Court of Judicature.
- Jan. 31 Second meeting (in Charlestown) of the Superior Court of Judicature.
- Mar. 10 Lydia Dustin died in prison.
- Apr. 25 Third meeting (in Boston) of the Superior Court of Judicature.
- May 9 Fourth meeting (in Ipswich) of the Superior Court of Judicature.

Dedham, and until those vagabond Quakers are carried out of this jurisdiction. You are required to take these vagabond Quakers, Ann Coleman, Mary Tompkins, Alice Ambrose, and make them fast to the cart's tail, and driving the cart through your several towns, to whip them upon their backs, not exceeding ten stripes apiece on each of them, in each town. Dated December 22, 1662."⁵⁰

Although the execution of such punishment, ten stripes in eleven towns, one hundred ten in all, would result in their certain deaths, it was nonetheless undertaken. In Dover on Christmas day, a holiday not celebrated by the Puritans, the three Quaker women were stripped naked to the waist and tied to a cart. The constable, Thomas Roberts, brutally whipped them. As a fellow Quaker and an ally of the women, Eliakim Wardwell was present. While the flogging was taking place, the Rev. Rayner "stood and looked on, and laughed at it."⁵¹ Deeply offended, Eliakim Wardwell reproved the minister, providing the Puritans with yet another piece of insolence to add to their list of Quaker outrages. For this offense, Waldron sentenced Eliakim to the stocks.

Roberts then marched the three women to Hampton. The constable there, William Field, "spoke to a woman to take off their clothes; the woman said she would not do it for all the world; and other women also refused to do it. Then he said, 'I profess I will do it myself.' So he stripped them, and then stood, with the whip in his hand, trembling as a condemned man, and did the execution as a man in that condition. One Anthony Stanyel hastened up for the work, having a great desire himself to do the execution on the women, but he was disappointed, for it was done ere he came."⁵² Eliakim's wife, Lydia Wardwell, watched the proceedings in silence.

Next the three Quaker women were taken "through the dirt and snow, half-way the leg deep, to Salisbury, the constable forcing them after the cart's tail, at which he whipped them." Though they now were on the verge of death from pain, shock,

50 Bishop, *New England Judged*, 231-238.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

and loss of blood, the persecutors showed no mercy. Among the spectators was Edward Wharton, who accosted Thomas Bradbury, clerk of the court at Salisbury, and said, "I am here to see your wickedness and cruelty, that so if you kill them, I may be able to declare how you murdered them."⁵³ The Rev. John Wheelwright advised the constable that his safest alternative was to drive on. But the constable appointed Walter Barefoot as a deputy, who then set the three women free. Earlier that year Wheelwright had come back to America from England to become pastor of the church at Salisbury.

In time the three Quaker women returned to Dover. The constable, Thomas Roberts, and his brother, John Roberts, "laid hands on Alice Ambrose, as she was in prayer, and taking her, the one by the one arm, and the other by the other arm, they unmercifully dragged her out of doors, with her face toward the snow, which was knee-deep, over the stumps and old trees near a mile, in the way of which, when they had wearied themselves, they commanded two others to help them, and so laid her up a prisoner in the house of T. Canny, a very wicked man. They made haste to fetch Mary Tompkins, whom they also dragged along, with her face toward the snow. T. Roberts, the poor father of these two wicked constables, followed after, lamenting and crying, 'Woe, that ever he was the father to such wicked children.'"⁵⁴

They also made a prisoner of the third woman, Ann Coleman. "In the morning, it being exceedingly cold they got a canoe. They furiously took Mary Tompkins by the arms, and dragged her on her back, over the stumps of trees, down a very steep hill to the water-side. Alice Ambrose they plucked violently in the water, and kept her swimming by the canoe. And they put Ann Coleman in great danger of her life also. But on a sudden a great tempest arose, and they had them back to the house again, and kept them prisoners till near midnight, and then they cruelly turned them out of doors in the frost and snow. These are the fruits of the minister of Dover, the gall and vinegar that he pours into the

53 Ibid. In 1692, Thomas Bradbury's wife, Mary (Perkins) Bradbury, was arrested for witchcraft and sentenced to death.

54 Ibid.

mother while riding? Who rid foremost on that stick to the village?" She answered, "[I] suppose my mother."¹⁷² If the learned magistrates and ministers believed in witches riding broomsticks, why not she? The three women were returned to prison. Their confessions were put in the records, even though Ann Foster, in moments of defiance, had reneged.

Because of her compliance, the magistrates often had Mary Lacey, Jr. taken out of her prison cell and returned to courtroom to act as an afflicted girl. This eighteen-year old woman was the Andover counterpart of Abigail Hobbs, 22, who was treated in the same way. The magistrates manipulated these two young women like puppets on a string. Each young woman was classified both as a witch and as an afflicted person. They became the prototype confessing witches whose words were used to implicate others. It is ironic that Abigail Hobbs, after many sterling performances at preliminary examinations, was convicted and sentenced to death by the Court of Oyer and Terminer on September 17, 1692. Condemned at the same time were the mother, Mary (Foster) Lacey, and grandmother, Ann Foster, of Mary Lacey, Jr.¹⁷³

The successful arrest of Ann Foster, Mary Lacey, and Mary Lacey Jr., three generations of a family of an Andover first settler, opened wide the door to further accusations. Initially the Andover conspiracy consisted of the Rev. Thomas Barnard and Joseph Ballard. After the death of his wife on July 27, 1692, Ballard turned his attention away from the witch hunt toward finding a new wife. Less than four months later, on November 15, he remarried. Two and one-half weeks after the happy event, the widow Ann Foster, who supposedly had bewitched his first wife to death, died of abusive treatment in Salem prison. Was this the peace and comfort that Hathorne promised Ann Foster for her confession?

172 Ibid.

173 In 1692 the Court of Oyer and Terminer brought no minor children to trial. However, in 1693 the Superior Court of Judicature did try minors. Mary Lacey, Jr. was tried on January 13, 1693 and found not guilty.

The Rev. Thomas Barnard, assistant minister of the Andover church, never permitted his name to appear on any legal complaint document. It would have been unseemly and, were the conspiracy to fail, unwise. The theme of Barnard's sermons mirrored the teachings of Cotton Mather, "To them that have been seduced into the sin of witchcraft, let them now confess and bewail their own sin in the sight of God."¹⁷⁴ His role was to lead the accused into confessions of witchcraft which would appear to be voluntary and spontaneous. To the degree that he succeeded, it was his own sermons that proved truly dangerous and seductive.

The Andover conspiracy was quickly joined by three brothers: Robert Swan, Jr., 35; Timothy Swan, 29; and John Swan, 24. All residing in the north part of Andover, they were sons of Robert Swan, an influential figure in local and colonial governmental circles. Robert Swan, Jr., was married; Timothy Swan and John Swan were bachelors. The three brothers initially had been recruited by the Salem Village conspiracy to make accusations against Mary Bradbury of Salisbury, whom the brothers knew. Mary Bradbury had been imprisoned on June 29, 1693.

Of all the people caught up in the Salem tragedy, Timothy Swan is one of the most inexplicable. He played a dual role: he was an afflicted man and he was a conspirator. Little else is known about him since all transcripts of his testimony have disappeared. Yet his gravestone still stands in the old burying ground in North Andover, making him the only afflicted person whose resting place is known today. Suffering from an undiagnosed illness, he died on February 1, 1693.

Thomas Chandler was a silent member of the Andover conspiracy, preferring to work through his two sons-in-law, Samuel Phelps and Daniel Bigsby, both active members. Sarah Phelps, Jr., the daughter of Samuel Phelps and his wife Sarah (Chandler) Phelps, was a member of the Andover afflicted circle. Daniel Bigsby's wife, Hannah (Chandler) Bigsby, on occasion acted with the Andover afflicted circle.

The dominant member of the Andover conspiracy proved to be Moses Tyler, whose son, Joseph Tyler, was also a member. Although Moses Tyler lived in Boxford, he was a member of the

174 Cotton Mather, *A Discourse on Witchcraft*.

of the peace, had granted out arrest warrants against, and committed, some thirty Andover persons to prisons for supposed witchcrafts. Now, on September 7, Dudley Bradstreet dutifully wrote out the arrest warrants for the eighteen who were accused in the touch test. Finally, however, he understood that the leading citizens of Andover were being targeted. In the settlement of Andover, it had been first come, first serve; Johnny-come-lately was given the crumbs, small farms on marginal land. The controlling elite—those who gained their large landholdings by the good fortune of being the town's first settlers—were now under attack. The Barkers, the third ranking family, and the Osgoods, the second ranking family, had been accused. The Bradstreets were the first ranking family; would they be next?

Dudley Bradstreet came to his senses. His warrants had put in jail nearly fifty Andover citizens. After the touch test, he refused to grant out any more warrants. Soon after his decision, Dudley Bradstreet and his wife, Ann, were cried out upon. The afflicted claimed he had killed nine persons by witchcraft. In response, Bradstreet and his wife found escape their safest course and in short order they fled from Massachusetts. "Captain [Dudley] Bradstreet and Mr. [Ephraim] Stevens are complained of by the afflicted, have left the town, and do abscond," wrote Thomas Brattle on October 8, 1692.²¹³

211 Calef, *More Wonders*, 268. Despite their claimed spectral sight, these other children were never admitted to the privileged Andover afflicted circle made up entirely of children of the conspirators.

212 Provided the case had merit, an arrest warrant would be granted out by a justice or magistrate in response to a written, legal complaint filed by one or more accusers.

213 Brattle, "Letter of October 8, 1692," in Burr, *Narratives*, 180.

indulgence in riding upon pins through the ankles, parents believing their children to be witches, and many husbands their wives, etc."²¹⁴

Not until their wives and children were in prison, did the minds of these men begin to clear. They then realized that they had been deceived by the fanaticism of their younger minister, Thomas Barnard. These good men of Andover now began to comprehend the full implications of the storm raging in their midst. They turned to their older minister, the Rev. Francis Dane, and formed a resistance movement. Under his guidance they started to take the strong steps required to free the imprisoned members of their families.

214 Calef, *More Wonders*, 268.

on constant guard against sin for the Devil was always lurking in the shadows.

On Wednesday morning, September 7, 1692, the Rev. Thomas Barnard called certain members of his flock to the meetinghouse. Husbands accompanied their wives; some children were also invited. Those summoned were of impeccable standing in the community. Elders of the church came; among them were the most avid of Barnard's supporters: Captain Dudley Bradstreet and his wife Ann; Captain John Osgood and his wife, Mary; Deacon John Frye and his wife, Eunice.²⁰³ Barnard's wife, Elizabeth, came the short distance from the parsonage to the meetinghouse. Elizabeth was the daughter of Dudley Bradstreet's wife, Ann.²⁰⁴ When the people arrived, they found the Andover circle of afflicted girls already in the meetinghouse. Most of the congregation were absent. The men were working in the fields or at their trades; the women and children were at work in their households.

The Rev. Barnard opened the meeting with prayer. He delivered a short message reminiscent of a recent sermon given by Cotton Mather. "The Devil in his temptations will set the delight of the world before us. There are most hellish blasphemies often buzzed by the temptations of the Devil into the minds of the best men alive. There is witchcraft in those things. To worship the Devil is witchcraft. We are told, *Rebellion is the sin of Witchcraft*."²⁰⁵ A husband looked at his wife; he remembered some disobedient remark that she had recently made. A father looked at his daughter; she had resisted his authoritarian pronouncements.

His charismatic force rising to fever pitch, Barnard might have continued with words similar to those of Cotton Mather,

203 Dudley Bradstreet, John Osgood, and John Frye were sons of first proprietors of Andover. Dudley Bradstreet, 44, was the son of Ann (Dudley) and Simon Bradstreet. John Osgood, 62, was the son of Sarah (Booth) and John Osgood, Sr. John Frye, 59, was the son of Anne (Stratton) and John Frye, Sr.

204 Dudley Bradstreet's wife, Ann (Woods) Price Bradstreet, had been the widow of Thomas Price. In 1686, the Rev. Thomas Barnard, 28, took Ann's daughter, Elizabeth Price, as his wife.

205 Cotton Mather, *Wonders*, 192-195.



The house of the Rev. Thomas Barnard in North Andover

witch."²²² On both occasions Mercy might well have renounced more had she not been cut off by the hostile magistrates.

Giles Corey, the husband of the condemned Martha Corey, stood mute; that is, he refused to plead either guilty or not guilty. As a result, the law said that he could not be tried by jury. The enraged judges used an archaic law against this man. They would crush him by piling large stones upon him until he made a plea. Corey remained adamant and would not enter a plea. During the pressing, his tongue was pressed out of his mouth; Sheriff Corwin used his cane to force it in again as he lay dying. The day was September 19, 1692.

In the two court meetings in September, fourteen women and one man were condemned. The magistrates intended to hang them all. But the half-dozen or so ministers directing the clerical aspects of the witch hunt objected. To reject the charge that spectral evidence alone was used for conviction, these ministers had made valiant attempts to induce confessions. The Rev. Barnard, in sharp contrast to his Salem Village counterpart, Samuel Parris, had obtained a nearly perfect success ratio; everyone from his parish in Andover had confessed, except for two.²²³ The execution of confessors at this juncture might bring further confessions to a screeching halt. The decision was made not to hang the five condemned who had confessed—Abigail (Dane) Faulkner,²²⁴ Rebecca Eames, Mary (Foster) Lacey, Ann Foster, and Abigail Hobbs. Instead they would be held in prison until the time was ripe. But the ten condemned who were non-confessors would be hanged on schedule. One was Mary Bradbury, wife of Thomas Bradbury. Recall that he was the court clerk at

²²² Essex Institute, *Witchcraft Collection*, "Examinations."

²²³ The two Andover non-confessors were Martha Carrier and Mary Parker. In addition, there were two Andover recanters, Samuel Wardwell, who completely renounced his confession, and his daughter Mercy Wardwell, who partially renounced hers. Martha Carrier, arrested as part of the Salem Village witch hunt, was hanged on August 19, 1692. Mary Parker and Samuel Wardwell, both condemned on September 17, were hanged on September 22, 1692.

²²⁴ Abigail Faulkner had made a weak confession, if one at all. In any case Abigail Faulkner was temporarily safe from the hangman because she was pregnant.

Salisbury when the three Quaker women were flogged in 1662. Mary Bradbury was allowed to escape.

Now there were nine who would be hanged. Among them was Dorcas Hoar who belonged to the parish of the Rev. John Hale of Beverly. This was Hale's time to shine. He convinced Dorcas that confession would save her life, at least for a little while. John Hale, together with three other ministers, Nicholas Noyes, Daniel Epes, and John Emerson, drew up a petition in which they stated that Dorcas was ready to confess the witchcraft for which she was already condemned. They said that she had identified others guilty of the same crime. They requested that she be granted a month's additional time or more to prepare for death. They warned that, if she relapsed or again started afflicting others by witchcraft, there would be grounds to hasten her execution. The four ministers ended the petition by saying that her short reprieve might not only tend to save her soul, but also encourage others to confess and give glory to God. The four submitted the petition on Wednesday, September 21. Later that day magistrate Bartholomew Gedney heard her confession and consented that her execution be reprieved until further order. This petition, better than any other extant document, stated the explicit position of the clergy who were driving the witch hunt. They regarded confessions as essential; to encourage others to confess, they deemed that only non-confessing witches should be hanged until further developments.

With Dorcas Hoar plucked from the hangman, eight were left. These eight—seven women and one man—were hanged on Thursday, September 22, a chill and rainy day. They were Martha Corey, Mary Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Margaret Scott, Wilmot Redd, Mary Parker, and Samuel Wardwell. All had remained resolute in their refusals to confess. In the morning the eight were loaded onto a cart. When the cart reached the outskirts of the town, it turned off the main road and began to climb Gallows Hill. In going up the hill, the cart became stuck in a muddy rut. The afflicted girls following close behind chanted, "The Devil hinders the cart."²²⁵

²²⁵ Calef, *More Wonders*, 265.

Robert Swan, Jr.
Married man, 35

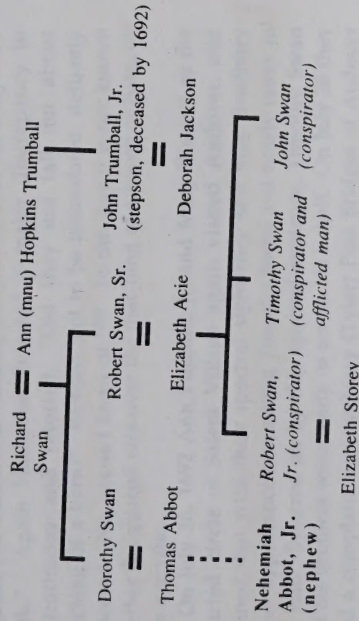
**Andover
Conspirator**

Timothy Swan
Single man, 29

**Andover
Afflicted and conspirator**

John Swan
Single man, 24

**Andover
Conspirator**



Robert Swan, Jr. was born in 1657; Timothy Swan, in 1663; and John Swan in 1668. They were sons of Elizabeth (Acie) and Robert Swan, Sr. of Haverhill. Robert Swan, Sr. was one of the most prominent men of Haverhill, having served often as selectman and representative to the General Court. In 1685, Robert Swan, Jr. married Elizabeth Storey.

In 1692 the three Swan brothers were living in the north part of Andover. Timothy, 29, a bachelor, was both an afflicted person and a conspirator. There are no extant records of his testimony despite the fact that he was involved in the imprisonment of at least 18 persons. The Swan brothers played a part in the cases of five of the six women accused in Haverhill; the exception was Martha (Toothaker) Emerson. In the chart, as in all the charts, the people charged with witchcraft are in

boldface. All of the people charged in 1692 were imprisoned, with the sole exception of Nehemiah Abbot, Jr.

Timothy Swan suffered from an unknown ailment that was to prove fatal. He first came to the attention of the Salem Village conspiracy of accusers because of a quarrel that he had had with Mary (Perkins) Bradbury of Salisbury, imprisoned on June 26, 1692. On July 15 Timothy Swan was brought to the courtroom as an afflicted person for the examination of Ann (mnu) Foster of Andover. On July 22, in answer to magistrate John Hathorne's leading question, Mary Lacey, Jr. said that Richard Carrier "burned Timothy Swan with his tobacco pipe in Swan's chamber in spirit. His spirit went in and did it. Sometimes we were in shapes and sometimes in body, but they did not see us. We rode upon hand poles & the Devil was also there in the shape of a black man & high crowned hat & bid us to kill Swan by stabbing him to death & we also stuck pins into his likeness." Hathorne then asked, "And what else had you—any hot irons or knitting needles?" She answered, "Yes, we had an iron spindle and Richard Carrier ran it through Swan's knee." Hathorne asked, "Had you any quarrel with him?" She said, "We all came in upon Mrs. Bradbury's quarrel with him."³²³

Hathorne next turned to Mary (Foster) Lacey, the mother of Mary Lacey, Jr., and asked, "Goody Lacey, did not you hurt Swan?" She responded, "No!" Her daughter interrupted, saying, "Yes, mother! Do not deny it!" The mother gave in and said, "The Devil made his imps do it. There were hot irons & the Devil held them." Hathorne immediately detected this major discrepancy in testimony, and cried, "Your daughter said it was an iron spindle." The mother, correcting herself, said, "Yes, yes. It was a spindle." (Hathorne was a man of excruciating detail in his quest to chronicle the wonders of the invisible world.) Mary Lacey, Jr. then "related something of the quarrel between Bradbury and Swan about thatching of a house."³²⁴

Magistrate Hathorne asked, "Richard Carrier, what say you to these two evidences that saw you with Timothy Swan?" Hathorne was, of course, referring to the type of evidence known

³²³ Essex Institute, *Witchcraft Collection*, "Examinations."

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

as spectral evidence. The "two evidences" provided by the confessing witch, Mary Lacey, Jr., were that she saw Richard's specter burn Timothy Swan with a tobacco pipe and run an iron spindle through Swan's knee. But Richard denied all. Infuriated with his impudence, Hathorne ordered him to be tortured. His mind and body broken, Richard was returned to the courtroom and testified that Mrs. Bradbury had him afflict Timothy Swan "because her husband & Timothy Swan fell out about a scythe, I think." Again Hathorne detected a major discrepancy in the testimony and retorted, "Did they not fall out about thatching of a barn?" Richard, not to be intimidated, defiantly answered, "No, not as I know of."³²⁵ To this day it is not known whether the quarrel was over the thatching of a house or barn, or over a scythe.

On July 26, 1692 Ann Putnam, Jr. and Mary Walcott of the afflicted circle of Salem Village again visited Andover, and claimed that with their spectral sight they saw Mrs. Bradbury or her appearance tormenting Timothy Swan and nearly ready to kill him. Spurred on by this spectral evidence, Timothy Swan and his brothers were ready to act on his behalf. On July 28 they filed a complaint against Mary (Tyler) Post Bridges of Andover for committing witchcraft on the body of Timothy Swan. About July 29, they filed a complaint against Hannah (Varnum) Tyler Brundidge and Mary (Green) Green, both of Haverhill. On August 2 they filed a complaint against Mary Post. On August 3 they filed a complaint against Mary (Johnson) Davis Clarke of Haverhill. On August 19 they filed a complaint against Frances Hutchins and Ruth Wilford, both of Haverhill. On September 6 Timothy Swan testified in Salem against Mary (Perkins) Bradbury. On September 7 Timothy Swan was back in Andover as an afflicted at the touch test. Timothy Swan was named as the afflicted person on the indictments of Mary (Perkins) Bradbury, Mary Lacey, Jr., Richard Carrier, Mary (Tyler) Post Bridges, Mary Post, Rebecca (Blake) Eames, and Mercy Wardwell. Timothy Swan's gravestone in Andover reads, "Timothy Swan Died February ye 2, 1693 & in ye 30 year of His Age."³²⁶

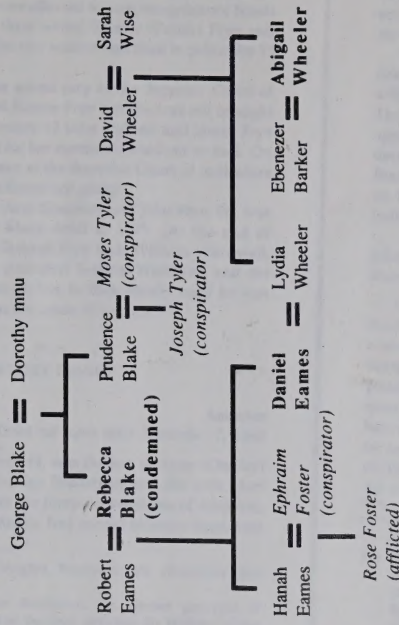
325 Essex County Archives, *Witchcraft*, 2:53.

326 Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 237.

Moses Tyler
Married man, 51
Boxford
Conspirator

Joseph Tyler
Single man, 21
Boxford
Conspirator

Martha Sprague
Girl, 16
Boxford
Afflicted



Moses Tyler was born about 1641 in Indian territory in the area that was to become Andover. He was the son of Mary (mnu) and Job Tyler. In 1666 he married Prudence Blake. Their children included Joseph Tyler, born 1671. Moses' wife, Prudence, was born in Gloucester in 1647, daughter of Dorothy (mnu) and George Blake, who later moved to Rowley Village (named Boxford in 1685). Prudence died in 1689 in Boxford.

In 1690 Moses Tyler married Sarah (Hasey) Sprague, born about 1647. Sarah was the daughter of Sarah (mnu) and Lieut. William Hasey of Boston, and was the widow of Phineas Sprague. Sarah (Hasey) and Phineas Sprague had eight children including Martha Sprague, born in 1676. In 1692 Martha Sprague, now the stepdaughter of Moses Tyler, was the leading girl in the Andover afflicted circle.

On September 7, 1692, Eunice (Potter) Frye was arrested at the Andover touch test and imprisoned in Salem. Deacon John Frye soon became an active member of the Andover resistance and signed the petitions of October 12 and December 6 for the release of his wife and others on bail. On December 20 Deacon John Frye and Captain John Osgood were allowed to post recognizance bonds for the release on bail of their wives, Eunice (Potter) Frye and Mary (Clement) Osgood. The two women had been in prison for 15 weeks.

On January 3, 1693, the grand jury at the Superior Court of Judicature at Salem indicted Eunice Frye but she was not brought to trial at that time. On January 12 John Osgood and James Frye posted a recognizance bond for her continued freedom on bail. On May 10, 1693 in a trial by jury at the Superior Court of Judicature at Ipswich, Eunice Frye was found not guilty.

Samuel Frye, the son of Ann (Stratton) and John Frye, Sr., was born in 1649 and married Mary Aslet in 1671. At the end of September 1692 Mary and Samuel Frye took William Wardwell, twelve-year-old son of the executed Samuel Wardwell and the imprisoned Sarah Wardwell, to live in their family until he was twenty-one and to teach him the trade of weaver.³⁷¹

BRADSTREET FAMILY

Dudley Bradstreet

Married man, 44

Andover

Cried out upon after September 7, 1692

Captain Dudley Bradstreet, 44, was the son of Anne (Dudley) and Simon Bradstreet.³⁷² Dudley Bradstreet and his wife, Ann (Wood) Price Bradstreet, were the foremost residents of Andover, both 44 years old in 1692. Dudley had served in every important

371 William and Dorothy (Wright) Wardwell are five-times-great grandparents of the writer.

372 On May 14, 1692 Simon Bradstreet, the elected governor of Massachusetts, was replaced by the royal governor, Sir William Phipps, appointed by the crown.

serving as Andover's representative to the General Court and was Andover's justice of the peace.³⁷³ In that judicial capacity he signed arrest warrants and examined some of the accused. "He seems to deprecate the necessity laid upon him, and to disclaim any judgment in the matter. He evidently, though humane and not so credulous as many in regard to the wild stories current, had not the determination and strength that characterize the minister, Mr. Dane."³⁷⁴

After the Andover touch test on September 7, 1692, Dudley Bradstreet refused to sign any more arrest warrants. The afflicted girls then started to cry out upon him and his wife. They quickly escaped from town. For that reason his name appears neither on the Andover petitions nor the selectmen decisions that fall. However by the end of December, Dudley Bradstreet had returned to Andover. His name is the first name on the Andover petition presented to the Superior Court of Judicature on January 3, 1693.

John Bradstreet

Married man, 40

Topsfield

Cried out upon after September 7, 1692

In 1692 the younger brother of Dudley, John Bradstreet, 40, lived in Topsfield. His wife, Sarah (Perkins) Bradstreet, 35, was a niece of Mary (Perkins) Bradbury who was condemned on September 9 but then escaped from prison. Her escape was possible because of the intercessions of some high officials, who most likely included the Bradstreets. A Salem Village dog became afflicted. The girls with their spectral sight were sent for and behold, they saw the specter of John Bradstreet riding on the back of the dog. They cried out upon John saying that he was the cause of the dog's afflictions. John wisely fled to New Hampshire. *The day was put to death, this act was inconsistent because the dog did not afflict anyone but was afflicted.*

373 A representative was a member of the lower legislative body (the House of Representatives); on the other hand, an assistant to the governor (like John Hathorne) was a member of the upper legislative body (the Board of Assistants, later called the Council). Justice of the peace was a judicial office below that of a magistrate.

374 Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 224.

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LIST OF THE ACCUSED

May 28	Wilmot (mnu) Redd, 55, Marblehead	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; executed Sept. 22
May 28	Sarah (mnu) Davis Rice, 61, Reading	Imprisoned
May 28	William Proctor, 17, Salem Farms	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 1693
May 28	Elizabeth (Jackson) Howe, 54, Topsfield	Imprisoned; condemned June 30; executed July 19
May 28	Arthur Abbot, 53, Topsfield	Imprisoned
May 28	Martha (Allen) Carrier, 38, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Aug. 5; executed Aug. 19
May 28	Mary (Allen) Toothaker, 47, Billerica	Imprisoned; found not guilty Feb. 1, 1693
May 28	Margaret Toothaker, 9, Billerica	Imprisoned
June 2	Elizabeth (Carrington) Paine, 53, Charlestown	Imprisoned
June 1	Sarah Churchill, 20, Salem Village	Briefly imprisoned; then released as an afflicted person
June 4	Mary (Leach) Ireson, 32, Lynn	Imprisoned
June 4	Job Tookey, 27, Beverly	Imprisoned; found not guilty on Jan. 5, 1693
June 6	Ann (Higginson) Dolliver, 29, Gloucester	Imprisoned
June 28	Mary (Perkins) Bradbury, 75, Salisbury	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 9; escaped
July 1	Margaret (mnu) Hawkes, Salem Town	Imprisoned
July 1	Candy, female slave, Salem Town	Imprisoned; found not guilty on Jan. 6, 1693
c. July 15	Elizabeth Scargen	Imprisoned
c. July 15	child of Elizabeth Scargen	Imprisoned; died in prison
ARREST PHASE OF ANDOVER WITCH HUNT		
July 15, 1692	Ann (mnu) Foster, 72, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; died in prison Dec. 1692
July 19	Mary (Foster) Lacey, 40, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; pardoned in 1693

LIST OF THE ACCUSED

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July 19	Mary Lacey, Jr., 18, Andover	Imprisoned 10 weeks; released on bail Oct. 6; found not guilty Jan. 13, 1693
July 21	Richard Carrier, 18, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail mid October
July 21	Andrew Carrier, 15, Andover	Imprisoned; released on bail mid October
July 22	Martha (Toothaker) Emerson, 24, Haverhill	Imprisoned; cleared Jan. 12, 1693
July 28	Mary (Tyler) Post Bridges, 48, Andover	Imprisoned; found not guilty Jan. 12, 1693
July 30	Hannah (mnu) Tyler Brumidge, 60, Haverhill	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison; cleared Jan. 1693
July 30	Mary (Green) Green, 34, Haverhill	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison; released on bail, Dec. 16
c. Aug. 1	Rebecca (Blake) Eames, 51, Boxford	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; reprieved; released Mar. 1693 after 7 months in prison
Aug. 2	Mary Post, 28, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Jan. 12, 1693; reprieved; released April 1693 after more than 8 months in prison
Aug. 3	Mary (Johnson) Davis Clarke, 53, Haverhill	Imprisoned in Ipswich prison
Aug. 5	Margaret (Stevenson) Scott, 72, Beverly	Imprisoned; condemned Sept. 17; executed Sept. 22
c. Aug. 9	Daniel Eames, 29, Boxford	Imprisoned
c. Aug. 10	Thomas Carrier, Jr., 10, Andover	Imprisoned; Released on bail Oct. 6
c. Aug. 10	Sarah Carrier, 7, Andover	Imprisoned; Released on bail Oct. 6
Aug. 10	Elizabeth Johnson Jr., 22, Andover	Imprisoned; condemned Jan. 12, 1693; reprieved; imprisoned 6 months; released Feb. 1693



Danforth, all had been members of the old Court of Oyer and Terminer. The three Salem magistrates—John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin, and Bartholomew Gedney—were not on the new court; these were the three who had been most active in confiscating property. Peter Sergeant was also not on the new court.

At the height of the witchcraft mania, accusers and accused were counted by scores. Andover was the first town to recover its senses. By October a resistance movement led by the Rev. Francis Dane and other prominent townspeople began to act. They chose to work through normal political channels by filing petitions with the governor and the courts.

The resistance first turned its attention to the imprisoned children of Andover. Its efforts were successful; the authorities let the Andover families post recognizance bonds for the release of their children on bail. The first children were set free on October 6. By October 15 eighteen of the nineteen imprisoned Andover children (aged 18 and under) were out of prison on bail.²⁷⁷ Only Rebecca Johnson, Jr., aged 17, remained in prison to take care of her sick mother. About December 8 she and her mother were released on bail.

The release of the Andover women proved more difficult. On October 12, 1692, nine leading men of Andover addressed a petition to the General Court on behalf of their wives and children. The nine men spoke of the prisoners' condition—"a company of poor distressed creatures as full of inward grief and trouble as they are able to bear up in life withal." They referred to the want of "food convenient" for them, and stated that "the coldness of the winter season that is coming may soon dispatch

277 Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 230. The eighteen children released in October were William Barker, Jr., Mary Barker, Sarah Bridges, Mary Bridges, Jr., Richard Carrier, Andrew Carrier, Thomas Carrier, Jr., Sarah Carrier, Dorothy Faulkner, Abigail Faulkner, Jr., Stephen Johnson, Abigail Johnson, Mary Lacey, Jr., John Sadie, Hannah Tyler, Martha Tyler, Joanna Tyler, and Sarah Wilson, Jr. Mercy Wardwell was not included; she had turned nineteen on October 3, 1692, just three days before October 6, when the first of the children were released.

godliness." The petition admits that "most of our people that have been apprehended for witchcraft have upon examination confessed it." However, it stated that there was "reason to think that the extreme urgency that was used with some of them by their friends and others who privately examined them, and the fear they were then under, hath been an inducement to them to admit such things." This represented the first attempt at a public explanation of the witchcraft confessions. Upon just such confessions had Cotton Mather and others justified the entire witchcraft proceedings.

The petition continued with a direct attack against the afflicted children or, more precisely, against the influence of the Devil on those children. "Our troubles we foresee are likely to continue and increase, if other methods be not taken than as yet have been; and we know not who can think himself safe, if the accusations of children and others who are under a diabolical influence shall be received against persons of good fame."²⁷⁹ It was safer to point the finger at the afflicted girls than at their fathers and stepfathers who made up the conspiracy of accusers. Puritan teaching dictated that the basic tenet of a witchcraft plot could not be disturbed. The blame for any mistakes incurred had to be laid upon the Devil; the men carrying out the crime went scot-free. The existence of the Devil was not only of theological interest, but of practical use as well.

On December 6, 1692, eight Andover men petitioned on behalf of their wives and friends in prison. During their imprisonment they "have been exposed to great sufferings, which daily increase by reason of the winter coming on and they are in extreme danger of perishing." The petitioners asked that the prisoners be permitted to come home on "such terms as your honors may judge meet."²⁸⁰

Still the women of Andover were in jail. However the efforts of the Andover resistance were starting to take effect. The

such out of the way that have not been used to such hardships." They told of the calamitous effects of their absence from their families who were at the same time required to maintain them in jail. They prayed that the prisoners might be released on bail, "to remain as prisoners under bond in their own houses, where they may be more tenderly cared for."²⁷⁸

A few weeks earlier, some of these men, whipped into a frenzy of religious fervor at the Andover touch test, had been duped into encouraging their wives and daughters to confess. Others who may have been skeptical of the charming words of Barnard nonetheless joined rank, their purpose being to urge confession in the hope of leniency. Now, following the recent execution of the eight condemned witches, and with their wives next in line for the hangman, these men awoke to their terrible mistake. Their frightened children at home wanted to know when their mothers and sisters would return. At once the men fell solidly behind the Rev. Dane in his efforts to reverse the damage they had done while under the powerful spell of the Rev. Barnard.

The Rev. Thomas Barnard, in what appears as a total about-face, gladly jumped in to join the Rev. Francis Dane's crusade to free the prisoners. Here Barnard displayed his uncanny knack for shifting ground at precisely the critical moment. It was a shift, however, that would have been a simple matter for a man devoid of principle. On October 18, 1692, the Rev. Barnard joined with the Rev. Dane and twenty-four citizens of Andover to address a petition to the Governor and General Court. "Several of the women that are accused are members of this church in full communion, and had obtained a good report of blameless conversation, and their walking as becometh women professing

278 Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 225-235. The nine men signing the petition of October 12 were "John Osgood in behalf of his wife; John Frye in behalf of his wife; John Marston in behalf of his wife; Mary Marston; Christopher Osgood in behalf of his daughter, Mary Marston; Joseph Wilson in behalf of his wife and daughter; John Bridges in behalf of his wife and children; Hopeskill Tyler in behalf of his wife and daughter; Ebenezer Barker for his wife; Nathaniel Dane for his wife." Hopeskill's daughters, Joanna and Martha Tyler, had already been released on bail, about October 6.

released on bail.²⁸¹ Husbands and kinsmen had to post stiff recognizance bonds which would be forfeited if the released prisoners did not appear at the meeting of the Superior Court of Judicature scheduled for January 3, 1693. The rest of the Andover women had to remain in prison.

Attention turned to the upcoming trials. Because no further arrests were being made, Dudley Bradstreet ventured out of hiding and made his return to Andover. In late December 1692, Dudley Bradstreet, the Rev. Dane, the Rev. Barnard, thirty-eight other men, and twelve women drew up a petition that was presented to the Superior Court of Judicature at Salem at its opening session on January 3, 1693. The petition was on behalf of Mary (Clement) Osgood, Eunice (Potter) Frye, Deliverance (Haseltine) Dane, Sarah (Lord) Wilson, and Abigail (Wheeler) Barker. These women, all church members and part of the Andover elite, had been arrested together at the Andover touch test. "When these women were accused by some afflicted persons of the neighborhood, their relations and others, through a misrepresentation of the truth of that evidence, took great pains to persuade them to own what they were, by the afflicted, charged with and indeed did unreasonably urge them to confess themselves guilty. By the unwearied solicitations of those that privately discouraged them both at home and at Salem, they were at length persuaded publicly to own what they were charged with. Now though we cannot but judge it a thing very sinful for innocent persons to own a crime that they are not guilty of, yet considering the well-ordered conversation of those women while they lived among us, and what they now seriously and constantly affirm in a more composed frame, we cannot but in charity judge them innocent of the great transgression that has been imputed to them." The petition went on to speak for the other Andover imprisoned. "As for the rest of our neighbors, who are under the like circumstances with these that have been named, we can

